

MONUMENTS, MEMORY, AND PLACE: COMMEMORATIONS OF THE PERSIAN WARS

by

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis is concerned with how the Greek peoples, of primarily the classical period, collectively commemorated the Persian Wars. The data studied within this project are public monuments, which include both physical and behavioural commemorations. A quantitative methodology is employed within this thesis and is a novel approach by which to study Persian War public monuments. This method of analysis allows for a more holistic approach to the data. Through analysing commemorative monuments quantitatively this project, figuratively, re-joins object and context. Studies on Persian War commemoration tend to focus on singular monument types, individual commemorative places, a particular commemorating group, or a specific battle. To think plurally about the ancient Greek commemorative tradition is to refocus attention on the whole incorporating all known commemorative monuments, places, and groups. What emerges from this study is a varied commemorative tradition expressed over space and time. Commemoration of conflict is presented here as a process of exchange, a dialogue between the past and the present. This thesis challenges the idea that a unified pan-Hellenic memory of the Persian Wars existed from the culmination of the conflict and illustrates the varied collective memories and narratives that could be created about the past.

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## CONTENTS

### Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| 1.1: Introduction .....                 | 1-2   |
| 1.2: What were the Persian Wars? .....  | 2-7   |
| 1.3: Why the Persian Wars? .....        | 7     |
| 1.4: Why these Project Aims? .....      | 7-9   |
| 1.5: Key Themes: Memory and Place ..... | 10-15 |
| 1.6: Commemorative Groups .....         | 16-22 |
| 1.7: Project Outline .....              | 22-31 |
| 1.8: Conclusion .....                   | 31    |

### Chapter 2: CONTEXTUALISING PERSIAN WAR COMMEMORATIONS

|  |       |
|--|-------|
| 2.1: Introduction .....                    | 32-33 |
| 2.2: Memory .....                          | 33-41 |
| 2.3: Memory Transmission .....             | 42-49 |
| 2.4: History and Memory .....              | 50-52 |
| 2.5: Places .....                          | 53-56 |
| 2.6: Monumentalisation .....               | 57-65 |
| 2.7: Warfare .....                         | 65-67 |
| 2.8: Commemoration in Ancient Greece ..... | 67-76 |
| 2.9: Conclusion .....                      | 76-77 |

### Chapter 3: APPROACHING PLACES, MEANINGS AND USES OF THE PAST

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| 3.1: Introduction .....                                    | 78-79   |
| 3.2: The Aims .....  | 79-80   |
| 3.3: Approaching the Key Themes: Memory and Place .....    | 80-90   |
| 3.4: Data and Acquisition .....                            | 90-110  |
| 3.5: Phenomenological Approach .....                       | 110-116 |
| 3.6: Quantitative Analysis and Classical Archaeology ..... | 116-117 |
| 3.7: Analysis Methodology .....                            | 118-124 |
| 3.8: Conclusion .....                                      | 124     |

### Chapter 4: MONUMENTS AND PLACES

|                                 |         |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| 4.1: Introduction .....         | 127-128 |
| 4.2: What is a Monument? .....  | 128-129 |
| 4.3: Monument Types .....       | 129-161 |
| 4.4: Place Definitions .....    | 161-168 |
| 4.5: What is Found Where? ..... | 168-173 |
| 4.6: Conclusion .....           | 173-174 |

### Chapter 5: REVEALING COMMEMORATIVE PATTERNS

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| 5.1: Introduction .....                              | 175-177 |
| 5.2: General Monument Distribution .....             | 177-184 |
| 5.3: Monument Distribution over Space and Time ..... | 184-197 |

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| 5.4: Commemorative Monopolies .....               | 197-202 |
| 5.5: Relationships between Object and Place ..... | 203-219 |
| 5.6: Conclusion .....                             | 219-222 |
| Chapter 6: UNDERSTANDING COMMEMORATIVE PATTERNS   |         |
| 6.1: Athens and Corinth .....                     | 223-247 |
| 6.2: Behavioural Commemoration .....              | 248-273 |
| 6.3: Fighting Alone? .....                        | 274-299 |
| 6.4: Commemoration and Place .....                | 300-341 |
| Chapter 7: CONCLUSION                             |         |
| 7.1: Introduction .....                           | 342-343 |
| 7.2: Addressing the Aims .....                    | 343-364 |
| 7.3: Wider Ramifications of this Study .....      | 364-370 |
| 7.4: Project Limitations .....                    | 370-371 |
| 7.5: Further Research .....                       | 371-377 |
| 7.6: Conclusion: Original Contributions .....     | 377-378 |
| APPENDIX: THE MONUMENTS AND THE EVIDENCE          |         |
| Marathon: App. no's. 1-20 .....                   | 381-437 |
| Artemisium: App. no's. 21 and 22 .....            | 438-440 |
| Thermopylae: App. no's. 23-33 .....               | 441-456 |
| Salamis: App. no's. 34-48 .....                   | 457-478 |
| Plataea: App. no's. 49-79 .....                   | 479-521 |
| General: App. no's. 80-105 .....                  | 522-569 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY .....                                | 570-595 |

## LIST OF FIGURES

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Figure 4.1 <i>Establishing Boundaries to the Battlefield Space</i> .....                                  | 162 |
| Figure 5.1 <i>Relative Frequency and Percentage of Monument Distribution</i> .....                        | 178 |
| Figure 5.2 <i>Relative Frequencies of Monuments per Place</i> .....                                       | 181 |
| Figure 5.3 <i>Cumulative Relative Frequencies</i> .....   | 182 |
| Figure 5.4 <i>Battlefield Cumulative Relative Frequencies</i> .....                                       | 185 |
| Figure 5.5 <i>Monument Distributions on the Battlefields</i> .....  | 187 |
| Figure 5.6 <i>Commemoration of Thermopylae</i> .....  | 188 |
| Figure 5.7 <i>Monument Distributions at pan-Hellenic Sanctuaries</i> .....                                | 189 |
| Figure 5.8 <i>Spartan Commemorative Monument Distributions by Site Type</i> .....                         | 190 |
| Figure 5.9 <i>Monument Distributions at Urban Centres</i> .....   | 191 |
| Figure 5.10 <i>Fifth Century Marathon Commemoration</i> .....   | 193 |
| Figure 5.11 <i>Commemorative Trends of Marathon over Time</i> .....                                       | 195 |
| Figure 5.12 <i>Construction of Monuments on the Battlefield over Time</i> .....                           | 196 |
| Figure 5.13 <i>Athenian Monuments of Marathon</i> .....   | 198 |
| Figure 5.14 <i>The Distribution of Athenian Persian War Monuments</i> .....                               | 199 |
| Figure 5.15 <i>Athenian Persian War Monuments: Segregating the Battlefield Monuments</i> .....            | 200 |
| Figure 5.16 <i>Distribution of Pan-Hellenic Persian War Monuments by Place</i> .....                      | 201 |
| Figure 5.17 <i>Statues by Battle</i> .....  | 214 |
| Figure 5.18 <i>Statue Type by Commemorative Group</i> .....   | 216 |
| Figure 5.19 <i>Statues Constructed at pan-Hellenic Sanctuaries</i> .....                                  | 217 |
| Figure 5.20 <i>Statues Constructed at Urban Centres</i> .....   | 218 |
| Figure 6.1.1 <i>Percentages of Attic and Corinthian Vessels found in Corinthian Graves</i> .....          | 229 |
| Figure 6.1.2 <i>Number of Attic Vessels per Corinthian Grave 500 – 445 BC in the North Cemetery</i> ..... | 231 |
| Figure 6.1.3 <i>Number of Attic Vessels per Corinthian Grave 460 – 395 BC in the North Cemetery</i> ..... | 231 |
| Figure 6.1.4 <i>The Sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus</i> .....  | 234 |
| Figure 6.1.5 <i>Dates of Monuments Constructed at Pan-Hellenic Sanctuaries</i> .....                      | 241 |
| Figure 6.2.1 <i>The Kanellopoulos Lebes</i> .....   | 257 |
| Figure 6.2.2 <i>The Rim of the Kanellopoulos Lebes</i> .....  | 258 |
| Figure 6.2.3 <i>Lebes found at Ambelokipi</i> .....   | 258 |
| Figure 6.2.4 <i>Hydra found near Thessalonika</i> .....   | 259 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Figure 6.2.5 <i>Decay Curve of Wartime Airfields</i> .....  | 264 |
| Figure 6.3.1 <i>The Apollo Temple Terrace at Delphi</i> .....   | 287 |
| Figure 6.3.2 <i>Commemoration of Marathon over Time</i> .....   | 290 |
| Figure 6.4.1 <i>Number of Epigrams and Epitaphs by Battlefield</i> .....                              | 326 |
| Figure 6.4.2 <i>Commemorations by Battle</i> .....  | 329 |
| Figure App. 1 <i>Athenian Burial Mound at Marathon (soros)</i> .....                                  | 382 |
| Figure App. 2 <i>Plataean Burial Mound</i> .....  | 386 |
| Figure App. 3 <i>Athenian Trophy at Marathon</i> .....  | 391 |
| Figure App. 4 <i>Inscribed Stele Mentioning the Herakleia</i> .....                                   | 396 |
| Figure App. 5 <i>Herakleia Inscription</i> .....  | 397 |
| Figure App. 6 <i>Athenian Casualty List</i> .....   | 402 |
| Figure App. 7 <i>Athenian Treasury at Delphi</i> .....  | 405 |
| Figure App. 8 <i>Stone A I</i> .....  | 412 |
| Figure App. 9 <i>Stone A II</i> .....   | 412 |
| Figure App.10 <i>Stone B</i> .....  | 412 |
| Figure App. 11 <i>Stone C Left</i> .....  | 413 |
| Figure App. 12 <i>Stone C Right</i> .....   | 413 |
| Figure App.13 <i>Restoration of the 'Marathon Monument'</i> .....                                     | 414 |
| Figure App. 14 <i>Modern Inscription Commemorating Sparta at Thermopylae</i> .....                    | 443 |
| Figure App. 15 <i>View of Psyttaleia from Salamis</i> .....   | 458 |
| Figure App. 16 <i>Squared Block on Salamis</i> .....  | 461 |
| Figure App. 17 <i>Corinthian Epitaph from Salamis</i> .....   | 463 |
| Figure App. 18 <i>Burial Mound on Salamis</i> .....   | 465 |
| Figure App. 19 <i>Boundary Stone</i> .....  | 498 |
| Figure App. 20 <i>Drawing of Boundary Stone</i> .....   | 498 |
| Figure App. 21 <i>Serpent Column</i> .....  | 525 |
| Figure App. 22 <i>Section of Acropolis Wall displaying Temple of Athena Polias' Entablature</i> ..... | 538 |
| Figure App. 23 <i>Section of Acropolis Wall displaying Column Drums of the Older Parthenon</i> .....  | 538 |
| Figure App. 24 <i>Inscribed Persian Helmet</i> .....  | 569 |



## LIST OF TABLES

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Table 3.1 <i>Communicative and Cultural Memory</i> .....                                   | 82  |
| Table 3.2 <i>Identification and Location of Persian War Battlefield Monuments</i> .....    | 107 |
| Table 4.1 <i>Full Monument List</i> .....  | 125 |
| Table 4.2 <i>Full Monument List cont.</i> .....  | 126 |
| Table 4.3 <i>Cenotaphs</i> .....   | 130 |
| Table 4.4 <i>Trophies</i> .....  | 135 |
| Table 4.5 <i>Epigrams and Epitaphs</i> .....   | 137 |
| Table 4.6 <i>Casualty Lists</i> .....  | 139 |
| Table 4.7 <i>Collective Burials</i> .....  | 140 |
| Table 4.8 <i>Commander Burials</i> .....   | 143 |
| Table 4.9 <i>Spoils of War</i> .....   | 145 |
| Table 4.10 <i>Statues</i> .....  | 148 |
| Table 4.11 <i>Votive Offerings</i> .....   | 150 |
| Table 4.12 <i>Altars</i> .....   | 152 |
| Table 4.13 <i>Sacred Precincts, Temples and Stoas</i> .....                                | 154 |
| Table 4.14 <i>Non-Religious Structures</i> .....   | 156 |
| Table 4.15 <i>Military Vows</i> .....  | 157 |
| Table 4.16 <i>Oaths</i> .....  | 158 |
| Table 4.17 <i>Behavioural Commemoration</i> .....  | 160 |
| Table 4.18 <i>Other</i> .....  | 161 |
| Table 4.19 <i>What is Found Where?</i> .....   | 168 |
| Table 5.1 <i>Division of Monuments by Place</i> .....                                      | 177 |
| Table 5.2 <i>Relative Frequency and Percentage of Monument Distribution</i> .....          | 177 |
| Table 5.3 <i>Division of Monuments by Particular Place</i> .....                           | 179 |
| Table 5.4 <i>Commemorative Frequencies</i> .....   | 180 |
| Table 5.5 <i>Number of Monuments per Battlefield</i> .....                                 | 184 |
| Table 5.6 <i>Commemorative Frequencies on the Battlefield</i> .....                        | 185 |
| Table 5.7 <i>Classification of Persian War Monuments at a Variety of Sites Types</i> ..... | 203 |
| Table 5.8 <i>Percentages of Monuments at Each Site Type</i> .....                          | 203 |
| Table 5.9 <i>Cross Classification of Persian War Monuments on the Battlefield</i> .....    | 205 |
| Table 5.10 <i>Numerical Distribution of Monuments on the Battlefield</i> .....             | 205 |
| Table 5.11 <i>Percentages of Monuments on the Battlefield</i> .....                        | 205 |

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| Table 5.12 <i>Statues Commemorating Specific Battles by Site Type</i> .....                            | 211     |
| Table 5.13 <i>Statue ‘Type’ by Site Type</i> .....   | 213     |
| Table 6.1.1 <i>Vessels found in Corinthian Graves</i> .....  | 229     |
| Table 6.1.2 <i>Vessels Discovered at Grave I-37 at the West Cemetery, Isthmia (575 – 550 BC)</i> ..... | 235     |
| Table 6.3.1 <i>Literary Excerpts Failing to include a Plataean Contingent at Marathon</i> .....        | 279-280 |
| Table 6.3.2 <i>Athenian and Plataean Commemoration of Marathon and Plataea</i> .....                   | 294     |
| Table 6.4.1 <i>Statue Type Descriptions</i> .....  | 333     |
| Table 6.4.2 <i>Nouns and Statue Type</i> .....   | 335     |
| Table 6.4.3 <i>Nouns and Statue Type in Herodotus</i> .....  | 335     |
| Table 6.4.4 <i>Nouns and Commemorative Place</i> .....   | 338     |
| Table 6.4.5 <i>Comparing eikōn and andrias</i> .....   | 338     |
| Table App. 1 <i>Confidence Attributed to the Acceptance of each Monument</i> .....                     | 379     |
| Table App. 2 <i>Confidence Attributed to the Acceptance of each Monument cont.</i> .....               | 380     |
| Table App. 3 <i>Provisions of the Oath of Plataea</i> .....  | 491     |

## ABBREVIATIONS

|            |   |  |
|------------|---|--|
| Aen. Tact. | - | Aeneas Tacticus  |
| Aesch.     | - | Aeschines  |
| Agora      | - | <i>The Athenian Agora</i>  |
| Andoc.     | - | Andocides  |
| Apoll.     | - | Apollodorus  |
| Arist.     | - | Aristotle  |
| Aristides  | - | Aristides, Aelius  |
| Aristoph.  | - | Aristophanes   |
| Ath.       | - | Athenaeus  |
| CEG        | - | <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i>  |
| CIG        | - | <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>                                      |
| Cic.       | - | Cicero   |
| CVA        | - | <i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>   |
| Dem.       | - | Demosthenes  |
| [Dem.]     | - | Pseudo Demosthenes   |
| Dio Chr.   | - | Dio Chrysostom   |
| Diod.      | - | Diodorus Siculus   |
| Eurip.     | - | Euripides  |
| FD         | - | <i>Fouilles de Delphes</i>   |
| FGrH       | - | <i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> (Jacoby, F., 1923-1958)   |
| GHI        | - | <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> (Tod, M. N., 1946)     |
| Harp.      | - | Harpocration   |
| Hdts.      | - | Herodotus  |
| IG         | - | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>   |
| IvO        | - | <i>Die Inschriften von Olympia</i> (Dittenberger, W. and Purgold K., 1986) |
| Il.        | - | Homer's <i>The Iliad</i>   |
| Isoc.      | - | Isocrates  |
| LSAG       | - | <i>Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</i> (Jeffery, L.H., 1990)               |
| Lyc.       | - | Lycurgus   |
| Lys.       | - | Lysias   |

|             |   |  |
|-------------|---|--|
| MGHI        | - | <i>A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> (Hicks, E.L., 1882)               |
| ML          | - | <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> (Meiggs, R. and Lewis D, 1969) |
| Nep.        | - | Cornelius Nepos  |
| OCD         | - | <i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>   |
| Od.         | - | Homer's <i>The Odyssey</i>   |
| Pal. Anth.  | - | <i>Palatine Anthology</i>  |
| Paus.       | - | Pausanias  |
| Phil.       | - | Philostratus the Athenian  |
| Pind.       | - | Pindar   |
| Plut.       | - | Plutarch   |
| Polyb.      | - | Polybius   |
| POxy        | - | <i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i>  |
| RO          | - | <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions 404-323 BC</i> (Rhodes P.J and Osborne R. 2003)   |
| SEG         | - | <i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>   |
| Steph. Byz. | - | Stephanus of Byzantium   |
| Stob.       | - | Stobaeus   |
| Syll.       | - | <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>   |
| Theo`       | - | Theopompus   |
| Thuc.       | - | Thucydides   |
| Vitr.       | - | Vitruvius  |
| Xen.        | - | Xenophon   |

## Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

This thesis is concerned with how ancient Greek people, of primarily the classical period (480 – 323 BC), collectively commemorated the Persian Wars.<sup>1</sup> The activities commemorating the Persian Wars, both constructed monuments and enacted behavioural commemorations, are investigated as being inextricably linked to the particular places in which they took place. Furthermore, the commemorative tradition within the ancient Greek world will be seen to have been a multivalent phenomenon. The aims of this thesis are threefold:

- To bring the commemorations together with the physical landscape and to re-join object and context.
- To reveal and analyse the methods, in their known entirety, by which Greeks of the fifth century BC commemorated the Persian Wars.<sup>2</sup>
- To ask if, and if so how, events in the present had any effect on commemorating the past.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> All translations have been obtained from the Perseus Digital Library unless otherwise stated.

<sup>2</sup> Connerton 1989; see also Levy 2010: 128-129.

<sup>3</sup> Young 1993: 12-15 asks similar questions of holocaust memorials.

This chapter will begin by defining the project's temporal framework. I will outline what the Persian Wars were considered to be and what was encompassed under the conflict title, according to a number of ancient literary sources. In addition I state which specific battles (and their respective commemorations) will be represented. I clarify why the Persian Wars, as an event in Greek history, have been selected to investigate the aims of this project set out above. Following this, I explain why these particular project aims were devised and selected. In order to achieve the project aims two themes are employed which run concurrently through this thesis: 'memory' and 'place'. I will explain here why these themes were selected and offer definitions as to what I understand 'memory' and 'place' to be. Multiple groups commemorated the Persian Wars and, as will be expanded upon throughout this thesis, in a multitude of ways. The commemorative groups which the data set is divided between include the *polis*, the pan-Hellenic, and the Amphictyonic League, and definitions of these commemorative groups are provided here. The chapter closes with this project's chapter sequence, and within this section summaries of each chapter's content will be presented.

## **1.2 What were the Persian Wars?**

In attempting to define which particular battles the Persian Wars comprised of, and indeed whether they were a collection of conflicts or a single conflict, I will focus on the periodisation of the Persian invasion(s).<sup>4</sup> A brief overview of the variations in the

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<sup>4</sup> In a similar way to Yates 2011: 36-66.

ancient Greek perceptions of the periodisation of the conflict(s) will reveal the multiplicity of both points of view concerning the Persian War(s) and, as a result, the multiplicity of narratives which necessarily emerged.

Herodotus, in justifying the writing of his history, tells us that the cause of the fighting between the Greeks and the Persians can be traced back to Croesus, the King of Lydia; Croesus was the first of the barbarians to force some of the Greek communities to pay tribute.<sup>5</sup> The Greco-Persian War, according to Herodotus, is not restricted to one or two invasions but is presented as a much wider conceptual event spanning about eighty years from c.560 BC.<sup>6</sup> Herodotus later states that the Athenian ships sent to aid the Ionian revolt (in 499 BC) were the beginning of evils for the Greeks and barbarians.<sup>7</sup> As Cawkwell notes, Herodotus is here presenting the point of view of mainland Greeks as the troubles between Ionians and the Persians had begun much earlier when Cyrus had initially incorporated them into the Persian Empire (c.547 BC).<sup>8</sup> Despite Herodotus framing the conflict as beginning with the Ionian revolt by using individuals from various *poleis* to state as much in speeches, it has been suggested that Herodotus' notion of a larger Greco-barbarian conflict (within which the Persian invasions took place) was heavily influenced by his own cultural background in Asia Minor 'where his earliest conception of the war likely developed'.<sup>9</sup> Although Herodotus does not state that the end of his history was to be understood as the end

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<sup>5</sup> Hdts. 1.6.2; see also 1.92.1.

<sup>6</sup> See Yates 2011: 45 for further references.

<sup>7</sup> Hdts. 5.97.3.

<sup>8</sup> Cawkwell 2005: 66.

<sup>9</sup> Yates 2011: 52; for an Athenian point of view see Hdts. 8.22.2; for a Spartan point of view see Hdts. 8.142.2.

of the conflict, Diodorus understood Herodotus to have implied the culmination of the conflict took place at the battle of Mycale and the siege of Sestos in 479 BC.<sup>10</sup> Herodotus' depiction of the larger conflict began with Ionian Greeks being forced to pay tribute to Persia and after the victories of 479 BC the Greek world was returned to its prior state of freedom.<sup>11</sup>

Thucydides, in his presentation of the Persian Wars, in general tends to limit the temporal scope of the conflict. This may be because he is comparing the war against Persia with the Peloponnesian War and while attempting to accentuate the latter it would suit his purpose to present the Persian Wars in the narrowest sense possible.<sup>12</sup> In Thucydides' work, the beginning of the Persian War is not clearly defined. For example, the beginning of the conflict is mentioned in relation to Darius' death (in 485 BC) in a brief description on the political landscape of Greece before the Peloponnesian War and to contrast the sizes of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars.<sup>13</sup> The relation with Darius' death implies the exclusion of the Ionian revolt as part of the conflict. Secondly, Marathon appears to be treated as a separate conflict when describing the general happenings in Greece and, furthermore, Thucydides explains how the conflict was resolved quickly over four battles, two on land and two on sea.<sup>14</sup> The battles which are meant are not stated and, I believe, we may be sure that

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<sup>10</sup> Diod. 11.37.6; Mycale: Hdts 9.98-107; Sestos: Hdts. 9.114ff.

<sup>11</sup> Yates 2011: 51; for the prior state of freedom see Hdts. 1.6.3.

<sup>12</sup> Yates 2011: 60.

<sup>13</sup> Darius' death: Thuc. 1.14.2; political landscape in Greece: Thuc. 1.18.1-2; comparing conflict size: Thuc. 1.23.1.

<sup>14</sup> See Yates 2011: 55 for discussion and further references.



Thucydides intended the Persian Wars to only include Xerxes' invasion and possibly subsequent immediate battles.

Thucydides is apparently in agreement with Herodotus in his dating for the culmination of the Persian War which he places around 478 BC.<sup>15</sup> Within Thucydides' narrative however, Athenians, Mytilenians and Corinthians all express their views on the scope of the Persian Wars. The Athenians and the Mytilenians both express similar views of an extended period of conflict which ranged beyond 478 BC.<sup>16</sup> In contrast, the Corinthians clearly state that they believe the conflict to have ended in 479/8 BC, when blaming Sparta for allowing the Athenians to fortify their city.<sup>17</sup> It has been suggested that the Athenians and Mytilenians may have been expressing views that were popular among Athens and her allies and subject states while the Corinthians were expressing views more prevalent in the Peloponnese which had limited involvement in the Persian conflict before and after Xerxes' invasion.<sup>18</sup>

Plato clearly presents a periodisation of the Persian Wars which ranges from Marathon to Plataea.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, Aristotle presents a periodisation ranging from Marathon to 479/8 BC, which could, it may be argued, include the battle of Mycale.<sup>20</sup> Further agreement on the Marathon – Plataea periodisation can be found in Aeschines,

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<sup>15</sup> Thuc. 1.97.

<sup>16</sup> Athenian view: Thuc. 1.75.2; Mytilenian view: Thuc. 3.10.2.

<sup>17</sup> Thuc. 1.69.1.

<sup>18</sup> Yates 2011: 59-60.

<sup>19</sup> Plato *Laws* 707c 1-5; see Jung 2006: 13.

<sup>20</sup> Beginning at Marathon: Arist. *Posterior Analytics* 94a; conclusion: Arist. *Athenian Constitution* 25.1.

Demosthenes and Apollodorus.<sup>21</sup> In addition to the fourth century BC examples there are other concurrent Athenian variations. Isocrates initially frames the conflict as the repulsion of both Darius and Xerxes, which would include the battles between Marathon and Plataea.<sup>22</sup> However, it is later clarified in Isocrates' *Panegyricus* that Salamis is presented as the final battle of the conflict and is related as the final threat faced by the Greeks.<sup>23</sup> This particular deviation is unique amongst known periodisations of the Persian Wars. Furthermore, in another of Plato's works the culmination of the conflict is suggested to have been as late as 449 BC.<sup>24</sup>

This brief discussion illustrates that, even within Athens, a common narrative concerning the periodisation of the Persian Wars never existed. It is therefore necessary to outline at the outset which temporal framework I will adopt. While Herodotus' cultural background may have influenced his temporal framework of the conflict and Thucydides, perhaps, aimed at diminishing the Persian Wars in scope in comparison to the Peloponnesian War, this study follows the majority of sources outlined above: Aeschines, Demosthenes, Apollodorus, and Plato. This project therefore follows the Marathon – Plataea periodisation and is concerned with the invasions of both Darius in 490 BC and Xerxes in 480-479 BC. The battles for which commemorative data is collected include Marathon, Artemisium, Thermopylae,

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<sup>21</sup> Aesch. *On the Embassy* 74-75; Dem. *On the Crown* 208; for Apollodorus see [Dem.] *Against Neaera* 94 & 96.

<sup>22</sup> Isoc. *Panegyricus* 71.

<sup>23</sup> Isoc. *Panegyricus* 92.

<sup>24</sup> Plato *Menexenus* 241e-242a; see Yates 2011: 43.

Salamis and Plataea. In addition I include monuments which were raised in memory of the Persian Wars in general.

### **1.3 Why the Persian Wars?**

Collective memory (see below) is often transmitted because it keeps alive the memory of a particularly victorious, perilous, even shameful period in history. It has been stated that these ‘memories often cluster around foundational events of a heroic or traumatic nature and have a profound impact on the group’s self-image and its sense of the world.’<sup>25</sup> The Persian Wars have been labelled as the ‘most potent “constellative myth”’ for the Greeks (albeit with reference to the Roman period).<sup>26</sup> However as will be shown within this study, this ‘myth’ began to form, and its potency was felt, almost immediately after the Persian army had been repelled from Greece. The Persian Wars are just such an example of a foundational event in Greek history and provide an ideal example to carry out this project’s aims.

### **1.4 Why these Project Aims?**

The initial aim of this thesis is to bring the commemorative monuments together with the physical landscape and to re-join object and context. For the purpose of this study a ‘monument’ is understood to include both physical and behavioural commemorations (for a definition see chapter section 4.2). Many of the physical

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<sup>25</sup> Steinbock 2013: 7.

<sup>26</sup> Alcock 2002: 74.

objects which commemorated the Persian Wars have been lost and archaeological evidence of behavioural commemorations is often scant and so we know of many of these examples only through literary sources. The physical examination of these lost objects and behavioural commemorations is therefore impossible and so it is suggested here that another method of obtaining information about the particular relevance of these objects would be to associate them once again with the commemorative places where they once were placed or enacted. The methodology devised specifically for this project and applied to the data set (see chapter 5) is a novel approach to this material. Through the application of a quantitative analysis the object and context are figuratively re-joined. In a reciprocal sense, the monument being relocated in its original context would, in turn, reveal information about the particular commemorative place; places have meaning which is derived from their histories which is in turn manifested in the material evidences of their pasts.<sup>27</sup>

The second aim of this thesis is to reveal and analyse the methods, as far as possible, by which Greeks of the fifth century BC commemorated the Persian Wars. Previous studies concerning commemorative material of the Persian Wars, and other conflicts within an ancient Greek context, have taken a more restricted approach to the data. For example, studies often focus on either individual battles,<sup>28</sup> or a particular form of monument.<sup>29</sup> Only when the focus is shifted to the totality of commemorative material

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<sup>27</sup> As expressed by Carman & Carman 2012: 105.

<sup>28</sup> Marathon: Flashar 1995, Hölkeskamp 2001, Gehrke 2003 & 2007; Thermopylae: Albertz 2006; Marathon and Plataea: Jung 2006.

<sup>29</sup> Casualty lists: Bradeen 1969, Pritchett 1985: 4.139-144; burial customs: Clairmont 1983, Kurtz & Boardman 1971; funeral orations: Loraux 2006; votive offerings: Rouse 1902; spoils: Thompson 1956;

in place of the outstanding monuments, which receive the majority of scholarly attention, can a broader understanding of the commemorative tradition emerge.<sup>30</sup> By approaching the commemorations holistically this project addresses the need for a study which adopts a more holistic approach to the commemorative tradition of the Persian Wars.

The third aim of this thesis is to ask if, and if so how, events in the present had any effect on the commemoration of the past. Memory is presented within this project as a malleable phenomenon which is a central aspect in the formation of a collective identity.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, memory is not solely about the past and is shown within this project to be affected by, and affect, events in the present. Through illustrating the malleability of memory in the classical Greek world this project will reveal the variations in memories of a single event. In doing so it will answer the call to 'think in pluralistic terms about the uses of memories to different social groups'.<sup>32</sup>

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trophies: Vanderpool 1966, West 1969; Vows: Pritchett 1979: 3.230-239; cenotaphs: Pritchett 1985: 4.257-259.

<sup>30</sup> As noted by Snodgrass 1980: 13.

<sup>31</sup> Winter & Sivan 1999: 26; Low & Oliver 2012: 5; Gehrke 2010: 16.

<sup>32</sup> Burke 1989: 107; see also Alcock 2002: 18.

## 1.5 Key Themes: Memory and Place

### 1.5.1 Why these Themes?

This project focusses on how the past is commemorated, understood, and used in the past with particular reference to a specific period in ancient Greek history. However, it aims to move beyond a study of ancient Greek history and employs contemporary theories of memory; it is understood here that history and memory can be differentiated (see chapter section 2.4). By studying the role of memory in the past, we are able to gain a clearer picture of the self-understandings of particular peoples and as a result we gain a more detailed understanding of their world. Furthermore, studies of memory in the past make it possible for us to see how particular choices that were made relate to past people's own understandings of the past.<sup>33</sup>

The places at which commemorations of the Persian Wars were constructed and enacted are central to the understanding of the Persian War commemorative tradition as a whole. Particular groups selected particular places at which to commemorate particular aspects of the conflict using a carefully selected form of monument. The commemorative place and form of commemoration are therefore interlinked. The relationship between people and places, which in this project's case is manifested through constructed and enacted monuments, is perspectival.<sup>34</sup> Therefore studies in

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<sup>33</sup> Price 2012: 16.

<sup>34</sup> Tilley 1994: 26; Smith & Waterton 2009: 34.

theories of place will assist in demonstrating the multiplicity of relationships between a variety of social groups and commemorative places.

### 1.5.2 What is Memory?

‘[S]ocial groups do share memories (if not in lockstep and not to the exclusion of all else)’ and so I present memory in this project as a collective and social phenomenon.<sup>35</sup>

For discussion of the current literature on memory theory see chapter 2 and for an explanation of why I have selected to use theories of memory in this project see chapter 3. While accepting that memory is primarily an individual faculty, the term can also be used to express recollections on social and cultural levels. Memory, therefore, can be addressed on a two-fold basis: social (collective) and neural (individual).<sup>36</sup>

When discussing memory within the social or cultural framework, memory is represented as reciprocal by nature. Memory depends on socialisation and communication to survive and be perpetuated. Conversely, memory enables humans to live within social and cultural groupings which aid the construction of memory.<sup>37</sup>

Memory is formed through societal relations and, thus, only exists because of, and through, interactions with peoples and things. The meaning attributed to the individual’s behaviour and that of the surrounding group dictates the way in which people act. The meaning is attributed through the conventions of the community in

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<sup>35</sup> Alcock 2002: 15.

<sup>36</sup> See *Introduction* in Assmann, J. 2006.

<sup>37</sup> Assmann, J. 2010: 109; See also Assmann, J. 2006: 170

which the individual and group reside. Thus, the group act in accordance with the conventions of the group and it is within this group that memory, intelligence, and identity are learned and constructed. Individual memory, therefore, is constructed socially. Each individual who remembers the past constructs the recollection according to the community conventions and in doing so holds a fragment of the community's collective remembrance.<sup>38</sup>

There is a marked difference between individual recollection of the past and the collective recollection. Individual temperaments (and personality types) are solely relevant to individual recollection. For example, during the re-forming or re-structuring of an original memory which takes place in the re-telling of the memory, motives, thoughts and details are added which are based on our current and individual understanding of the world.<sup>39</sup> The collective memory of a society is based on the memories of its individual members but is essentially different from the sum of individual thoughts about the past.<sup>40</sup> The gap between the individual and the collective procedures of collective memory produces two contrasting depictions of culture.<sup>41</sup> The individual process of collective memory sees culture as a category of meanings within people's minds. The collective process, on the other hand, sees culture as symbols in the public realm which means they are publicly accessible. Collective memory is kept alive through the interaction by individual people and is presented in this project as

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<sup>38</sup> Marcel and Mucchielli 2010: 142-3. This article presents the ideas on collective memory of Maurice Halbwachs.

<sup>39</sup> Steinbock 2013: 11.

<sup>40</sup> Steinbock 2013: 9-10.

<sup>41</sup> Olick 1999: 336.



‘the shared remembrances of group experience’.<sup>42</sup> Only memories that are deemed important enough to repeatedly share survive; thus both relevance and communication are vital to the survival of collective memory.<sup>43</sup>

In order to avoid collective memory being presented as a ‘unified and collective consciousness’ this project will emphasise the existence of multiple ‘memory communities’ which are at work simultaneously and, not always, co-operatively.<sup>44</sup> The politically independent city-states (see definitions below) are presented, within this project generally (see chapter section 6.1 particularly), as mnemonic sub-groups within the wider Greek community. Each of these city-states derives its group identity from its individual past and experiences (both past and present) enabling each group to form and transmit its own social memory. It is possible for the collective memory to change over time; as group members change or modern concerns replace past concerns, collective memory is continually reinterpreted to fit the new situation. In addition to remoulding existing collective memories, new memories can develop which provide group members with relevant ‘anchorage’ to exist within the social environment of the time.<sup>45</sup> Memory on a collective scale is understood, and presented in this project, as a dynamic concept which can consist of a remoulded version of the past or a modern creation based on past events to suit the needs of the present. Either way, however memory is created, negotiated, or used it is understood to be a very powerful method of message transmission.

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<sup>42</sup> Alcock 2002: v.

<sup>43</sup> Steinbock 2013: 10.

<sup>44</sup> For memory communities see Steinbock 2013: 12, Alcock 2002: 15, and Burke 1989: 107.

<sup>45</sup> Marcel and Mucchielli 2010: 148.

### 1.5.3 What is Place?

I refer to landscapes when I reference an area in general, but a landscape may contain many 'places'. Landscape is understood here to describe geographical space on a broad scale. Landscape has been defined by the European Landscape Convention as 'an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors.'<sup>46</sup> Landscape is a construct that is composed of, and open to, multiple ways of understanding and appreciation. Places, on the other hand, (as mentioned below in chapter section 6.2) are spaces, within certain landscapes, that are imbued with meaning. Different groups within the same society may understand specific places in different ways and therefore I understand the relationship between people and place to be perspectival.<sup>47</sup> The meanings attributed to the landscape, or more specifically the places within the landscape, are not fixed. As will be discussed throughout this project, in the same way that monuments are interpreted and reinterpreted over time, place is also fluid and changeable in the ways that it is understood and interacted with over time.<sup>48</sup>

While the landscape is understood here to represent geographical space on the broadest scale, place is utilised here to denote space imbued with meaning. Therefore place is considered an area which may be demarcated from the surrounding space,

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<sup>46</sup> Referenced in Turner & Fairclough 2007: 121; see also Schofield 2005: 43.

<sup>47</sup> Tilley 1994: 26.

<sup>48</sup> Alcock 2002: 31.

and is (or was) marked with a monument, or was once the focal point of some form of repetitive behavioural interaction.<sup>49</sup> For the purpose of carrying out a study on the commemorations of the Persian Wars and the places at which they were constructed and enacted, these places have been divided by type: 'battlefield', 'urban centre', 'pan-Hellenic sanctuary', and 'other'. These specific groups are defined within this project as 'site types', are understood to be distinct commemorative places within the broader landscape, and are defined in chapter 4. The concept of the site, it has been noted, represents two different phenomena.<sup>50</sup> The site may represent the focal point for activity in the past while the site may also represent the focal point for attention in the present. This project is primarily concerned with particular site types (as a collection of places) and how they were interacted with in the past. In general these site types are classified as collections of places rather than landscapes because, for the purpose of this study, they are approached as bounded (see chapter 3 for expansion).<sup>51</sup> In contrast to the site types mentioned here, landscapes in general are more difficult to define and I follow Carman and Carman who state that landscapes 'are not bounded except by the barriers to human vision represented by the curvature of the earth, atmospheric conditions, and the position of obstacles opaque to light.'<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> 'Place' here has certain similarities to how 'sites' have been defined; for a discussion of the legal understanding of 'site' see Carman 1999: 22-24.

<sup>50</sup> Outlined in Carman & Carman 2006a: 9-10.

<sup>51</sup> See Carman & Carman 2006a: 10; see also Carman 2002: 35-36.

<sup>52</sup> Carman & Carman 2006a: 10.

## 1.6 Commemorative Groups

The Persian Wars were commemorated collectively and the ancient Greek commemorative community may be divided into three distinct commemorative collectives which are represented in this project's data set: the *polis*, the Amphictyonic League, and the pan-Hellenic. These collectives varied in size and structure, the *polis* was the smallest collective and represents a single city-state, the Amphictyonic League represents a select collection of city-states, and the pan-Hellenic represents (ideally, at least) the ancient Greek community at large. For the purpose of constructing this project's data set each collective is treated as equal without emphasis being given to the size of the collectives, for example. Definitions of each of these collectives will be offered in turn below.

### 1.6.1 The *Polis*

In order to define a group who collectively commemorate the Persian Wars, I regard the *polis* as a state. It is necessary to follow the definition of the *polis* as a state because this project analyses commemorations from individual *poleis* that clearly differentiate themselves from each other. The inhabitants of Greek *poleis* would have shared their ethnic identity (language, culture, history and religion) with neighbouring

Greek *poleis*.<sup>53</sup> However, the sense of political identity was focussed on the individual *polis*, and therefore differentiated any *polis* from its neighbours.<sup>54</sup>

The basic definition which I follow in regarding the *polis* as a state is the city-state as ‘a centralized authority with administrative and judicial institutions, along with cleavages of wealth, privilege, and status, which correspond to the distribution of power and authority’.<sup>55</sup> In following this definition the ‘centralised authority’, in using the ‘cleavages of wealth’, would be able to construct monuments in representation of the collective. In modern day terminology we refer to states in the singular e.g. France, America, China, while ancient Greeks referred to the *polis* in the plural e.g. the Athenians, or the Corinthians.<sup>56</sup> The focus was therefore primarily on the collective. Due to the fact that this project is concerned with public monuments I do not intend to define who, out of those living in the city, is considered ‘of the collective’; the *polis* is the smallest denominator of dedicator to be analysed. Private commemorations, for example the epitaph raised at Thermopylae by Simonides for the seer Magistias, will not be included in the data set.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> As defined by Hansen 2006: 64; *contra* Berent (1996) who argues that the Greek *polis* was not a state; See also Hall 2013: 10-11 for further references on this debate.

<sup>54</sup> Hansen 2006: 64; see also Hansen & Nielsen 2004: 128-129.

<sup>55</sup> Hall 2013: 11.

<sup>56</sup> Strauss 2013: 23.

<sup>57</sup> See Hdts. 7.228.4.

### 1.6.2 The Delphic Amphictyony

The word 'amphictyon' is derived from the Greek *ἀμφί*: 'around' and *κτίζειν*: 'dwell' and is therefore generally understood to refer to those people who dwell around.<sup>58</sup> The term 'amphictyony' was initially intended to refer to the Anthela and Delphic League. Only later was this terminology applied to other leagues of city-states. The term, however, was used quite rarely and no specific typology of an amphictyony can be derived from the ancient sources.<sup>59</sup> By the fourth century BC the views of Amphictyonic leagues was that they were based heavily on spatial organisation.<sup>60</sup> This prerequisite of residing in a similar geographical area took precedence over other forms of bonds, for example ethnic bonds. A league's sanctuaries, as cultic centres, acted as predetermined and accepted sites to come together and interact. An Amphictyonic League, from its beginning 'was not only a cultic league; at the same time it was an early interstate league.'<sup>61</sup> An Amphictyonic League, therefore, was a creation of an area which enabled the interaction of a number of city-states and without the necessity of tribal or ethnic links, the included members were politically independent.<sup>62</sup>

Amphictyonic leagues were a particular phenomenon of early Greek history. They were an

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<sup>58</sup> *OCD*: 73 'amphictiony'; see also Funke 2013: 452.

<sup>59</sup> Funke 2013: 454.

<sup>60</sup> Anaximenes of Lampsakus: *FGrH* no.72, F.2; Androtion of Athens: *FGrH* no.324, F.58 which cites Paus. 10.8.1.

<sup>61</sup> Funke 2013: 454.

<sup>62</sup> Funke 2013: 462-463.

attempt to overcome the fragmentation of the Greek system of developing city-states as early as the Dark Ages and the Archaic period.<sup>63</sup>

This project is concerned solely with the Delphic Amphictyony because this group of communities were the only league to commemorate the Persian Wars as a distinct amphictyony. The Delphic Amphictyony can probably be dated back to the eighth century BC when a group of independent, neighbouring tribes formed a league who based their cultic centre initially at the sanctuary of Demeter at Anthela in the region of Malis, near Thermopylae.<sup>64</sup> Over an undetermined period of time Delphi (as a *polis*) became encompassed within this league and the Delphic sanctuary rose to greater fame than the sanctuary at Anthela and as a result also became one of the league's cultic centres.<sup>65</sup>

The aims of the Delphic Amphictyony may be understood as both religious and political; '[w]e find it true here, as always in Greece, that to make an absolute separation between the spheres of religion and politics does violence to the facts.'<sup>66</sup> We learn from Strabo, who is albeit a late source (early first century AD), that the Amphictyony was responsible for both the control of the temple and to deliberate over common affairs.<sup>67</sup> In fact, the earliest evidence available for the Amphictyonic League's responsibility for repairs at the Delphi sanctuary was Herodotus' account of the

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<sup>63</sup> Funke 2013: 463.

<sup>64</sup> Funke 2013: 453; for the sanctuary of Demeter at Anthela as the original assembly place see Hdts. 7.200.2 and Soph. *Trachiniae* 638-639.

<sup>65</sup> Funke 2013: 453.

<sup>66</sup> Ehrenberg 1969: 109.

<sup>67</sup> Strabo 9.3.7.

rebuilding of the temple of Apollo after the fire of 548 BC.<sup>68</sup> With regard to the Persian Wars, the 'common affairs' closely link with the spatial organisation of its members. For example, as will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5, the Amphictyons were particularly active in both commemorating the battle of Thermopylae, which was within their territory, and commemorating at Delphi. The 'current affairs' would also relate to upholding rules of behaviour between city-states.<sup>69</sup> Incidentally, again with relevance to the Persian Wars the League announced a bounty for the capture of Ephialtes (a Malian, of whom were members of the Amphictyony), who guided the Persians around to the Spartan rear at Thermopylae. Again, this interest in Thermopylae and the regional focus of the league's actions reaffirms the idea that the Amphictyonic League was particularly focussed on the immediate area of their members' territories.<sup>70</sup>

### 1.6.3 Pan-Hellenic / Pan-Hellenism

Pan-Hellenism is the idea that what the ancient Greeks had in common was more important than what divided them. This idea distinguished Greeks from others, such as 'barbarians'.<sup>71</sup> It has been stated that the idea of pan-Hellenism was fostered when Greeks began to increasingly interact with non-Greeks, particularly in the early fifth century BC during the combined Greek resistance during the Persian Wars.<sup>72</sup> The term

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<sup>68</sup> Hdts. 2.180.

<sup>69</sup> Ehrenberg 1969: 109.

<sup>70</sup> Funke 2013: 457; for the bounty on Ephialtes see Hdts. 7.213.

<sup>71</sup> *OCD*: 1075 'panhellenism'.

<sup>72</sup> *OCD*: 1075 'panhellenism'.



itself is an invention by modern scholars to describe the ‘various appeals made by the late fifth and early fourth-century BC intellectuals to foster Hellenic unity and to submerge interstate differences in a common crusade against the “eternal enemy”, Persia.’<sup>73</sup> Pan-Hellenism as a concept is difficult both to define and even detect. This is due to the wide range of ways it manifests itself throughout Greek history.<sup>74</sup> There is a general consensus among modern scholars, however, that the idea of pan-Hellenism is closely associated with both Greek identity and notions of barbarism.<sup>75</sup> As Flower states:

In modern usage “pan-Hellenism” has two distinct, but related meanings. In one sense it refers to the notion of Hellenic identity and the concomitant polarization of Greek and barbarian as generic opposites... In its other sense, panhellenism is the idea that the various Greek city-states could solve their political disputes and simultaneously enrich themselves by uniting in common cause and conquering all or part of the Persian empire.<sup>76</sup>

A true and equitable pan-Hellenism, it has been argued, was not in the interests of the states that were in the best position to foster it.<sup>77</sup> However for the purpose of this project the term ‘pan-Hellenic’, with regard to the monuments attributed to it, represents a group of Greek communities (although not wholly inclusive), bound by a

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<sup>73</sup> Hall 2002: 205.

<sup>74</sup> Mitchell 2007: xviii.

<sup>75</sup> Mitchell 2007: xviii, see also xv-xvii for further references.

<sup>76</sup> Flower 2000: 65-66.

<sup>77</sup> Hall 2002: 228.

common sense of 'Greekness' who work together (however temporarily) to celebrate a victory over an enemy (consisting of both non-Greek and Greek Persian sympathisers) after the repulsion of the Persian invasions.

## **1.7 Project Outline**

This thesis will comprise of seven chapters which address the aims of this project. Each chapter, and its content, from chapter 2 to chapter 7 will be presented below in sequence.

### **1.7.1 Contextualising Persian War Commemorations**

Chapter 2 contains a survey of existing literature relevant to this thesis. The chapter is divided into several broad topics of relevant literature which include 'memory', 'place', 'monumentalisation', 'warfare', and 'commemoration in ancient Greece'.

Collective memory is introduced here as a fluid and multifaceted concept and the literature demonstrates that city-states (as the smallest commemorating denominator in this thesis) remembering collectively, while situated within a wider 'imagined community', could have divergent memories of the same event. This chapter demonstrates the limitations of the current literature, for example studies on commemoration, more generally but not exclusively, tend to focus on Athens and Attic evidence specifically, resulting in a single-state-dominated interpretation of the

commemorative narrative.<sup>78</sup> In addition, as noted above, there is an added tendency, in modern scholarship, to categorise the commemorations by individual battle or to focus solely on a particular monument form. This thesis is intended to move beyond these restrictive spatial and thematic frameworks. This thesis offers a more holistic approach to the commemorative practices of the Persian Wars, primarily in the fifth century BC. All communities who commemorated the conflict, attested in the archaeological evidence and literary sources, and all the sites at which monuments were constructed and enacted are represented in this project.

#### 1.7.2 Approaching Places, Meanings and Uses of the Past

The purpose of chapter 3 is to outline the methods and approaches used in this project and to explain how and why they are used. Within this chapter I will explain why I have selected to use this thesis' two key approaches 'memory' and 'place' (which are defined here in chapter 1). In addition, I will outline what aspects of these approaches I utilise within this thesis to achieve the project's aims and why. This chapter also contains the methodological approach to data selection and collection, both material and literary. I will explain in chapter 3 why these two forms of evidence are separated within this thesis and how they are used in tandem. This thesis will apply a quantitative approach to the analysis of the data set in order to reveal the distribution of a range of monument types constructed at a range of site types by a range of commemorating groups. The application of a quantitative approach will be presented as a reaction to

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<sup>78</sup> As noted in Low 2003: 99. For examples see e.g. Harrison 2000, Jung 2006, Loraux 2006; see Yates 2011: 4 for further references.

the limitations of the application of a phenomenological approach to the battlefields specifically. The commemorative material raised and enacted at the battlefields of the Persian Wars is discussed in detail in the Appendix.

### 1.7.3 Monuments and Places

Chapter 4 will outline the types of monuments which were used to commemorate the Persian Wars throughout the fifth century BC and the types of places these monuments were constructed and enacted. Monuments within this chapter are grouped by typology and discussed collectively. In addition, this chapter defines what a 'monument' is understood to be within the boundaries of this thesis; both material and behavioural commemoration are included within this project's data set. To close this chapter I provide a full monument list which names the monument, highlights the battle it commemorated, the group who constructed it, and the place at which it was constructed.

### 1.7.4 Revealing Commemorative Patterns

Following on from the definition of what a 'monument' is understood to be and the outlining of monument types in chapter 4, chapter 5 is set out to quantitatively analyse the data. This method is selected because it is a novel approach to the data set and allows for the analysis of the distribution of lost physical monuments which are only attested in the literary sources.

This chapter is divided into four sections: general monument distribution, monument distribution by space and time, commemorative monopolies, and the relationship between object and site. The first section will outline the general numerical distribution of monuments by each particular place, which provides an overview of the general patterns of monument locations with regard to specific conflicts. The second section initially deals with the numerical distribution of monuments by space. To do this each of the three main site types (battlefields, pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, and urban centres) are analysed in order to see how many monuments are constructed at each site type and by which groups. Following the spatial analysis I analyse the monument distribution over time. In order to carry out this analysis I focus primarily on the commemoration of the battle of Marathon because it is possible to date the vast majority of the commemorative monuments for this battle. Furthermore, the trends highlighted in the commemorative patterns of Marathon are compared with trends visible for other battles and in the Persian War commemorative tradition more generally. The third section of the analysis addresses commemorative monopolies. By analysing the commemorations of specific groups I illustrate whether commemorative monopolies took place, and if they did at which specific commemorative sites. The fourth section in this chapter focusses on the types of monument in relation to the commemorative site. The purpose of this section, then, is to investigate whether a relationship exists between the object type and the site of commemoration.

Within chapter 5, three specific themes arise. These are site preferences, commemorative monopolies and the relationships between object and place. These three themes are then further explored in chapter 6.

#### 1.7.5 Understanding Commemorative Patterns

Chapter 6 is divided into four sections. These sections are based on individual case studies which explore the different themes raised by the quantitative analysis in chapter 5. Site preferences is dealt with over two discussion sections and deals with preferences of monument distribution over space, in 'Athens and Corinth' (chapter section 6.1), and particular forms of commemoration over time, in 'Behavioural Commemoration' (chapter section 6.2). Commemorative monopolies are dealt with in 'Fighting Alone?' (chapter section 6.3) while the relationship between object and place is discussed in 'Commemoration and Place' (chapter section 6.4).

##### 1.7.5.1 Athens and Corinth

This section of chapter 6 discusses the lack of Athenian Persian War commemorative monuments at the pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Isthmia and shows how particular places are specifically selected by specific groups at which to commemorate. Particularly, I discuss whether the Athenian tendency, according to the data set and analysis, to not dedicate at the Corinthian-run sanctuary is reflected in a general lack of Athenian interest in this site. Furthermore I will present literary and material evidence relating

to fifth century BC interstate relations between Athens and Corinth and discuss whether this degrading relationship was relevant to the lack of Athenian commemorative monuments constructed at the pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Isthmia. This evidence also serves to illustrate how changes in a community's ideological framework can alter the collective memories of earlier events.<sup>79</sup>

#### 1.7.5.2 Behavioural Commemoration

The relationship between experiencer and the place centres on action and the ensuing (physical) relationship between people and place. This chapter section focusses on behavioural commemoration and has two aims: firstly, I will see how the material evidence for the behavioural commemorations at Plataea corresponds to the literary evidence concerning the same event. The material and literary evidence will be presented chronologically to outline the continuation of (possibly changing) meaning attributed to place over time; this will illustrate how place is conflicted, complex and always in a process. Secondly, this chapter section shows that the quantitative analysis of tangible monuments (as presented in chapter 5, and more specifically in figure 5.12) is to omit a central aspect of the commemorative process: behavioural commemoration. By incorporating behavioural commemoration as a 'monument', enacted at a site of conflict, this discussion section discusses how different methods of commemoration were utilised over time.

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<sup>79</sup> See Steinbock 2013: 14.

#### 1.7.5.3 Fighting Alone?

This chapter section focusses on narratives concerning participation in the battle of Marathon. In order to illustrate how the past is created, reworked and shaped by collective remembrance I use the example of how the battle of Marathon was remembered in classical Athens, focussing particularly on the aspect of who was present and / or remembered as having been present at the battle. This discussion investigates whether narratives presented in the literary sources confirm or contradict the information that may be discerned from the quantitative analysis of the material data presented in chapter 5. In addition, I address the established theory that Plataean involvement in the Persian Wars was primarily remembered in the context of the second Persian invasion (under Xerxes).<sup>80</sup> The plausibility of this theory is examined by seeing if a quantitative analysis of the material data can offer an explanation as to why this occurred.

#### 1.7.5.4 Commemoration and Place

This section of chapter 6 focusses on the relationship between monument type and commemorative site. In order to explore this relationship I initially select the collective burials and epigrams and discuss them in relation to each other and the battlefield as a commemorative site. Following this, in order to incorporate the other two main commemorative spheres, the urban centre and the pan-Hellenic sanctuary, I turn my

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<sup>80</sup> An idea discussed in Steinbock 2013.



attention to statuary dedications. By looking at the descriptive terminology used in the literary sources when mentioning statues, I discuss the numerical dedicatory patterns in relation to the site at which these monuments are constructed.

#### 1.7.6 Conclusion

Chapter 7 draws conclusions from the thesis as a whole and addresses each of the project's aims in turn. To conclude chapter 7 I outline what further work could be undertaken due to the research carried out in the current project. Furthermore I outline how the methodology used within this thesis and the results achieved could fit into wider academic fields.

#### 1.7.7 Appendix

Each monument is verified on a case by case basis, and the confidence with which the monuments are accepted are discussed individually in the Appendix. Tables App. 1 and 2 provide a quick reference for the level of confidence attributed to each monument, based on the available evidence. In these tables the levels of confidence are depicted in three colours: green indicates a confident acceptance, amber indicates a tentative acceptance, and red indicates a cautious acceptance.

For a monument to be accepted with confidence in this project, and therefore attributed to the green category, its existence, probable dating, and commemorative

focus would have to be secure. This information may be gathered in a number of ways: near contemporary literary evidence may be supported by archaeological evidence, dateable archaeological evidence may be supported by literary evidence (varying in date), near contemporary literary sources may be supported by later literary sources, or later literary sources may be deemed reliable based on how the reported monument fits in to the general commemorative practices of the fifth century BC. While each monument is treated individually, monuments reported solely by Herodotus are generally included in the green category (see chapter section 3.4.2.1 on the reliability of Herodotus).

For a monument to be accepted tentatively, and therefore attributed to the amber category, uncertainties concerning the date, form, commemorative focus and even existence result from the more limited evidence. These uncertainties may be products of combinations of sources of evidence: multiple literary sources (of varying date) may conflict in their reports; near contemporary, or late, literary evidence may not explicitly associate a monument with the Persian Wars; fragmentary archaeological evidence may lead to multiple, yet credible, interpretations of the evidence; due to the reliance on late literary references for some monuments, reliable dating can often be difficult to achieve.

For a monument to be attributed to the red category, the evidence is accepted with caution. The uncertainties in this category are similar to those of the amber category but more acute, and concern unclear locations, uncertain dating, questionable

connection to the Persian Wars, and even doubtful existence. These uncertainties are often the result of scant evidence: monuments may be mentioned in a single late literary source, with a lack of all other forms of evidence; multiple late literary sources may conflict in their reports; modern interpretations of archaeological material may be made which is unsupported by near contemporary, or other, literary evidence.

For further discussion on the confidence attributed to the data set, including ancient, antiquarian, modern references, and the presentation of the archaeological evidence for each example (where possible), see App. no's. 1-105.

## **1.8 Conclusion**

Collective memory is presented here as a dynamic concept which can be moulded to suit the needs of the present. The collective remembrance of past conflicts is enabled both by public monumentalisation and communal commemorative activities. This project will show that the material and behavioural commemorative monuments are inextricably linked with place and are constructed and enacted at specific commemorative arenas within the wider landscape. The differentiation of distinct commemorative groups illustrates how the past is commemorated by different groups at different places in different ways. Furthermore, this thesis will illustrate that varied, inter and intra group, narratives of the same event may occur concurrently.

This thesis will continue with a survey of the current literature relevant to this project.

## **Chapter 2: CONTEXTUALISING PERSIAN WAR COMMEMORATIONS**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter will provide a context within current scholarship for this project. In order to provide a scholarly context I will present and critique modern literature which, in turn, will reveal gaps that this thesis aims to fill.

This chapter is divided into seven sections, each addressing the literature of relevant areas of scholarship. I begin, in 2.2, by outlining one of this project's main themes: memory. Within this section I clarify how my understanding of collective memory fits in with, and is influenced by, the current literature. Section 2.3 focusses on how memory is transmitted. Within this section I highlight the temporal restrictions of recent studies of memory transmission within an ancient Greek context. To close the broad topic of memory, using current literature, I differentiate memory from history in 2.4. Section 2.5 shows how my understanding of place fits in with, and is influenced by, the current literature. In addition I demonstrate how battlefields as a site type which sit within the broader landscape are under-represented in studies on commemoration. Monuments are central to this project as methods of transmitting collective memory and so section 2.6 reviews the literature on the practice of monumentalisation. This section presents a broad definition of monuments and how they are used, over a range of time periods and places; here I explain how these definitions are used within this project in relation to fifth century BC Greece. Following this I turn to warfare

specifically and show, in 2.7, how the current project differs from and complements the recent scholarship on the Persian Wars and their reception in the ancient world. To close this chapter in 2.8, prior to the chapter's conclusion, I survey the relevant scholarship on commemoration in ancient Greece itself. Within this section I critique the literature and highlight some limitations of current areas of research which this project will expand upon. Within this chapter I outline what relevant literature is adapted and used within this project and how this thesis can contribute to knowledge of the Persian Wars and its commemorations within the ancient world, particularly the fifth century BC.

## **2.2 Memory**

### **2.2.1 Collective Memory**

In the 1920s Halbwachs argued that collective memory shaped the individual's memory thus affecting the way in which individuals view and relate to the present.<sup>81</sup> Halbwachs' fundamental contribution to the study of social memory was to establish a connection between collective memory and the social group.<sup>82</sup> This project is concerned with how particular groups recalled and created versions of a past conflict and so I consider Halbwachs' work as a starting point in understanding collective memory.

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<sup>81</sup> See Halbwachs [1926] 1992.

<sup>82</sup> See Misztal 2003: 51.

For Halbwachs, an individual memory can only be understood by connecting the individual to the multiple groups to which they are simultaneously a member.<sup>83</sup> Halbwachs acknowledges that the individual does the remembering but the formation of those individual memories is shaped by collective influences.<sup>84</sup> Memories of the past are presented as adapted, depending on circumstances in the present. The individualist perspective is rejected by Halbwachs and memories are therefore situated within social frameworks.<sup>85</sup>

The discourse of memory studies has developed greatly over the last thirty years. Today collective memory is generally presented as an interwoven mesh of individual memories and 'it is through this remembrance that human societies develop consciousness as to their identity'.<sup>86</sup> Samuel argues that memory is an active, shaping force rather than merely a storage system.<sup>87</sup> This project approaches memory certainly as an active phenomenon, however collective memory is formed by the group and is therefore subject to the will of the group. This means that certain memories may be archived (placed in cognitive storage) and may be recalled when wished to be made relevant. This point is exemplified in chapter section 6.1 with a discussion on the Athenian retrieval of Athenian narratives concerning Corinthian conduct at the battle of Salamis. Thus, memory is not handed down from the past to the present but consists of patterns of current cognition. Knowledge of the past dictates how we

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<sup>83</sup> Halbwachs [1926] 1992: 53.

<sup>84</sup> Halbwachs [1926] 1950: 44.

<sup>85</sup> For critiques of Halbwachs' work see Misztal 2003: 54-56; Funkenstein 1993: 8-9; Connerton 1989: 36-40.

<sup>86</sup> Winter & Sivan 1999: 26; quoted in Low & Oliver 2012: 5.

<sup>87</sup> Samuel 1994: x; cf. Fentress & Wickham 1992: 1-8.

experience the present. A reciprocal relationship exists here; factors in the present distort the past, but past factors also distort the present.<sup>88</sup>

### 2.2.2 Collective Memory and the Individual

To discuss memory as a collective phenomenon it must be acknowledged that only the individual can remember and collective memories are products of the singular members of a particular community, as much as individual memories are products of the many larger collectives to which a person is likely to belong.<sup>89</sup> The individual has been defined as someone who is able to determine their own actions; however, to understand themselves, each person must reflect on their past as an imagined continuity of the self.<sup>90</sup> Thomas also discusses how an individual relates to the collective and presents the individual as being enmeshed within a series of public events stretching back through time, which are constantly reworked in the present. Emphasising the purely public persona of the individual in this way places the individual at the mercy of social context and cultural tradition.<sup>91</sup> There are intrinsic links between the individual and the collective and, therefore, I follow Bastide and understand collective memory to be a process of exchange;<sup>92</sup> an individual contributes their memories from which a collective memory is formed.

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<sup>88</sup> Farrell 1997: 375; Connerton 1989: 2.

<sup>89</sup> Halbwachs [1926] 1992: 53; Halbwachs [1926] 1950: 44; Yates 2011: 13.

<sup>90</sup> Weissberg 1999: 9.

<sup>91</sup> Thomas 1996: 53-54.

<sup>92</sup> Bastide 1978: 27-29.

Burke, while focussing on contentious uses of memory between classes, notes that it is important to think plurally about the uses of memory by different social groups.<sup>93</sup> The plurality of uses of the past is a concurrent theme which runs through this project. For example, in chapter 5 commemorations of the Persian Wars are presented, and organised according to individual *poleis* and monument type. By illustrating the distribution of monuments quantitatively over a range of site types it is possible to show the variety of commemorative methods undertaken by multiple social groups at a range of site types. The variety shows that in the classical period there was a definite plurality in collective commemorative processes. Furthermore, in chapters 6.1 and 6.3 I discuss the plurality in specific narratives of the Persian War, between Athens and Corinth at Salamis and Athens and Plataea at Marathon respectively.

Social groups have been described as ‘intentional units’ because a group’s identity is determined by the collective’s self-categorisation of which an individual is a part.<sup>94</sup> Personal identity is formed through the locating of oneself within a particular past which has been made meaningful in relation to history.<sup>95</sup> This focus on identity usefully highlights the political and psychological value of collective memories.<sup>96</sup> No group can exist for long, or perpetuate itself, without an established knowledge of its own collective past. If a new group is formed and naturally possesses no traditions, then

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<sup>93</sup> Burke 1989: 107; see also Alcock 2002: 18.

<sup>94</sup> Gehrke 2010: 16.

<sup>95</sup> Prager 2001: 2223; see also Zerubavel 1996: 290.

<sup>96</sup> Kansteiner 2002: 184.



traditions must be invented. This is a social process required by a group in the present requiring a history for the purpose of forming a collective identity.<sup>97</sup>

### 2.2.3 Memory and Culture

It has been argued that collective memory, as with individual memory, requires a culturally provided narrative which 'codes' the past so as to make it meaningful and relevant in the present.<sup>98</sup> Geertz conceives culture as semiotic; the socially constructed signs which make up culture surround humans in 'webs of significance'.<sup>99</sup> Culture is participated in, rather than shared, by individuals representing 'a pool of variability from which humans can draw their responses'<sup>100</sup> and we have access to our past only through the systems or schema devised and set out by our own culture.<sup>101</sup> These definitions emphasise the collective group, and the social environment, on how the past is recalled.

Culture and memory interact on both individual and social levels. Just as individual memories are moulded by socio-cultural factors, a memory that is represented on a social level by media and institutions must be actualised by individuals.<sup>102</sup> Without these actualisations the media by which memory is transformed would be either meaningless physical material or unsustainable communal practices due to a lack of

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<sup>97</sup> Prager 2001: 2224.

<sup>98</sup> Prager (2001: 2225) writes of collective memory relying on narratives 'coding' the past.

<sup>99</sup> Geertz 1973: 5.

<sup>100</sup> Binford 1963: 92; see also Thomas 1996: 28.

<sup>101</sup> Burke 1989: 99.

<sup>102</sup> Erll 2010: 5.

social relevance. This project, while concerned with cultural memory expressed through materialised culture (such as monuments and rites), subscribes to the idea of culture existing in socially established structures of meaning.<sup>103</sup> Throughout this project when I refer to 'culture' I follow Thomas in intending the term to denote 'a means through which human beings carry out their actions.'<sup>104</sup> Therefore groups, or the individuals within groups, remember in accordance to the meaningful world they have created around them.

Jan Assmann has developed the idea of 'cultural memory' which develops and advances ideas originally put forward by Halbwachs.<sup>105</sup> While Assmann acknowledges the role memory plays in the binding of social collectivities, time is introduced as a factor to differentiate between different types of memory. 'Communicative memory' is described as the type of memory which binds together three or four generations of a social group whereas 'cultural memory' can bind groups across distant generations.<sup>106</sup> Social groups, in forming cultural memories about the past are effectively creating huge 'archives' of information about the past which may be accessed at any time in the present, however distant in time these points are.<sup>107</sup> Time in relation to the memory of conflict is addressed in chapter section 6.2. Within chapter section 6.2 I emphasise the importance of behavioural commemoration for the maintenance of a collective memory which would have the potential to exceed Assmann's temporal

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<sup>103</sup> Kansteiner 2002: 182.

<sup>104</sup> Thomas 1996: 28.

<sup>105</sup> See Assmann, J. 2006, 2010, 2011. It is important to note that Jan Assman's model of 'Cultural Memory' is primarily formed with ancient Egyptian culture in mind.

<sup>106</sup> Assmann, J. 2006: 7-24.

<sup>107</sup> Assmann, J. 2006: 84; see also Snyder 2009.

boundary of 'communicative memory' and make the successful transferal to 'cultural memory'.

#### 2.2.4 The Imagined Community

Memory communities are fluid entities. It is important to stress plurality when discussing 'imagined communities' as individuals are capable of participating in multiple mnemonic communities simultaneously.<sup>108</sup> Viewing these memory communities in this light goes some way to answering the criticism often expressed concerning memory on a collective scale; individuals are not rendered into automatons submissively obeying the prescribed will of the collective.<sup>109</sup> What we, as individuals, may count among our memories stretches far beyond what we have experienced ourselves. In fact, much of what we do 'remember' is provided or at least partially aided by the groups of which we are a member, for example families, communities, even nations can be counted as 'mnemonic communities'.<sup>110</sup>

Within this project, the commemorations of the Persian Wars are organised according to mnemonic communities; these are defined as commemorative groups. These collectivities range in size from *polis* to pan-Hellenic (which is effectively a collection of *poleis*). This project, in analysing the distributions of Persian War commemorative monuments, considers pan-Hellenic and city-state commemorations as equally

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<sup>108</sup> The 'imagined community' is a term coined by Anderson; see Anderson 1991: 1-7.

<sup>109</sup> Alcock 2002: 15 and n.10 for further references. For plurality and social memory see also Burke 1989: 107.

<sup>110</sup> Zerubavel 1996: 289.

‘collective’ and are both represented within the data set. Therefore, for the purpose of defining the concept of collective remembrance, I will use the general term ‘collective memory’ throughout this project.

Yates states that ‘the lines of exchange connecting the sum of individuals who could imagine themselves as Greek were so sparse that the reciprocal pressure on individual memory was in turn too weak to have any specific impact with regard to the memory of the Persian War.’<sup>111</sup> This work will support Yates’ conclusions and this is exemplified in chapter section 6.1 with examples and discussion on invented traditions on an inter-*polis* level. A given *polis* cannot be expected to have a version of the past which fits seamlessly into a larger inter-*polis* narrative. *Poleis* would spend a significant amount of resources in an attempt to assert their own individual roles in the recent victory over Persia. Similarly to Yates’ thesis, the limited extent to which the imagined community of Greeks was capable of dictating how the Persian Wars were recalled will be illustrated within this study.<sup>112</sup>

Furthermore, we cannot expect uniformity even within an imagined community as solidly established as the *polis*. Those working on supporting a particular regime of power relationships will make use of several commemorative narratives within a loose conception of history overall.<sup>113</sup> This point is exemplified in the discussion concerning

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<sup>111</sup> Yates 2011: 163.

<sup>112</sup> Yates 2011: 18-19.

<sup>113</sup> Yates 2011: 23-24.

the Athenian memories of the battle of Marathon (chapter section 6.3). Conflicting memories of the same event could exist concurrently.

Applying theories of collective memory to areas of study concerning ancient Greece is by no means a novel concept. Some of the most recent work which combines these two compatible subjects approaches the Athenian memorial framework and its influences on the decision-making processes within the *polis*.<sup>114</sup> Steinbock has examined how the past is thought of and used, particularly within the realm of Athenian public discourse in state affairs. Steinbock focusses on one exemplary case in particular - the role of Thebes in Athenian memory. This is because, to a large extent, the Athenian shared image of its past originated from experiences with other Greek and foreign communities with Thebes playing a major part in both positive and negative roles throughout the fifth and into the fourth centuries BC.<sup>115</sup> The core aims of Steinbock's study, to explore how an event was perceived, how the past was commemorated, and how memory was transmitted, are akin to the aims of this project (as presented in chapter 1).

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<sup>114</sup> Steinbock 2013: 3-4.

<sup>115</sup> Steinbock 2013: 4-5.

## 2.3 Memory Transmission

Four materially accessible media categories have been identified through which memories are constructed and observed.<sup>116</sup> These categories have been acknowledged in relation to the ancient Greek world generally. Firstly, ritual behaviour; this includes activities such as processions, religious rites or mortuary treatments. Secondly, narratives; this category comprises of textual accounts or stories transmitted orally. Thirdly, representations and objects; this includes either representations of things on other objects such as rock art or the moulding of a raw material into something else that is not intended for practical use, such as a figurine. Fourthly, places; this final category encompasses natural landscapes such as waterfalls or mountain-ranges and man-made modifications to the natural landscape such as monuments, tombs, and shrines. To provide an adequate account of the Greek recollections of the Persian Wars in the classical period it is necessary to address three of the four media categories: ritual behaviour, purposefully constructed narratives, and places, which includes monumental modifications. As this study focusses on collective remembrance, representations and objects, as a media category, are not included in the data set. This particular media category would benefit an investigation into individual expressions of memory through personal dedications and individual monuments, for example.<sup>117</sup> However, while representations and objects do not appear in this project's data set,

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<sup>116</sup> These media categories have been outlined by Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 4-5; see also Price 2012:17. For a slightly different set of transmission methods see Burke 1989: 100-105.

<sup>117</sup> See Price 2012: 17-20 for examples.

this media category (in the form of ceramic ware) is utilised to support suggested conclusions drawn from the analysis of the data (see chapter section 6.1).

### 2.3.1 Ritual Behaviour

Performance is widely accepted to be central for the conveyance of knowledge of the past on a collective scale; collective memory is to be found in the performance of commemorative ceremonies featuring habitual bodily automatisms.<sup>118</sup> However, Assmann notes that 'connective' memory rituals contain a counter-factual element.<sup>119</sup> Ritual practice in this sense is the integration of something alien (be it sacred or heroic) or distant in time that cannot be maintained in the regular fabric of social life. Rituals dramatise the interplay between what is corporeal and what is symbolic.<sup>120</sup> In this sense, physical participation is utilised as an essential tool to connect to a meaning that exceeds the physical and the immediate. Collective memory and collective identity are phenomena which exist outside of the physical and immediate. It is the coming together and being-in-the-place together that allows a group to acquire a part of or (re)stimulate a collective memory that is otherwise perpetuated by 'specialised carriers';<sup>121</sup> events such as festivals and commemorative anniversaries allow for ritual repetition to embed coherence.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Connerton 1989: 5, see also Stone 2010: 25.

<sup>119</sup> Assmann, J. 2006:10.

<sup>120</sup> Assmann, J. 2006: 10.

<sup>121</sup> Assmann states that cultural memory is disseminated by 'specialised carriers of memory' (2010: 117).

<sup>122</sup> Assmann, J. 2006: 39.

Scholarly discussion of the integration of a past conflict and ritual practice into contemporary society, within an ancient Greek context, has focussed primarily on the Hellenistic period.<sup>123</sup> Throughout this period, much commemorative emphasis was given to prominent individuals, which has been interpreted as the projection of an individual identity over that of the collective.<sup>124</sup> The method of memory transmission and the symbolism utilised is in constant negotiation with the social temperament of the time; the present social order can often be seen to be legitimated by images of the past.<sup>125</sup> This project will incorporate behavioural commemoration as a method of collectively recalling the past in the classical period. Behavioural commemoration is dealt with, specifically, in chapter section 6.2 with a discussion on the importance of acknowledging this form of remembrance which is often less visible in the archaeological record.

### 2.3.2 Narratives

Narratives may be disseminated in a number of ways such as through writing in literary sources, through inscribed monuments, and through the oral tradition.

Writing is an act of memory, and literature has an affinity with the ancient art of 'mnemotechnics'.<sup>126</sup> Literature can be seen as a medium in which a culture's memory is projected. According to Assmann, only with the advent of writing can cultural

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<sup>123</sup> Rice 1993; Chaniotis 2005.

<sup>124</sup> Chaniotis 2005: 242.

<sup>125</sup> Connerton 1989: 3.

<sup>126</sup> Yates 1966: 4.



memory occur, enabling communication to take on an independent existence, and allowing memory to exist beyond the limitations of time.<sup>127</sup> The creation of this form of communication connects groups with one shared collective past and enables re-connection over a greater time-frame. An individual's memory space is constituted by the past to which the individual is connected and it may be possible to have multiple memory spaces for any one individual. Within these social groups that both store and disseminate collective memory through writing, handed down meaning must be archived. The vast quantity of knowledge cannot be used at one time and so the memory banks swell with potential mnemonic matter. While written texts are referred to throughout this project, they are used in tandem with commemorative data for two purposes. Firstly, literary evidence is used to verify the identification of the material data (see chapter 4 and discussion in the Appendix on each individual monument). Secondly, literary evidence is used to provide the context against which the material evidence is assessed and evaluated (see particularly chapter 6, but also the discussion in the Appendix on each individual monument).

A text does not necessarily have to be literary, however. For example, texts are inscribed onto monuments in the form of epitaphs or epigrams. These material objects inscribed with text are represented within this project's data set. The object itself can become symbolically potent and be interpreted independently from the text.<sup>128</sup> The inscribed stele, in the fifth century BC, had the potential to stand as a 'talisman',

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<sup>127</sup> Assmann, J. 2006: 21; Assmann, J. 2011: 8.

<sup>128</sup> Thomas 1989: 51.

independent of the inscription.<sup>129</sup> This phenomenon is expanded upon in chapter section 6.4 with a discussion on the relationship between inscriptions and the battlefield.

Since the invention of writing, oral contact between the memory originator and the subsequent memory retrievers is not essential; the invention of writing enables the collective store of memory to expand beyond the sphere of personal knowledge.<sup>130</sup> Within this project I focus primarily on constructed and enacted commemorations which take place at specific places. In chapter 5, the data set is divided by specific site types and so narratives which are disseminated orally have a less tangible relationship with a specific place and therefore are not included here (for an explanation of the material data selection see chapter section 3.4.1).

### 2.3.3 Places

A place has been assessed and analysed on two levels: the aesthetic and the semiotic.<sup>131</sup> The division between the two modes of analysis is dependent on how the place is interpreted. That is, an aesthetic analysis infers that the place is pleasurable for its own sake, while a semiotic analysis will take the place to be a sign of something else. For example in relation to conflict, a field might initially be aesthetically pleasing. However, once a battle is fought within a particular space, that space becomes

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<sup>129</sup> See Steiner 1994: 64-71.

<sup>130</sup> Zerubavel 1996: 291.

<sup>131</sup> Winter (2010: 67) labels specific meaningful spaces as 'sites'.

representative to multiple groups (as either a place of victory, defeat, shame, emancipation for example) as each group divides up space in order to frame, and enable the retrieval of, their remembrance.<sup>132</sup>

‘Sites of memory’ can be arguably impersonal places where people remember the memories of others and which arise through the need of people in the present to connect with the past.<sup>133</sup> Continued and regular activity is crucial to ensuring the survival of memory and sites of memory need to be engaged with to ensure the collective expression of shared knowledge continues.<sup>134</sup> Memory becomes an allegory for the creation of narratives about the past. If there is no need to recall the past, the sites of memory will fade due to a lack of commemorative social practice resulting in the place devolving into space once again; we understand our past only in relation to how it is preserved by our physical surroundings.<sup>135</sup> What we see here is, after a peak in the relevance of the place usually brought about through interaction, a uniform decline of the meaning of place.<sup>136</sup> Or put another way, the loss of the memory which makes the place relevant from within the cultural framework. Authors such as Winter and Schofield are concerned with modern warfare whereas this thesis is concerned with commemorations of conflict in the ancient world. Generalisations cannot, and will not, be made between these two differing time periods and theories and conclusions drawn for the modern world, for example, should not be blindly attributed to the

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<sup>132</sup> Halbwachs [1926] 1950: 235.

<sup>133</sup> Nora 1989; Winter 2010: 62.

<sup>134</sup> Winter 2010: 61.

<sup>135</sup> Halbwachs [1926] 1950: 235.

<sup>136</sup> Winter 2010: 61. Also see Schofield 2005: 85, for a visual representation of this phenomenon.

ancient world. However, as illustrated in chapter section 6.2, certain similarities in the value of place over time may be drawn between the ancient and modern worlds.

#### 2.3.4 An Accessible Past or an Intrusive Past?

The topic of collective memory has given rise to much conflicting literature concerning the relationship between the past and the present; how the present influences the reconstruction of the past and, conversely, how the past affects the present.

The neo-Durkheimian framework is characterised by Prager where the past is understood as a symbolic resource utilised, for example, to reduce strains felt by the collective in the present.<sup>137</sup> This sociological interpretation emphasises the role of the present in the construction of the past which is utilised as a resource for the creation of a communal identity.<sup>138</sup> Following this school of thought, collective memory is understood as a complex process which acts to strengthen bonding ties between individuals within the collective; memory is embedded in mnemonic communities.<sup>139</sup> For memory to be embedded is to be constituted and altered in response to social processes experienced by the collective in the present. The collective consciousness is strengthened by a unified knowledge of the past. However, it has been argued that even if the past is recalled willingly, for a collective to have divergent memories of the

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<sup>137</sup> Prager 2001: 2223.

<sup>138</sup> Steinbock 2013: 18.

<sup>139</sup> See Zerubavel 1996.

past would instigate social disunity and would threaten collective solidarity.<sup>140</sup> The neo-Freudian perspective, on the other hand, is taken by those who view the past as an unavoidable intrusion on the present.<sup>141</sup> Collective memory here is the source of challenges facing a collective in the present and can be seen as to impede healthy post-traumatic group formation.

The difference between these two frameworks is the way in which the past is recalled and the effect it has on those living in the present. For the neo-Durkheimians the past finds expression in the present and is utilised willingly, whereas for the neo-Freudians the trauma dictates that the past survives as if it were the present which can have a negative sociological effect in the present.<sup>142</sup>

This project subscribes primarily to the neo-Durkheimian framework, that is with emphasis on the present in the (re)formulation of the past (see chapter sections 6.1 and 6.3). However, I agree with Steinbock that although neo-Durkheimians (for example Halbwachs, Fentress, and Wickham) have contributed much to theorising memory, the past may not be thought of as entirely at the disposal of the present; ‘memory cannot completely override history’.<sup>143</sup> Furthermore I will illustrate that divergent memories of the past within a social group (such as an ancient Greek city-state) would not necessarily instigate social disunity (see chapter section 6.3).

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<sup>140</sup> See also Connerton 1989: 3.

<sup>141</sup> See Prager 2001; Misztal 2003: 139-145.

<sup>142</sup> Prager 2001: 2225.

<sup>143</sup> Steinbock 2013: 18.

## 2.4 History and Memory

Memory is distinguishable from history.<sup>144</sup> 'History' as a discipline has been shaken by the emergence of 'Memory' as a research topic. The essence behind memory is that it questions the existence of an irrefutable, objective truth. Even first-hand, eye-witness accounts can be questioned under the guise of memory, as experience in no way guarantees the truth; subjectivity and emotion can be said to influence personal viewpoints of the same historic event.<sup>145</sup> History has been equated with knowledge of the past.<sup>146</sup> However, this is doubtless an oversimplification that is contradicted in historical scholarship.<sup>147</sup> Nevertheless it has been argued that knowledge has a universalist perspective and a tendency towards generalisations while memory has a local scope, in that it is more ego-central, specific to a particular group and sensitive to values.<sup>148</sup> As mentioned in chapter 1, a study of memory 'will place us closer to the mind-sets of particular peoples'.<sup>149</sup> Memory is a process of reconstruction which can sometimes bear little relation to historical fact;<sup>150</sup> in contrast to *knowing* the past, remembering always consists of *representing* past events or experiences.

To present history and memory in fundamental opposition, as Nora does by explaining memory as situating remembrance in a sacred context while history seeks purely to

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<sup>144</sup> Price 2012: 15.

<sup>145</sup> Fortunati & Lamberti 2010: 129.

<sup>146</sup> Assmann, J. 2010: 113.

<sup>147</sup> E.g. Collingwood 1994: 7-10.

<sup>148</sup> Assmann, J. 2010: 113.

<sup>149</sup> Price 2012: 16.

<sup>150</sup> Prager 2001: 2223, Kansteiner 2002: 190.

present the facts, goes too far in differentiating these two phenomena.<sup>151</sup> The definitions of memory and history offered by Nora are stark and in contrast: '[m]emory is borne of living societies...It remains in permanent evolution....History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete'.<sup>152</sup> Nora's differentiations highlight similarities rather than differences. History and memory strive for the same end, which is to access the past. In applying correspondence theory, historians, in an attempt to use every available resource to produce a version of an event which corresponds to the real thing, may (if the event is within living memory) utilise a first-hand account.<sup>153</sup> Despite memory here, arguably, privileging the interests of the present popular consciousness,<sup>154</sup> history and memory not only achieve the same end but cooperate completely.

The call has been made to dissolve the history versus memory debate in favour of studying modes of remembering.<sup>155</sup> Gehrke has coined the term 'intentional history' which is defined as the social knowledge of the past or 'that which a society knows and holds true about its past'.<sup>156</sup> Gehrke utilises the term 'history', but the idea behind 'intentional history' encompasses much of what I understand the function of collective memory to enable within a social group. For example, the 'intentional' aspect of Gehrke's term denotes the conscious self-categorisation as belonging to a specific

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<sup>151</sup> Nora 1989: 8-9; see also Halfdanarson 2006: 91-95 for an outline of Nora's approach.

<sup>152</sup> Nora 1989: 8.

<sup>153</sup> Shrimpton 1997: 80.

<sup>154</sup> Kansteiner 2002: 180.

<sup>155</sup> Erll 2010: 7.

<sup>156</sup> Gehrke 2001: 286; see also Gehrke 2010.

group.<sup>157</sup> This self-categorisation could then be projected back into the past and therefore these versions of a group's history can be seen as 'intentional'. For example, after the battle of Salamis the Athenians viewed themselves as central in the opposition to barbarity and this image was then projected backwards into the past with 'histories' of successful conflicts against Amazons and Centaurs. The Persian Wars was to become a link in a chain of events which defined the Athenians in the mythical past and continuously into the fifth century BC.<sup>158</sup>

According to Gehrke the reservoir of intentional history could be added to, altered, or re-written depending on situations, experiences and needs in the present; these additions would then have the potential to become 'truth'.<sup>159</sup> The malleability of the past is dealt with in this project. In chapter sections 6.1 and 6.3 I discuss the collective memories of the recent past and illustrate how they can be purposefully altered. Collective memories of the Persian Wars can be seen as 'potential for creative collaboration between present consciousness and the experience or expression of the past'.<sup>160</sup> Within this project then, it is argued that the past is not merely known but is continually re-constructed and re-presented. The needs of the present often dictate the need for remembering and so as the needs of the present change so does the particular memory alter. Thus, memories are susceptible to disruption, revision and reproduction.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Gehrke 2001: 298.

<sup>158</sup> Gehrke 2001: 302.

<sup>159</sup> Gehrke 2001: 306.

<sup>160</sup> Boyarin 1994: 22.

<sup>161</sup> Prager 2001: 2224.



## 2.5 Places

This project focusses on the constructed and enacted Greek commemorations of the Persian Wars. The distribution of these monuments are analysed at a number of places, which are categorised and collectively referred to as site types which are, in turn, situated within a broader landscape.

Places have histories that are evident in the experiences of them... The place has meaning because it has a history and that history is manifested in the material evidences of its past which testify to intersecting and different pasts.<sup>162</sup>

### 2.5.1 Spatial Investigations

Only recently have spatial investigations been undertaken in relation to ancient Greece, because more popular topics would often take priority. For example, spatial investigations have recently been undertaken at Delphi and Olympia but scholars until recently, while focussing on these specific places, have concentrated their efforts on topics such as oracles and games.<sup>163</sup> Up until the 1970s space was seen as a mathematical or geographical concept rather than a dynamic concept which develops

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<sup>162</sup> Carman & Carman 2012: 105.

<sup>163</sup> For Delphi and focus on the oracle: see e.g. Amandry 1950; Parke 1967; Jacquemin 1995; see also Scott 2010: 5-8; for Olympia and focus on games: see e.g. Rodenwaldt & Hege 1936: 10, 20; Yalouris 1979: 77; focus on the games is noted by Barringer 2008: 3; see also Scott 2010: 8-12.

through interaction with societies.<sup>164</sup> Although spatial investigations are now increasingly being carried out on ancient Greece they invariably focus on either religious space, or civic space.<sup>165</sup> There is a lack of analysis of spatial politics in relation to martial space because sites of conflict are often approached as places to look upon rather than places to be experienced.<sup>166</sup>

### 2.5.2 Including Battlefields

Research into battlefields has, in the past, focussed on how the place and its form relates to the action which took place there. For example Tao refers to the landscape as 'terrain' while Montgomery describes 'obstacles'.<sup>167</sup> Within an ancient Greek context, battlefields are often discussed in relation to the conflict itself and why the event took place at that specific location. For example Hanson discusses the repeated engagements in a small area in Boeotia, while Ober discusses location choice in relation to the practice of hoplite warfare.<sup>168</sup> In addition to these military historian approaches, topographical studies on battlefields have also been undertaken. The majority of the battlefields dealt with in this project (Thermopylae, Marathon, Salamis and Plataea) have been the focus of topographical studies carried out by Pritchett.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Scott 2010: 13-14, see n.49 for further references.

<sup>165</sup> Religious space: Scott 2010, Yates 2011; civic space: Shear 2011: 263-285, see n.78 for further references.

<sup>166</sup> Carman & Carman 2001: 276.

<sup>167</sup> Tao 2000: 116-123; Montgomery 1968: 307; see Carman and Carman 2006a: 18.

<sup>168</sup> Hanson 1991: 254; Ober 1991: 188.

<sup>169</sup> Pritchett 1965: Thermopylae, 1.71-82; Marathon, 1.83-93; Salamis, 1.94-102; Plataea, 1.103-121.

However, these studies were again intended to give insight into ancient military tactics.<sup>170</sup>

This project, in contrast, includes battlefields as a site type at which commemoration of warfare took place. By including this type of place in the analysis of the distribution of commemorative monuments provides a more complete impression of commemorative practices in the classical period. Investigation into landscapes of battle has been undertaken by Carman and Carman in the Bloody Meadows Project.<sup>171</sup>

The purpose of the Bloody Meadows Project is to find out if particular kinds of historic places are treated in one way, while others are treated the same or differently, and to what extent, by whom and for what purpose.<sup>172</sup> Carman and Carman, in their investigation of battle sites both ancient and historical, divide their research questions between battlefields as historic places and battlefields as heritage. These categories separate the physicality of the place and how it was interacted with on the day of conflict, and how the place was memorialised and utilised after the conflict. It has been noted that although subject to overuse, 'heritage' is still the best term to signify our dependence on the past. The term 'heritage' refines the, often complex, past into more easily understood 'icons of identity' which act to bond the present with both the past and the future.<sup>173</sup> I do not use the term 'heritage', which is a modern construction, in this project because this project is concerned with how the past was viewed in the past.

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<sup>170</sup> Pritchett 1965: 1.3.

<sup>171</sup> See Carman & Carman 2006a.

<sup>172</sup> Carman & Carman 2012: 101.

<sup>173</sup> Lowenthal 1994: 43.

In relation to how the place was used, Carman and Carman argue it is the dysfunctional behaviour (apparent mistakes) which gives clues to cultural attitudes and expectations of the battle-space which differ from our own.<sup>174</sup> Carman and Carman, for example, attribute possible ritual connotations to the deliberately slow moving of troops across the battlefield in, often stark, contrast to common sense.<sup>175</sup> While in relation to valuing place, to mark the battlefield in any way is to indicate how the place is seen in the present (or at least at the time of marking the place). Failure to mark a site can itself also constitute a statement. Historic battlefields rarely yield much of a physical legacy, the archaeology has mostly consisted of human remains buried at the site.<sup>176</sup> These forms of archaeology are generally invisible to the naked eye and so the place seems open to other forms of usage. Re-usage gives us an idea of the importance of the place over time.<sup>177</sup> This point is illustrated in chapter section 6.2 with a discussion on the value (measured by the quantity of monuments constructed and enacted at a particular place) attributed to place over time.

Battlefields are included within this project as a site type despite the fact that many of the original monuments have now either been relocated or lost. For a discussion of the difficulties in including such site types in the analysis and this project's proposed solution, see chapter section 3.4.3.

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<sup>174</sup> Carman & Carman 2012: 100.

<sup>175</sup> Carman & Carman 2012: 98.

<sup>176</sup> However, there are exceptions such as the battlefield at Bosworth; for example, see Foard & Curry 2013: esp. 99-134 for a survey of the archaeology from the Bosworth battlefield and an interpretation of the artefacts.

<sup>177</sup> Carman & Carman 2012: 103.

## 2.6 Monumentalisation

### 2.6.1 Marking the Landscape

For millennia people have had the impulse to mark the land and create symbols through monuments which possess an essence of the past and are instrumental in the mental construction of the world we live in.<sup>178</sup> Structures that sit within a landscape are tied to the place; the meaning endowed on the object is interlaced with that endowed on the landscape. Through engaging the materiality of the landscape and marking that landscape, meaningful places are constructed.<sup>179</sup>

Renfrew states that monuments constitute the natural counterpart of other features of society.<sup>180</sup> I take this to mean that monuments are the physical representation of all the otherwise intangible components of society such as emotion or attachment to place. Monuments are an optional addition to a landscape; to construct a monument a group would have to be motivated. As construction is costly in terms of either money, labour, or time, and a surplus of one, or all of these three aspects would have to be created.<sup>181</sup> Investing time, money and labour into a monument would produce a transformation in the meaning of the space in which the monument stands. Monuments could be considered, not as objects in their own right but, as instruments

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<sup>178</sup> Thomas writes of 'things', 1996: 78-79.

<sup>179</sup> Thomas 1999: 45.

<sup>180</sup> Renfrew 1973: 556.

<sup>181</sup> Thomas 1999: 35.

to transform the meaning of space.<sup>182</sup> The monument, in the same way as the experiencer, shares a reciprocal relationship with place. The context is reliant on the monument (as a tool to transform meaning) to define the essence of the place while the meaning of a monument can change depending on its context; a monument and place are therefore co-dependent. While this co-dependency may exist, monuments and place have a multiplicity of meanings. The relationships between commemorative monument and place are discussed in chapter section 6.4 where it is shown that specific forms of specific monuments are reserved for specific places.

Borg has attempted to make some generalisations regarding the meaning of monuments, based on the period of construction.<sup>183</sup> While the First World War gave rise to the greatest number of war memorials, the Second World War commemorations often reworked the earlier monument to incorporate the more recent conflict. Ancient war memorials, according to Borg, commemorate the conflict itself (especially the victory), while modern memorials are concerned with the sacrifices of conflict. Borg makes broad generalisations such as 'modern memorials derive from many of the same precepts as those from the past'.<sup>184</sup> However, it is not possible to apply generalisations with any degree of precision or success as all physical commemorative expressions of a conflict are specific to that particular event. Each case should be assessed individually in an attempt to unravel the multiple realities which are represented by any one monument constructed in any one place. This

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<sup>182</sup> Thomas 1999: 35.

<sup>183</sup> Borg 1991: x.

<sup>184</sup> Borg 1991: xi.

project focusses solely on the Persian invasions and any conclusions drawn here from the commemorative markings of landscapes are relevant to these invasions only, and may not be utilised or applied to other conflicts. For suggestions on the wider ramifications which stem from the results of this study, however, see chapter 7.

### 2.6.2 Monuments, Time and Space

Foxhall discusses the concept of the 'monumental dimension' in which monumental time is permanent.<sup>185</sup> Monuments work on a continuum of memory, for example the grave stele provokes memory but only for a few generations. Individual fame within the restrictive human time frame can be extended to existence within the monumental dimension through focussing on the commemorated deed; with the emphasis on the deed itself, accuracy plays a less important role and therefore many of the 'memories' we have inherited can be seen to have been created for posterity.<sup>186</sup>

In addition to 'time', when studying monuments 'space' should also be considered. Rodman states that places (as space endowed with meaning) are 'socially constructed'.<sup>187</sup> Furthermore, Rodman highlights that '[p]laces have multiple meanings that are constructed socially.'<sup>188</sup> Monument construction and enactment are presented in this study as ways of endowing place with meaning but interpretations of these meanings may vary; therefore both monument and place are understood here to

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<sup>185</sup> Foxhall 1995: 136.

<sup>186</sup> Foxhall 1995: 145-146.

<sup>187</sup> Rodman 1992: 641.

<sup>188</sup> Rodman 1992: 641.

be multi-layered in meaning. Both monuments and meanings are constructed in particular times and places which, in turn, are contingent on political, historical realities of the moment.<sup>189</sup> This point is exemplified in chapter sections 6.1 and 6.3 with discussions on interstate relations affecting recollections of the past and the creation and manipulation of narratives respectively.

It is possible to understand space in materialistic terms; through the habitual use of space, the human will form an element of 'technology of the self'.<sup>190</sup> This concept is exemplified within this project by assessing ancient Greek commemorative behaviour (see chapter section 6.2). Places that survive in the cultural framework contain information, which may be understood either through the interpretation of the architecture or by approaches to spatial analysis. This project will focus on the spatial distribution of monuments as opposed to interpreting the architecture due to the lack of extant physical evidence, for example see table 3.2.

The meaning of many monuments is only truly revealed when understood in terms of a study on the landscape scale. The monument can be assessed in its placement and distribution (in the case of multiple monuments) with relation to the physical landscape.<sup>191</sup> The relationship between a particular monument and the place chosen at which to commemorate is addressed in chapter section 6.4.

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<sup>189</sup> Young 2010: 80.

<sup>190</sup> Thomas 1999: 36.

<sup>191</sup> Schofield 2005: 58.



### 2.6.3 Monuments and Power

Monuments are not neutral; Thomas states that they are powers and weapons which can be used as a repressive form of social control.<sup>192</sup> To view monuments as powers and weapons is to adorn objects with agency. I agree that monuments can be utilised to gain power and be weaponised. However, it is the human interaction which enables these objects to be any more than landscape decoration. Weapons are necessarily useless tools without human intent to use them. The intent must be present to mark the landscape in the attempt to project a message but the intent to receive the message must be present also. Although meaning is often prescribed, the recipient (at least those with no autobiographical memory of the event being commemorated) of the experience has the freedom to draw any meaning they choose from an object or place. This point is illustrated in the variable interpretations of the meanings of many of the monuments in this data set, individually discussed in the Appendix.

### 2.6.4 Monuments and Meaning

Neither monument nor meaning is everlasting and as the historical and political realities change, it is possible for the experiencer's interpretation of the monument and the meaning extracted to change also. It has been argued that allowances must be made for possible layers of dissent in a monument's reception even if the

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<sup>192</sup> Thomas 1999: 36.

alternative readings are not immediately clear.<sup>193</sup> This project, which incorporates the potential contentiousness of memory, will necessarily assume plurality in the reception of monuments. Monuments which are commissioned to project a singular meaning and memory relating to complex events at a particular place can prompt a multiplicity of, perhaps, unintended interpretations. Thus the monument and the place in which it stands can become a place of competing meanings; the place can become more a site of cultural conflict than of shared national ideals and values. This idea is illustrated, in an ancient context, in Scott's work on the pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Delphi.<sup>194</sup> The contentiousness of memory is exemplified within this project in chapter section 6.1 with a discussion on varied recollections about a shared past.

In contrast to expressing conflicting narratives, Young, with reference to modern monumentalisation, claims monuments can be used to attempt to unify disparate and competing memories; the more fragmented a society becomes, the stronger the need to unify disparate experiences through monumentalisation.<sup>195</sup> In an ancient context, the inclusion of the Greek states that repelled Xerxes' invasion being inscribed on the serpent column at Delphi has been suggested as being a monument primarily to the unity of the Greek states.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Alcock 2002: 30.

<sup>194</sup> See Scott 2010; generally, there is a lack of studies concerning ancient Greek material which approach collective memory as a dynamic expression of a collective experience or as a likely cause of internal contestation (see Alcock 2002: 23; however Alcock notes that research is moving in this direction, for examples see Gehrke 2001; Higbie 1997; Price 2012).

<sup>195</sup> Young 2010: 79.

<sup>196</sup> West 1965: 87; Scott 2010: 85-86.

The intended aim and intended meaning of the monument is one thing but the result of constructing the monument can result in an altogether different reality. Once the monument is constructed and planted within a place of meaning, it is in the public realm and open to interpretation. Although the intent may be to unify, there is no fail-safe guarantee of the structure succeeding in its aims. Humans experience place and monuments through their own perspectivities and so despite the intentions of the creators, alternative readings are always possible and often unavoidable. The more fragmented a group becomes, however, the more difficult it becomes to create a suitable symbol that equally represents each fragment of the whole. To achieve equality in representation is not possible. The range of site types presented in chapter 5 each contains many monuments constructed and enacted by various groups. The multiplicity of commemorating groups is interpreted here as an effort to express and remember the efforts of particular groups. With many groups commemorating within a restricted set of site types it is inevitable that some groups will dominate the commemorative tradition. Commemorative monopolies are addressed in chapter section 6.3 with a discussion of how Athens monopolised the commemorative tradition of the battle of Marathon.

#### 2.6.5 Monuments and Memory

The preservation of memory, in addition to oral and written dissemination, can be achieved through material culture. Monuments have been said to have no use other

than to preserve the past for future generations.<sup>197</sup> Although this commemorative use enables future generation's mnemonic access to a collective past,<sup>198</sup> material objects fulfilling a sole purpose of preserving the past is over simplistic as the retrievers of memory are much more than passive receivers of these tangible links to the past. For example it has been asserted that commemorative methods of honouring the war dead such as lists of names, in classical Athens at least, may also be interpreted as a means by which performed civic duties can be recognised and further such duties encouraged.<sup>199</sup> In the same way as lists were used to denote councillors, the honorific activity precedes the commemorative message. Commemorative monuments (in relation to the war dead) then may, presumably, be seen less to do with Athenian attitudes to war than a means to perform an honorific duty.

Thomas writes of how objects are bound within the web of relations in which humans are embedded. By engaging with the world, we are necessarily operating within the relationships between people and things.<sup>200</sup> Similarly, artefacts, which include physical monuments, have been described as sociotechnic;<sup>201</sup> physical objects are imbued with meaning due to the role they play in social life.<sup>202</sup> This anthropological approach to archaeological data was developed by Binford, who explains sociotechnics as a system which functions as a means to bond individuals as a group. In addition, monuments (both physical and behavioural) represent the relationship between people, the past

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<sup>197</sup> Zerubavel 1996: 292.

<sup>198</sup> Zerubavel 1996: 292.

<sup>199</sup> Low 2010: 344.

<sup>200</sup> Thomas 1996: 20.

<sup>201</sup> See Binford 1962: 219.

<sup>202</sup> Geertz 1973: 17.

and the place. The relationship between particular monument types and the places selected to construct and enact them is discussed in chapter section 6.4.

## **2.7 Warfare**

### **2.7.1 Warfare and Political Power**

Scholarly work on ancient conflict has related warfare to political matters. For example, Hölscher strongly links military activity (with reference to war in the Roman world) with political power by defining the use of monuments, rituals and celebrations as a means of transforming the short term victory into a more durable expression of political power. Political monuments are signs of power which re-present political entities in public spaces.<sup>203</sup> Within an ancient Greek context, however, it is argued that the classes already harboured political ambitions which enabled military developments to affect political change.<sup>204</sup> I do not intend to enter the discourse on the political issues influenced by the developments in ancient Greek warfare. My aim is to illustrate how recalling warfare can affect the formation of a collective identity with reference to one conflict in particular: the Persian Wars. As we will see, these collective identities formed on the memories of conflict are often defined through the differentiation between groups. This differentiating results in multiple and varied commemorative traditions (see chapter sections 6.1 and 6.3).

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<sup>203</sup> Hölscher 2006: 27.

<sup>204</sup> van Wees 1995: 171.

### 2.7.2 Persian Wars and Reception

Scholarly work that has been published on the reception of the Persian Wars has presented the conflict as a politically seminal event, a conflict lying at the foundation of notions of Western liberty and the formation of democracy.<sup>205</sup> As an introduction to the cultural ramifications of the Persian Wars Bridges, Hall and Rhodes necessarily encompass a broad temporal framework.<sup>206</sup> However, subsequent studies within the same volume focus within more restrictive temporal and thematic frameworks. Relevant to my project is the impact of the conflict on classical Greece, and Rhodes emphasises the cultural impact of the Persian Empire specifically on the Greeks.<sup>207</sup> I believe there is room here for a study which encompasses the cultural ramifications of the Persian Wars but analysing these affects within inter-*polis* commemorative contestation in place of international friction. Research into the power of the Hellenic past has been undertaken by Alcock; within Alcock's study, among four topics designed to offer means to gauge commemorative complexities, rituals and places associated with the Persian War are explored.<sup>208</sup> However, these topics are considered in relation to the bond and barriers between Greek and Roman cultures. Again this illustrates the necessity of exploring these themes in detail, in relation to the bond and barriers between the individual Greek *poleis* within the fifth century BC.

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<sup>205</sup> Bridges, Hall and Rhodes 2007: 5.

<sup>206</sup> Bridges, Hall and Rhodes 2007.

<sup>207</sup> Rhodes 2007.

<sup>208</sup> Alcock 2002: 39-97.

Through examining the relevance of Marathon and Plataea, Jung has asserted that a pan-Hellenic memory of the Persian War remained dominant in Greece until the bitter infighting of the Peloponnesian War tore it apart.<sup>209</sup> Conversely, Yates has argued that a truly pan-Hellenic memory of the war failed to develop in the classical period and that in fact various states dominated the commemoration of that event until the rise of Macedon, through Philip and Alexander.<sup>210</sup> I will contest Jung's conclusion of the rapid formation of a pan-Hellenic memory of the conflict and support Yates' assertions that the Greeks recalled the Persian War as members of their respective polities. The methods and places of these contestations in recent literature, as mentioned above, have focussed on the pan-Hellenic stage such as sanctuaries. I assert that these mnemonic contestations were being expressed amply, in tandem with expressions at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and within cities, from material erected and events enacted upon the sites of conflict within the fifth century BC.

## **2.8 Commemoration in Ancient Greece**

### **2.8.1 Athenian Dominance**

Much of the existing scholarly work on ancient Greek commemoration has focussed on Athens, mainly due to the predominance of Athenian evidence.<sup>211</sup> In addition, much of the work concerning commemoration relates to how the surviving populations

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<sup>209</sup> Jung 2006: 297.

<sup>210</sup> Yates 2011: 230-231.

<sup>211</sup> Low 2003: 99.

remembered the war dead and understands the collective burial in the context of the emerging Athenian democracy.<sup>212</sup> It has been noted that ‘an overly narrow focus on the democratic implications of Athenian commemorative practice has led to a sometimes oversimplified reading of both its intended purpose and its actual reception’.<sup>213</sup> The Athenians would commemorate their war dead through a complex set of rituals and monuments including burial (on the battlefield or in the *demosion sema*), casualty lists, epigrams, sculpture, dedications, speeches, processions, and graves. The temptation is there, but must be avoided, to focus on the evidence which is well preserved and extrapolate the findings to the whole.<sup>214</sup> The available material can often lead to an interpretation of a narrow and singular state-dominated intention of the commemorative narrative.

The burial and commemoration of the Athenian war dead in the classical period represented the honour which is bestowed upon the war dead by the city; the city takes over the formalities of burial from the family in the case of those who died in war but also the state removes the possibility for families to create their own sites and symbols of memory and mourning.<sup>215</sup> Commemoration has been described as a ‘weapon of social control’<sup>216</sup> with centralising authorities often exercising control over commemorative cultures,<sup>217</sup> and in this way Athenian families were denied the chance

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<sup>212</sup> See Clairmont 1983: 15.

<sup>213</sup> Low 2010: 341; for relationship between Athenian collective burial and Athenian democracy see Loraux 2006.

<sup>214</sup> Noted in Low 2010: 342.

<sup>215</sup> Low 2012: 14-15.

<sup>216</sup> Samuel 1994: 17.

<sup>217</sup> Low & Oliver 2012: 3.



to construct their own forms of commemoration.<sup>218</sup> Although this interpretation of the Athenian war dead commemoration has become conventional, Low argues that in fact the true essence of Athenian commemoration is more inclusive or at least more complex than a strictly patriotic (and democratic) expression.<sup>219</sup> Families are permitted to take part in the burial ceremony, albeit by invitation, for example, and foreigners and women were also permitted to observe the funeral.<sup>220</sup> Non Athenians have also been commemorated on stelae, although they are identified as such by the terms '*xenoi*' or '*barbaroi toxotai*'.<sup>221</sup>

Much of our knowledge of the Athenian treatment of their war dead is flawed and much information is yet unclear and possibly irretrievable with the surviving evidence. Many details concerning public burial are unknown such as the date at which it was instituted, the timing and frequency of the commemorative festivals and the precise locations of almost all the monuments. In addition it is very difficult to gain a sense of the role these monuments would have played in the social life of the Athenian citizens throughout the classical period. The evidence, particularly the material evidence, goes some way to reflect the complex social system which existed in Athens when the monuments were erected. The traditional view of Athenian commemoration as

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<sup>218</sup> Low 2012: 15.

<sup>219</sup> Low 2012: 15-23.

<sup>220</sup> See Thuc. 2.34.4.

<sup>221</sup> *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 1172, (mid fifth century BC), 1180 (430's BC), 1184 (423 BC), 1190 (c.411 BC), 1192 (second half of the fifth century BC).

monologic can be revisited as a more diverse picture of a society with blurred divisions in practice emerges.<sup>222</sup>

The focus in studies on commemoration is often on remembrance within and around the bounded confines of the city. For example, studies on commemoration which are reliant on Athenian evidence often focus on the *demosion sema*.<sup>223</sup> This particular place has been identified as an area shaped by the nascent democracy of the fifth century BC for a more communal self-representation.<sup>224</sup> Despite the Greek casualties of the Persian Wars having been buried on the battlefields, Arrington argues that a cenotaph for the Marathon dead was raised in the *demosion sema*. With these visual links to their heroic past, it is argued that the Athenians utilised this space to forge a new collective identity and celebrate a new communal outlook.<sup>225</sup>

This project will contribute to a fuller understanding of ancient Greek commemoration. In using the Persian Wars as an example, this project will include all known commemorations from all commemorative groups to illustrate the varied methods and places used to commemorate the conflict. I revisit and expand on the point of Athenian commemoration being monologic in chapter section 6.4 with a discussion on the relationship between commemorative monument type and commemorative place. Battlefield burial of the war dead is presented as a diverse practice which varies over time and by commemorating group. In contrast to focussing on a single site within a

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<sup>222</sup> Low 2012: 36.

<sup>223</sup> Clairmont 1983: 29-45; Arrington 2010; Low 2012: 23-32.

<sup>224</sup> Arrington 2010: 499.

<sup>225</sup> Arrington 2010: Marathon cenotaph: 504-506; collective identity: 533.

city, (such as the *demosion sema*) this project will include commemorative material from a range of site types including the urban centre, the battlefield and pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. The aim of including a wider range of commemorative places is to provide a more holistic impression of the distribution of Persian War commemorative monuments.

### 2.8.2 Looking outside of Athens

Recent studies in the commemoration of ancient Greek warfare have looked at case studies beyond Athens. For example, commemorative activity at Sparta has been the focus of study.<sup>226</sup> Furthermore, studies of military commemoration have been undertaken which focus on the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>227</sup>

Focussing on the work undertaken in the ancient Greek world, Pausanias mentions a stele with names and fathers' names of the warriors who fought at Thermopylae which was erected in Sparta.<sup>228</sup> While there is no guarantee this was erected in the classical period, the existence of this monument is evidence that the three hundred warriors, marked individually, were commemorated as a distinct and somehow special group.<sup>229</sup> Where the Spartans provided civic commemoration, the memorials seem to focus on

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<sup>226</sup> See Low 2011.

<sup>227</sup> Hellenistic period: Chaniotis 2005, especially ch.11, Chaniotis 2012; Roman period: Hölscher 2006: 27-48, Cooley 2012.

<sup>228</sup> Paus. 3.14.1; discussed in Low 2011.

<sup>229</sup> Low 2011: 6.

the collective (for example the Battle of the Champions),<sup>230</sup> but the list of individual names suggests other trends. Only the names are recalled in the monument mentioned by Pausanias and the bodies do not play a physical part in the memorial landscape. Absence of the body should not be dismissed as trivial, however, as the body was central to private mourning.<sup>231</sup> Without the focus for individual mourning, perhaps, it becomes easier to treat the dead as abstract, heroic figures which exemplify the glory of the *polis*.<sup>232</sup> The apparent Spartan preference for commemoration within the urban centre can be seen clearly in figures 5.6 and 5.8.

The commemorative material which dominates the acropolis area in Sparta (and starts to do so before the Persian Wars) celebrates a different sort of achievement; inscriptions set up here focus primarily on athletic victories, such as the stele of Damonon.<sup>233</sup> The practice of individual commemorations of athletic victories is a peculiarly Spartan phenomenon. The connection between athletic prowess and military strength is well attested, in activities at festivals such as the *Gymnopaedia* or by placing Olympic victors at prestigious places in the battle line.<sup>234</sup> The question has been posed as to whether the placing of Persian War monuments near these individualistic displays of prowess encouraged a reading of the monument that promoted individual glory rather than promoting the message of the collective and

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<sup>230</sup> Pettersson 1992: 51.

<sup>231</sup> Chaniotis 2006: 219-226.

<sup>232</sup> Low 2011: 8.

<sup>233</sup> See Low 2011: 14 for further examples and image.

<sup>234</sup> *Gymnopaedia*: Pettersson 1992: 50; athletic victors in the battle line: Plut. *Lycurgus* 22.4.

self-sacrifice for the good of the polis.<sup>235</sup> Olick emphasises the way in which current memory is constrained by earlier commemorations of historical events.<sup>236</sup> Olick asserts that there is a dialogue between current and earlier memorialisations which produce 'genre memories'; the present is immersed in these preordained pasts. Multiple readings of commemorative structures may have been possible as the burials and the stele would not, necessarily, be viewed in isolation.<sup>237</sup>

### 2.8.3 Commemorative Monumentalisation

The over representation of research undertaken on the remembrance of the war dead in Athens has been mentioned above. However in relation to the types of commemoration, the remembrance of the war dead specifically is also a popular topic. The individual soldiers are remembered in a variety of ways and these commemorative styles are often studied, for example casualty lists, burial customs, and funeral orations.<sup>238</sup> In addition particular styles of commemoration have been studied individually, for example votive offerings, spoils of war, and trophies.<sup>239</sup>

Pritchett provides us with a five volume study on the Greek state at war.<sup>240</sup> These volumes deal with ancient Greek warfare comprehensively. Within these volumes Pritchett allocates individual chapters to specific aspects of warfare. In much the same

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<sup>235</sup> Low 2011: 15.

<sup>236</sup> Olick 1999.

<sup>237</sup> Low 2011: 15.

<sup>238</sup> Casualty lists: Bradeen 1969; burial customs: Clairmont 1983, Kurtz & Boardman 1971; funeral orations: Loraux 2006.

<sup>239</sup> Votive offerings: Rouse 1902; spoils: Thompson 1956; trophies: Vanderpool 1966, West 1969.

<sup>240</sup> Pritchett 1971-1991: volumes 1-5.

way as the works referenced above, particular commemorative types are allocated individual chapters; for example military vows, cenotaphs, casualty lists and many others.<sup>241</sup> Pritchett presents the data in tables or sequentially in the text. In contrast to providing an in depth study on one particular form of commemorative monument or following Pritchett in a broad study of warfare including many conflicts, this project is framed by a particular conflict. The data dealt with here varies in form but is related to a single conflict: the Persian Wars. See chapter 1 for how the Persian Wars are temporally framed within this project and see chapter 4 for the presentation of monument types.

#### 2.8.4 Persian War Commemoration

Two trends in the study of Persian War memory have drawn attention away from the varied commemorative traditions of the Persian Wars: the categorisation of commemorations by battle,<sup>242</sup> and an overemphasis on Athenian commemorations.<sup>243</sup> In the early twentieth century Macan published a study on a selection of Herodotus' chapters. Several monuments of the Persian Wars are discussed in this work but with particular reference to how these monuments shed light on Herodotus' narrative.<sup>244</sup> However, this is primarily a literary exercise with little focus on the archaeological material. The fifth century BC public monuments of the Persian Wars were catalogued

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<sup>241</sup> Vows: Pritchett 1979: 3.230-239; cenotaphs: Pritchett 1985: 4.257-259; casualty lists: Pritchett 1985: 4.139-144.

<sup>242</sup> Marathon: Flashar 1995, Hölkeskamp 2001, Gehrke 2003 & 2007; Thermopylae: Albertz 2006; Marathon and Plataea: Jung 2006.

<sup>243</sup> Harrison 2000, Jung 2006, Loraux 2006, see Yates 2011: 4 for further references.

<sup>244</sup> Macan 1908: 6-7, n.1; see also West 1965: v.

for the first time in 1965 and the volume was intended, as far as possible, to gather together in one place evidence of all known monuments utilising inscriptions, literary references, and archaeological research.<sup>245</sup> The catalogue divides the monuments by city and, unsurprisingly, Athens is best represented due to either lack of wealth of other cities or the general pro-Athenian nature of the literary tradition.<sup>246</sup> The monuments are presented with thorough discussion about the validity of the evidence but are not studied by West in any further detail.

More recently Jung has conducted an expansive treatment of two battles; Marathon and Plataea.<sup>247</sup> Jung's work includes an assessment of the material evidence and memorialisation of the two battles from immediately after the conflict to the Roman period. Yates takes a more temporally restricted approach, dealing with the classical period ending with the death of Alexander.<sup>248</sup> With the rise of Macedon, Yates presents competition between the free Greek states undergoing a significant transformation.

It has been noted that it is events of fear or tribulation which leave the deepest impression on a group of people rather than gradual processes.<sup>249</sup> Thus, such a momentous occasion in Greek history as the Persian invasions provides us with an ideal cause for detectable mnemonic constructions, and it is demonstrated within this

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<sup>245</sup> West 1965: v.

<sup>246</sup> West 1965: lxviii.

<sup>247</sup> Jung 2006.

<sup>248</sup> Yates 2011.

<sup>249</sup> Samuel 1994: 6

project that there were competing memories about the Persian Wars throughout the classical period (see particularly chapter sections 6.1 and 6.3). The intended meanings of commemorative Persian War monuments can only be understood when studied in relation to other commemorative Persian War monuments. Therefore, by including the commemorations of all Persian War conflicts at all known commemorative places, on the Greek mainland and surrounding coastline, a full picture of the commemorative patterns can be revealed. The full patterns of monument distributions over a number of site types is presented in chapter 5 and serves as a basis to discuss how the distributions may be understood in chapter 6.

## **2.9 Conclusion**

Memory is utilised in the present to construct versions of the past, however the past is understood here as not being entirely at the disposal of the present. The transmission of memories, or how an event is commemorated, is central to this thesis. The relationship between place and memory transmission, through monumentalisation, will be emphasised within this thesis. Regarding commemoration, this project will move beyond the over emphasis on Athenian evidence and the primary focus on either urban centres or sanctuaries (usually pan-Hellenic). This thesis, instead, focusses on a wider range of commemorative places within the ancient Greek landscape in an effort to reconnect the commemorative monument and place. Therefore the monument, be it physical or behavioural, is presented as having an inextricable link with place. This thesis moves away from specific battle-, or *polis*-, related studies of the Persian Wars,



and typological studies of monument type, and provides a more inclusive picture of Persian War commemorative traditions over time and space.

Throughout the next chapter I will present the methods and approaches utilised within this thesis and explain why and how they are selected and used.

## **Chapter 3: APPROACHING PLACES, MEANINGS AND USES OF THE PAST**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the methods and approaches used in this project and to show how and why they are used. I draw on the definitions of what I consider place and memory to be, presented in chapter 1, and explain how and why theories of place and theories of memory are used to achieve the aims of the project. This chapter follows directly on from the presentation and review of the current, relevant literature in chapter 2. While chapter 2 deals with the broader themes of this project, this chapter focusses on how I explore these themes and what methods I use, and why, to analyse and discuss the data. In addition, I will explain the processes I used to both select and obtain the data which is presented in chapter 4. The analysis of the data is presented in chapter 5, however the choices made for the methods of analysis will be outlined and explained in this chapter.

I begin by addressing this project's aims, presented in chapter 1. By referring to the aims I highlight the specific needs which are met by my key themes, memory and place, which are defined in chapter 1. I begin this section of the methodology by outlining the main points which the key themes deal with throughout the project. This section of this chapter initially outlines how I approach my key themes and what aspects I use in this project. Following this I explain why I use these two specific themes to reach conclusions relevant to the project's aims. I then describe how I

selected the material which forms this project's data set; this section is divided into two elements: selection and collection. The data selection outlines how I selected my material data and my literary data. This section is introduced with an explanation as to why I separate these forms of data and how I use them in tandem. Following this I explain the methods used in collecting the data; again, I divide material and literary material. The sites at which the monuments are erected do not form part of my data set and the selection of these sites is dictated by the conflict itself, which is framed temporally and spatially in chapter 1. Following this I outline specific methods used in this project. These specific methods are a phenomenological approach which I initially employed at certain battlefields, including the restrictions of such a methodology and the quantitative analysis to the data, which was employed as a reaction to limitations using a phenomenological methodology.

### **3.2 The Aims**

This thesis is concerned with how the ancient Greek people, primarily of the classical period, collectively commemorated the Persian Wars. I constrict my study, for the most part, to the classical period and the commemorations of battles of the Persian Wars on mainland Greece. When the discussion strays outside of this period it will be for the purpose of contrasting and comparing later evidence to the material of the classical period.

The material addressed in this project was constructed or enacted in memory of a series of defensive conflicts. At Marathon, Thermopylae, Artemisium, Salamis and Plataea, Greek forces fought against invaders who had designs on domination. At these sites of conflict, and many other places, groups collectively commemorated these conflicts. Communal commemoration would include any practice that focusses on the inclusion of multiple members of the group such as public monumentalisation, commemorative anniversaries, and festivals. By presenting the varied methods of how groups collectively commemorate the past it is possible to reveal how past events are assimilated into the present. What the subsequent discussion will illustrate is that it is a combination of monuments, commemorative activities and the places themselves which serve to prolong and recall the memory of a culturally relevant event and promote a particular message.<sup>250</sup>

### **3.3 Approaching the Key Themes: Memory and Place**

#### **3.3.1 Approaches to Memory**

I use certain approaches to memory, with regard to how the Persian Wars were remembered within about hundred years of the conflict in Greece at certain places, to illustrate the following points:

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<sup>250</sup> On the importance of marking places see Tilley 1994: 67; Steinbock 2013: 85-86; on festivals and public commemorations see Steinbock 2013: 49-69; on the importance of sites of memory see Nora 1989: 7, 11-12.

- Memory is not ‘innocent’ and it may be constructed (see chapter section 6.1)
- The past is created, reworked and shaped by collective remembrance (see chapter section 6.3)
- Disunity may emerge in mnemonic assertions about the past (see chapter section 6.1)
- Changes in a community’s ideological framework can affect the collective memory of earlier events (see chapter sections 6.1 and 6.3)

In a similar way to Steinbock,<sup>251</sup> my notion of collective memory is broadly conceived. That is to say I incorporate the work of several theorists to a greater or lesser extent. For example this project is influenced by Jan Assmann’s and Aleida Assmann’s ideas of ‘levels’ of memory (see particularly chapter section 6.2), Gehrke’s intentional history (see particularly chapter sections 6.1 and 6.3) and Alcock’s *cadre matériel* (more generally).<sup>252</sup>

‘Levels’ of memory have been conceptualised by both Jan and Aleida Assmann. Jan Assmann labels these concepts ‘communicative memory’ and ‘cultural memory’ (outlined in table 3.1),<sup>253</sup> while Aleida Assmann differentiates individual memory from memory on a public scale as ‘remembered history from commemorated history’.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> Outlined in Steinbock 2013: 19ff.

<sup>252</sup> Assmann, J. 2006, 2010; Gehrke 2001; Alcock 2002.

<sup>253</sup> See Assmann, J. & Czaplicka 1995; Assmann J. 2010.

<sup>254</sup> Assmann, A. 2001.

Table 3.1 *Communicative and Cultural Memory*

|                         | Communicative memory  | Cultural memory   |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| Context                 | History in the frame of autobiographical memory, recent past      | Mythical history, events in absolute past   |
| Forms                   | Informal traditions and genres of everyday communication          | High degree of formation, ceremonial communication  |
| Media                   | Living, embodied memory, communication in vernacular language     | Mediated in texts, icons, dances, rituals, and performances of various kinds; 'classical' or otherwise formalised language(s) |
| Time Structure          | 80 – 100 years, a moving horizon of 3 – 4 interacting generations | Absolute past, mythical primordial time, '3000' years   |
| Participation Structure | Diffuse   | Specialised carriers of memory, hierarchically structured   |

*After Assmann, J. 2010: 117.*

These differentiations of 'levels' of memory are utilised within this project in relation to the particular ways memory is transmitted over time (see chapter section 6.2). Also, as this project considers both material and behavioural commemoration as 'monuments', Jan and Aleida Assmann's models are utilised because they acknowledge how, for the transferal from remembered to commemorated history, both material and behavioural commemoration play important roles.<sup>255</sup>

<sup>255</sup> Assmann, A. 2001: 6823; Assmann, J. & Czaplicka 1995: 129; Assmann J. 2010: 117.

Gehrke introduces the term 'intentional history' to denote the amalgamation of myth and history.<sup>256</sup> For the purpose of the current study I differentiate between the mythical and historical past in terms of time. An estimated time frame, in the current project, is understood as differentiating between the mythical past and the historical past is presented in table 3.1 under 'Time Structure'. However, I do not strictly abide by this time frame and, throughout the project, use literary evidence which falls slightly outside of the one hundred years suggested as the threshold between these varying forms of the past. Despite the current project being concerned with the historical opposed to mythological allusions to the recent past,<sup>257</sup> the definition Gehrke offers for his 'intentional history' fits very well with how I show the past to be used in the present:

Intentional history would then be history in a group's own understanding, especially in so far as it is significant for the make-up and identity of the group...it relates itself to a group which holds it as real.<sup>258</sup>

Alcock's *cadre matériel* (physical environment) serves to remind us that memories may exist in a multitude of places.<sup>259</sup> I follow Alcock in differentiating between monuments and landscapes (see chapter 1 for definitions) as separate things, and indeed that

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<sup>256</sup> Gehrke 2001: 298.

<sup>257</sup> For collective memories of the mythical past with further bibliography see Steinbock 2013: 26-28.

<sup>258</sup> Gehrke 2001: 298.

<sup>259</sup> Alcock 2002: 28.

monuments are set within a landscape.<sup>260</sup> This project also demonstrates how the *cadre matériel* can contain multiple monuments which illustrates how different groups value different places differently; 'monumental spaces thus take on an inescapably dialogical quality'.<sup>261</sup>

Collective memory is not just an entity to be utilised, and to view it as such would be to deny the idea of collective memory its dynamism and mouldability. Social interaction in the act of remembering prevents memory from being viewed as fixed and static.<sup>262</sup> The past, and the memory of the past, is malleable; places and monuments are not the origin of cultural appreciation of the past but, as will be illustrated in this project, are the products of cultural appreciation of the past.<sup>263</sup> Therefore the past is not protected solely for the benefit of future generations; the past is created, recreated and utilised in the present. The memory of the past can be seen to be a social construct which is experienced at certain places, at certain times, and through certain media.<sup>264</sup> The recollection of the past becomes open to multiple interpretations through social interaction; the collective understanding of the past is worked and reworked as it becomes shaped by collective remembrance.

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<sup>260</sup> Alcock 2002: 30.

<sup>261</sup> Alcock 2002: 30.

<sup>262</sup> Fortunati & Lamberti 2010: 128.

<sup>263</sup> Holtorf 2001: 289.

<sup>264</sup> Holtorf 2001: 289; see also Nora & Kritzman 1996.



### 3.3.2 Why 'Memory'?

Modern theories of memory are applied to ancient monuments and places in this project because memory, here, is understood as a phenomenon that was constantly utilised for various purposes and had an active function in the past (and, incidentally, still does). The social life (and memory) of the individual gives meaning to an individual's experiences. Conversely, just as memories are influenced and shaped by factors external to the individual, much of what originates within the individual influences collective, social life. In addition to acting as a foundation, then, memory can be seen as a product of socialisation.<sup>265</sup>

For the purpose of this project I consider events, memory and narratives as different elements of the same social construction, and disunity has been said to be an omnipresent component of all three of these elements.<sup>266</sup> The event is the basis of all disunity that follows and is at the core of future conflicting interpretative constructions. Changes in a community's ideological framework can thus affect the collective memory of earlier events.<sup>267</sup> It has been argued that the natural tendency of memory on a social level is 'to suppress what is not meaningful...in the collective memories of the past, and interpolate or substitute what seems more appropriate or more in keeping with [a group's] particular conception of the world.'<sup>268</sup> Memory, in this project, is viewed as the (collective) practice of recalling differing pasts, pasts that

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<sup>265</sup> Assmann, J. 2006: 3-4; see also Olick 1999: 334.

<sup>266</sup> Isnenghi 2010: 27.

<sup>267</sup> Steinbock 2013: 14.

<sup>268</sup> Fentress & Wickham 1992: 58-59; cf. Steinbock 2013: 14.

are particularly relevant to particular groups while narratives are the methods in which these memories of past events are materialised and expressed.

### 3.3.3 Approaches to Place

I use certain approaches to place, with regard to how the Persian Wars were remembered within about hundred years of the conflict in Greece at certain places, to illustrate the following points:

- Place is conflicted, complex and always in a process (see chapter section 6.2)
- Places have multiple layers of meaning (see chapter section 6.2)
- Place is in a reciprocal relationship with those who interact with it (see chapter section 6.4)
- A relationship exists between object and place (see chapter section 6.4)

The landscape surrounds people and so, to study the landscape, it will be necessary to illustrate how people interacted with the world around them (see chapter 4). Landscape is understood within this project as an entity which contains multiple places (see definition in chapter 1). While 'space' has been defined as a geometrical arrangement of planes and solids, 'place' has been defined as the experience of spatiality (see chapter section 6.2 for expansion).<sup>269</sup> I have compiled a list of commemorative monuments which demonstrate how exactly the Greeks of the fifth

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<sup>269</sup> Thomas 1999: 35.

century BC marked and engaged with specific places (see tables 4.18.1 and 4.18.2). I am specifically concerned with how people remembered, commemorated, interpreted and manipulated the past at certain places in the past. Therefore 'Historic Landscape Characterisation' for example, which focusses on 'how the past and its remains contribute to people's *contemporary perception* of landscape',<sup>270</sup> will have little bearing on the current project. This project is concerned with the 'character' of various places within the broader landscape and focusses on how and why people of the past commemorated at a selection of places, opposed to modern views of past commemorative places.

Throughout this project commemorative places are approached as being comprised of multiple layers of meaning. These multiple meanings are expressed through various groups constructing physical monuments and enacting meaningful behavioural practices. Instead of focussing on the iconography of symbols on a monument which sits within a landscape,<sup>271</sup> I will focus on the distribution of monuments throughout a selection of places. I divide the places at which we find commemorative monuments into four categories: 'urban', 'battlefield', 'pan-Hellenic sanctuary' and 'other' (introduced in chapter 1). These main three categories (excluding 'other') were dictated by the commemorations and where they were 'inscribed' and 'enacted'. The characterisation 'other' refers to either monuments which cannot be directly linked to

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<sup>270</sup> See Turner & Fairclough 2007: esp. 120-121 & quote from 137 [author's emphasis]; Fairclough 2008.

<sup>271</sup> Such as studies on the Nike temple parapet, for example see Carpenter 1929; Jameson 1994.

a specific place or are erected at non-pan-Hellenic, non-urban sanctuaries.<sup>272</sup> This category is subject to change, depending on what information I intend to present. These sub-divisions ('battlefield', 'urban centre' and 'pan-Hellenic sanctuary' and 'other') are imposed by the author and may not have been thought of in the same way in antiquity.

The current project interprets how meaning is endowed onto place by analysing the distribution of monuments, by quantity and typology, throughout a series of places. However, this approach, that of taking monuments as the basic unit of analysis, has been criticised as not being the best starting point for understanding landscapes which have been described as 'a seamless canvas extending out in all directions'.<sup>273</sup> This project approaches landscapes as not bounded but as containers of places (see chapter 1 for definitions).<sup>274</sup> The commemorative places which may be identified within the landscape are approached, for the purpose of the current study, as bounded things which become commemorative arenas precisely because they are inscribed or incorporated with meaning. This approach is akin to that of Carman and Carman who suggest battlefields are bounded for the purpose of their study.<sup>275</sup> As outlined in chapter 1 the broader landscape is necessarily split up into site types which sit within the landscape. To carry out such a study it is necessary to take an objective approach to landscape. It has been argued, however, that it is not possible to view a

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<sup>272</sup> E.g. App. no.19 (Temple of Nemesis with Statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus), no.40 (Thank-Offering of a Trireme at Sunium), no.48 (Pedimental Sculptures of the Temple of Aphaea), no.63 (Ruins of Sanctuaries as Memorial of Persian Impiety), no.64 (Tithing of Medising Greeks), no.66 (Inviolability of Plataea).

<sup>273</sup> Darvill et al. 1993: 566; see also Turner & Fairclough 2007: 124-125.

<sup>274</sup> Carman & Carman 2006a: 10.

<sup>275</sup> Carman & Carman 2006a: 10; see also Carman 2002: 35-36.

place without ‘peering back through the lens of our own perpectivities’<sup>276</sup> and therefore a truly objective approach is prevented. While I subscribe to Bender’s idea that our own ‘perspectivities’ (either consciously or not) affect the way in which we experience, a purely quantitative analysis, presented in chapter 4, allows for an objective approach.

In the discussion chapters I present the past and the memory of the past as malleable phenomena materialised through the inscribing and incorporating of meaning onto various places. Therefore I present the Greeks of the fifth century BC (and later, see chapter section 6.2) as approaching certain places, and the past, subjectively. By presenting the ancient Greeks as seeing their past as malleable, is to emphasise how the past and the meaning endowed on what became commemorative places were not interpreted as unchanging and objective things.<sup>277</sup>

### 3.3.4 Why Focus on the Place at All?

I focus on place because it is at specific places that different groups commemorated the Persian Wars in different ways. Places within the Greek landscape were inscribed or incorporated with meaning relating to the Persian Wars, post conflict. Battlefields, urban centres and pan-Hellenic sanctuaries in ancient Greece were used to commemorate and present a varied range of commemorative practices over space and

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<sup>276</sup> Bender 1998: 7.

<sup>277</sup> See Holtorf 2001: 294.

time. It is the continual connection with these particular places that were transformed in meaning that makes them worthy of study.

Tensioned relationships can exist with people sharing experience and place.<sup>278</sup> With reference to the Persian Wars the result of the relationship with the 'official enemy' is rather self-explanatory with the ensuing battle but the relationship among the Greek 'allies', post conflict, and their combined relationship to commemorative places is less clear. As the 'allies', to varying degrees, projected versions of their participation in the Persian War through monumentalisation at specific commemorative places, varying narratives emerged. Landscape, and the constituent places which sit within, are central to the practice of remembering, and projecting specific versions of participation in, the Persian Wars. Landscape is a construct that is composed of, and open to, multiple ways of understanding and appreciation. The relationship between people and place is perspectival as different groups within the same society may see space and place in different ways.<sup>279</sup>

### **3.4 Data and Acquisition**

#### **3.4.1 Material Data Selection**

It has been asserted that to take an archaeological approach to a study on collective memory it is not necessary to unearth fresh material evidence but only reassess

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<sup>278</sup> See Bender 2001: 14.

<sup>279</sup> Tilley 1994: 26; Smith & Waterton 2009: 34.

existing material, a redeployment of focus and interpretation.<sup>280</sup> Thus, this project will assess the meaning endowed on a particular place by utilising a mostly pre-formed data set of public monuments, with added material for the purpose of this project.<sup>281</sup> I have chosen to investigate the commemoration of the Persian Wars through monumentalisation (including behavioural commemorative activity) because to rely solely on literary and epigraphic evidence to uncover possibly contentious memories can present certain problems. For example, this evidence may result in an overrepresentation of the male, elite, urban perspectives.<sup>282</sup>

Under the umbrella term of 'Greeks' are multiple individual sub groups, namely *poleis*. Each *polis* would want to assert, above others, their individuality and contribution to the conflict. The independence or unique identity a place may gain through meaning also means it can become open to multiple layers of interpretation and reinterpretation by any who experience it. Places are transformed by human interaction in order to extract a version of reality that befits expectations. In short 'we...transform reality into what we think it ought to be'.<sup>283</sup> Considering this thesis' emphasis on a particular group's interaction with a particular place it is necessary, in the process of data selection, to be able to attribute a monument to a commemorative group and commemorative place (with varying degrees of confidence; see Appendix for discussion on each example). For example, in view of these criteria, I omit a relatively newly uncovered piece of commemorative evidence from my data set; that is

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<sup>280</sup> Alcock 2002: 31.

<sup>281</sup> See West 1965.

<sup>282</sup> Alcock 2002: 23.

<sup>283</sup> Sack 2004: 245.

the New Simonides fragments.<sup>284</sup> What has become known as the New Simonides is the bringing together of the two Oxyrhynchus papyri known as *POxy* 3965 and *POxy* 2327 which reference the Persian Wars.<sup>285</sup> Specific battles have been identified by West as having been referenced by Simonides in the fragments: Artemisium, Salamis and Plataea.<sup>286</sup> Due to the fragmentary nature of the New Simonides it is not possible with any degree of confidence to attribute the commissioning of the works to any specific group (or individual).<sup>287</sup> Furthermore it is not possible, again with any degree of confidence, to propose the place at which it was intended to be performed.<sup>288</sup>

### 3.4.2 Literary Data Selection

I use literary sources for two purposes: firstly, to verify the identification of the material data. Secondly, I use literary evidence to provide the context against which the material evidence is assessed and evaluated.

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<sup>284</sup> See Boedeker and Sider 2001; Boedeker 2001: 148-163.

<sup>285</sup> Boedeker & Sider 2001: 3-4; the original publication of the papyri *POxy* 2327 (see Lobel 1954), whose authorship was unknown, was seen to overlap in two places with the more recently published papyrus *POxy* 3965 (see Parsons 1992), which also overlapped with literary quotations credited to Simonides in Plutarch and Stobaeus (Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 42 & *POxy* 3965 fr.5, see Sider 2001: 22-23; Stob. *Simonides* 4.34.28 & *POxy* 3965 fr.26, see Sider 2001: 24-25).

<sup>286</sup> Artemisium: West 1992: '*Simonides*' no's. 1-4, Rutherford 2001: 36-37; Salamis: West 1992: '*Simonides*' no's. 8-9, Rutherford 2001: 37-38; Plataea: West 1992: '*Simonides*' no's. 10-18, Rutherford 2001: 38-40.

<sup>287</sup> It has been suggested that the Plataean elegy was commissioned by Sparta, see Aloni 2001: 102-103 but this is uncertain; in addition Aeschylus' *The Persians*, is not included as a commemorative monument because it is understood here as a play of Persian tragedy, not of Athenian triumph (see Sommerstein 2010: 292, and 45-62 for further discussion on this play; see also Rosenbloom 2006: 'Preface').

<sup>288</sup> Poems commemorating military victories in the fifth century BC would have been performed, rather than published as a text according to Rutherford (2001: 40); suggestions on performance locations have been made for the Plataean elegy, however, such as the Plataean battlefield (Aloni 2001: 103), and at Isthmia (Shaw 2001: 180-181).



#### 3.4.2.1 Verification

Many objects in my data set have been lost and so, in these instances, I must rely fully on literary sources for information of their existence. In addition, there is much deliberation over the identification of several of the ancient monuments which constitute my data set and so I provide ancient, antiquarian and modern literary sources to support the object's identification. It is not my intention to collect all known references to all monuments but only to present the earliest known literary reference to a monument (ancient literature) and, where possible, more modern references to provide their current locations and possible interpretations (in antiquarian and modern literature).

Herodotus is our primary source for the Persian Wars; however Herodotus' scope in mentioning monuments specifically is somewhat limited. This is because Herodotus' narrative stops at 479 BC and although the History is relating the events of the Persian Wars, it is not his specific purpose to relate the monuments which commemorated the conflicts. Herodotus does mention multiple monuments which I include in my data set and, for the monuments he does mention, is to be considered a trustworthy source.<sup>289</sup> For example Herodotus, as a fifth century BC writer, provides the earliest literary attestations of the epigrams which stood on the battlefield at Thermopylae.<sup>290</sup> These quotations of the epigrams cannot be verified as the monument is no longer extant (see App. no.23 for discussion of Herodotus and the Thermopylae epigrams); however

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<sup>289</sup> I agree with West (1966: xx) on this point.

<sup>290</sup> Hdts. 7.228.

we do have evidence of Herodotus' reliability elsewhere. Herodotus quotes the inscription on a monument which commemorated the Athenian victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidians in 506 BC.<sup>291</sup> Fragments of the sixth century BC inscription have survived and so Herodotus' quote may be verified and as a result a certain level of confidence may be attributed to Herodotus' reporting of epigrams.<sup>292</sup> In addition, two other of Herodotus' reported Persian War monuments have been attested by archaeology such as the serpent column (see discussion in App. no.80) and, with less certainty, the Athenian portico at Delphi (see discussion in App. no.84).

Thucydides' history, in relation to the identification of Persian War monuments, is peripheral. Thucydides mentions only four objects which I count in my data set. However Thucydides as a fifth century BC writer and a near contemporary source has, in a similar way to Herodotus, had his epigraphic reference reliability confirmed. Thucydides reports an inscription on an altar dedicated by Pisistratus to Apollo and it has been preserved which confirms the quotation.<sup>293</sup> On the strength of this verification I trust Thucydides' quotation of the initial epigram inscribed on the pan-Hellenic dedication of the serpent column at Delphi, which was erased in antiquity.<sup>294</sup> It is worthy of note, however, that Thucydides' reliability should not be taken for granted. For example, a fragment of the inscribed Athenian version of the alliance between Athens, the Argives, Mantineians, and Eleians in 420 BC was discovered in

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<sup>291</sup> Hdts. 5.77.

<sup>292</sup> Fragment: *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 501a/501b; see also *GHI* 12, and for commentary see no.43; see also West 1965: xiv.

<sup>293</sup> Quote: Thuc. 6.54; inscription fragment: *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 948.

<sup>294</sup> Thuc. 1.132.2; West 1965: xv.

1876.<sup>295</sup> This alliance is also related by Thucydides,<sup>296</sup> and clear discrepancies are evident concerning dialect, insertions, omissions, and transposed passages.<sup>297</sup> However, it has been suggested that Thucydides may have been drawing upon a version of the alliance set up at Argos, Mantinea, or Olympia which deviated from the Athenian version.<sup>298</sup>

It was in the fourth century BC that monuments would have been used as examples by Athenian authors in order to set up the victories in the Persian Wars as ideals for Athenians of the period to emulate.<sup>299</sup> Such authors from this century include Aeschines, Demosthenes, Lycurgus and Isocrates. The primary use I have for these literary references is to provide the context against which the material evidence is assessed and evaluated.

Plutarch, who was writing in the first and second centuries AD, provides many of the references to epigrams in this project's data set. It has been argued that Plutarch was not interested in discussing inscriptions for their own sake, but values epigraphy as a source material for the historian when reconstructing the lives of great individuals or the great deeds of ancient Greek peoples.<sup>300</sup> Furthermore, inscriptions have been said to have held little interest for him, with literary sources proving the backbone of his

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<sup>295</sup> *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 83; see Liddel & Low 2013: 15.

<sup>296</sup> Thuc. 5.47.

<sup>297</sup> The discrepancies are presented in *GHI* 72.

<sup>298</sup> Liddel & Low 2013: 15; for differing versions of the alliance see *GHI* 72.

<sup>299</sup> West 1965: xxii.

<sup>300</sup> Liddel 2008: 126 and 136.

research.<sup>301</sup> Despite these criticisms Plutarch utilises this form of evidence for a number of purposes: they act as proofs in arguments;<sup>302</sup> they provide insights into the characters who read them, write them, and react to them;<sup>303</sup> or they act as a starting point for philosophical enquiry.<sup>304</sup>

Plutarch as a source must be treated with some care because, for example, the inscription quoted as being from the Corinthian epitaph is of four lines while the original inscription is preserved and contains only two lines (see discussion and image in App. no.36). Utilising this inscription, Plutarch demonstrates how he uses epigraphical evidence in scholarly polemic by criticising Herodotus' description of Corinthian forces fleeing at the battle of Salamis.<sup>305</sup> In addition, with regard to inscriptions on the victory Herms in the Athenian agora, Plutarch's quotation differs to that given by Aeschines, although the opening lines correspond.<sup>306</sup> Despite these slight variations, it is possible to gain an impression of Plutarch's efforts in gathering information. It is revealed in Plutarch's work on Nicias that he would deliberately consult multiple forms of evidence to enhance his understanding of a particular character.<sup>307</sup> Furthermore, Plutarch provides an example of original research when he notes that he had read an inscription bearing the name of Aristides as *choregos* and

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<sup>301</sup> Buckler 1992: 4799.

<sup>302</sup> Plut. *Lycurgus* 1-2.

<sup>303</sup> Plut. *On the Fortune of Alexander* 1.9; Plut. *Pompey* 27.3; Plut. *Demosthenes* 20.2; Plut. *Alexander* 69.2.

<sup>304</sup> Plut. *The E at Delphi* 1ff; for more examples see Liddel 2008: 126.

<sup>305</sup> Hdts. 8.94.1; Liddel 2008: 130-131.

<sup>306</sup> Plut. *Kimon* 7.4-6; Aesch. *Against Ctesiphon* 3.184-185.

<sup>307</sup> In *Nicias* 1.5 Plutarch describes how, in addition to consulting literary sources such as Thucydides and Philistus, he gathers inscriptions from votive offerings and public decrees.

used this information to prove that Aristides was born into nobility.<sup>308</sup> Despite Plutarch applying his greatest efforts to literary sources, and having not expressed a true appreciation of epigraphic evidence,<sup>309</sup> I believe the diligence of his information gathering is evident in his writings. Therefore, I follow West in his judgement that a certain level of confidence may be attributed to Plutarch as a reliable source.<sup>310</sup>

Alongside Plutarch, the Palatine Anthology also provides many of the references to epigrams relating to the Persian War. It has been suggested that the dating of epigrams, whether mentioned by multiple authors or not, should be judged by its style: whether they are ornate or simple and whether it adorned a monument that was likely to have been erected.<sup>311</sup> As a result each reference is judged independently.

Pausanias, who was writing in the second century AD, provides references for the majority of the monuments in my data set, either verifying other authors or as a sole reference. Although Pausanias' purpose was to give a description of Greece rather than a description of the Persian War monuments, he described many of the monuments and so I necessarily rely heavily on his writings. Furthermore, Pausanias does not state he intends to catalogue all monuments and the choices made as to which monuments to include were his.<sup>312</sup> The choices Pausanias made on which monuments to describe have been said to rest on two principles: his antiquarian taste,

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<sup>308</sup> Plut. Aristides 1.3; see Buckler 1992: 4795.

<sup>309</sup> Buckler 1992: 4799.

<sup>310</sup> West 1965: xvii.

<sup>311</sup> West 1965: xvii.

<sup>312</sup> Frazer 1965: 1.xxxiii.

and his religious curiosity.<sup>313</sup> His preference for, and therefore descriptions of, works of the fifth and the fourth centuries BC over those of later periods greatly benefits the current study.

It has been argued that when quoting or citing inscriptions Pausanias, in a good many cases (if not all), is doing so from autopsy.<sup>314</sup> For example, on a number of occasions Pausanias refers to the actual appearance of inscriptions.<sup>315</sup> On the contrary, it has been suggested that Pausanias had seen little of what he was describing and was relying on second hand information from earlier writers such as Polemo of Ilium (of the second century BC).<sup>316</sup> However, when Pausanias describes statues at Olympia which depict victors, the inscriptions are used to provide further information on the individual,<sup>317</sup> and if any information is deemed missing by Pausanias he explains that it was not provided by the inscription.<sup>318</sup> This suggests the information about Olympic victors was obtained from the specific statue's inscription opposed to a list of Olympic victors, for example.<sup>319</sup> Furthermore, many statue bases described by Pausanias have been discovered during excavations at Olympia which attest to the accuracy of his

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<sup>313</sup> Frazer 1965: 1.xxxiii.

<sup>314</sup> Whittaker 1991: 171-172; in addition Whittaker notes that 'tourism was a growth industry in second-century Greece, and inscriptions would have played an important role in documenting the historical importance of places which by Pausanias' time had sunk into obscurity' (1991: 172-173).

<sup>315</sup> Pausanias notes that Attic letters were used when describing inscriptions (1.2.4, 6.19.6), that an inscription is written in a circle (5.20.1), and that letters are worn or the inscription has disappeared over time (6.15.8, 8.40.1). Pausanias does mention a number of inscriptions from places which he does not describe (e.g. 1.13.2, 5.10.3, 10.12.6) and therefore it is quite possible that he hadn't examined them in person and copied them from a literary source (Whittaker 1991: 180-182).

<sup>316</sup> Habicht 1985: 165; a review of the criticisms of Pausanias work by 19th and 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars is presented in Habicht (1985: 165-175) with further bibliography on criticisms and defence; see Frazer 1965 1.xcvi for examples of Pausanias' fallibility.

<sup>317</sup> Such as their father's name and where they came from, e.g. Paus. 6.3.4.

<sup>318</sup> E.g. Paus. 6.2.9.

<sup>319</sup> Whittaker 1991: 174.

descriptions.<sup>320</sup> In relation to the treatment of inscriptions, Pausanias' accuracy has been described as 'as remarkable as is his economical style of reporting'.<sup>321</sup> Pausanias quotes 39 inscriptions and cites more than 200,<sup>322</sup> and the quantity of these references has been interpreted as Pausanias' understanding of how trustworthy epigraphical evidence was in comparison to some of the literary and oral information available to him.<sup>323</sup> Therefore, while not infallible (e.g. see App. no.70), Pausanias is accepted here as a generally reliable source.

It is understood here that there is no direct correlation between the temporal proximity of a source with a particular event and that source's reliability.<sup>324</sup> A writer at any time may choose to misrepresent a situation for various purposes. In addition, the misrepresentation may not be intentional. For example Thucydides notes the difficulty in verifying the truth of eyewitness accounts of the Peloponnesian War due to 'the want of coincidence between accounts of the same occurrences by different eyewitnesses, arising sometimes from imperfect memory, sometimes from undue partiality for one side or the other'.<sup>325</sup> With regard to utilising literary sources to verify the identification (or existence) of particular monuments, each monument is verified on a case by case basis, and the confidence with which the monuments are accepted are discussed individually in the Appendix.

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<sup>320</sup> Whittaker 1991: 174; Habicht 1984: 55; Frazer 1965: 1.xcv-xcvi.

<sup>321</sup> Habicht 1984: 55.

<sup>322</sup> Whittaker 1991: 171.

<sup>323</sup> Habicht 1984: 56.

<sup>324</sup> As also noted in Hall 2007: 19.

<sup>325</sup> Thuc. 1.22.3.

#### 3.4.2.2 Context

Throughout this project the commemorations of the Persian War are discussed against the backdrop of the ongoing events of the fifth century BC. For example, the distribution of commemorative monuments are discussed in chapter section 6.1 and set against the interstate relations of Athens and Corinth. To present the monument distribution in this context I rely on Herodotus' and Thucydides' historical accounts to provide a picture of the interstate political landscape. Herodotus and Thucydides are fifth century BC sources and so are contemporary (or near contemporary) to the events they describe. For the purpose in which I use them, that is to provide a chronological sequence of events throughout the fifth century BC, I see no reason to doubt their information.

I use authors from the fourth century BC such as Isocrates and Apollodorus to highlight the recurrent practice of recalling the past (see particularly chapter section 6.3). This particular chapter section focusses on the Athenian commemorative monopolisation of the battle of Marathon. Isocrates and Apollodorus are both Athenian sources and Isocrates is counted among the ten Attic Orators. These examples are selected because they specifically mention the contingents at Marathon. Despite both orators being Athenian, Apollodorus includes Plataeans at Marathon while Isocrates voices the concurrent narrative of Athens fighting alone. It is not the purpose of using these examples to dissect the motives of each orator but to illustrate how differing



narratives about the same event in the past may exist (within the same city-state) concurrently.

### 3.4.3 Material Data Collection: Engaging with the Battlefields

At the outset of this project I was aware of the relatively small amount of extant monuments available on which to conduct my research. Therefore, the initial task in creating a data set was to approach the ancient literature in order to identify monuments which had been mentioned and attributed to the Persian Wars. West's doctoral dissertation, which provided many of the primary source references, proved an indispensable support in formulating this project's data set.<sup>326</sup>

The initial scope of this project was to focus solely on the battlefield monuments of the Persian Wars and to study this arena of commemoration in isolation of the more thoroughly studied arenas such as the pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and urban centres.<sup>327</sup>

The intention was to attempt to locate the original positioning of the monuments within the landscape and analyse the spatial relationship between monuments and the surrounding natural and man-made features, such as ground level and ancient settlements.<sup>328</sup> The relevance of place being transformed by additional structures is neatly laid out by Tilley:

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<sup>326</sup> West 1965.

<sup>327</sup> For studies on religious space see Scott 2010; Yates 2011. For studies on civic space see Shear 2011: 263-285; see n.78 for further references.

<sup>328</sup> See Scott 2010 for 'spatial politics' at Delphi.

Cultural markers [such as monuments are used] to create a new sense of place... An already encultured landscape becomes refashioned, its meanings now controlled by the imposition of [a new] cultural form.<sup>329</sup>

I travelled to each of the battlefields by car; however, it was not possible due to time and cost constraints to visit the island of Euboea and therefore the coast line off which the battle of Artemisium was fought. The battlefield at Thermopylae is small, in comparison with the other Persian War battlefields I visited, and so it was possible to explore the site solely on foot, however it should be noted that the topography of the site has changed significantly since 490 BC.<sup>330</sup> In contrast, the battlefields at Marathon and especially Plataea are much larger and so in order to cover more ground in less time I moved around these sites by car.

The equipment I took to the battlefields included a note pad and pencil, in order to make notes on how the monuments felt in relation to each other with regards to distance and sight. I also had a GPS tracker to log the exact positioning of each structure in order to compare the exact data with how the site felt.<sup>331</sup> Having arrived at each battlefield I followed a general outline of approaching the place:

- a) Look at what is there;

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<sup>329</sup> Tilley 1994: 208; quote referenced, including bracketed additions, in Carman & Carman 2006a: 23.

<sup>330</sup> See Kraft et al. 1987.

<sup>331</sup> Garmin eTrex 20 Handheld GPS.

- b) Consider, and try to understand, the component parts and how they relate to one another;
- c) Assess how the whole relates to its contemporary context (whether on a local, regional, or national level) and to comparable examples recorded elsewhere.<sup>332</sup>

My approach to the sites of conflict was to initially locate (where possible) high ground to survey the battlefields as a whole. Incidentally the battlefields (on land) I am concerned with in this project are all on low ground and surrounded, at least partly, by higher ground.<sup>333</sup> Having gained an overview of the sites I moved down into the battlefields in search of traces of commemorative monuments. Initially I was concerned with all existing monuments in-situ that are signposted and readily accessible and at the larger sites would drive to these structures and explore the immediate surrounding area on foot. For example, these monuments include the burial mounds at Marathon, the permanent trophy at Marathon, and the burial mound at Thermopylae. However, these examples are unfortunately the minority. I logged the monument's position in my gps unit and walked around the surrounding area looking away from the monument in order to see what could be seen from the structures. This practice (points (a) and (b)) is akin to Carman and Carman's approach to battlefields.<sup>334</sup> Carman and Carman, when investigating battlefields, 'spend time looking up and

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<sup>332</sup> Presented in Bowden 1999: 23.

<sup>333</sup> This is also noted by Carman & Carman 2006b: 41.

<sup>334</sup> See Carman & Carman 2006a: 24-25.

around...at the shape of the space itself'.<sup>335</sup> Following this I attempted to locate the less well known monuments which are referenced in the literature (ancient, antiquarian and modern) and are not presently advertised as tourist attractions. Although the action on the day of battle is not my primary concern, it was possible to gain an understanding of place while referencing fifth century BC accounts of the battles including the distances between forces and the general positioning of both armies.<sup>336</sup>

Attempting to locate the public battlefield monuments, or at least their remains, provided me with the data to produce table 3.2; in this table I illustrate how the battlefield monument has come to be identified. It soon became apparent that the monuments which are no longer advertised as attractions, or clearly visible, were going to prove difficult to locate and the question marks represent monuments I was unable to verify, locate, or access.

The monuments I could not personally verify are as follows: at Marathon I searched for the grave of Miltiades but was unable to locate it due to both a lack of consensus in the positioning of the monument, either to the north or south of the *soros*, and the reworking of the area for residential purposes.<sup>337</sup> The tomb of Mardonius may not be locally known as such today; while exploring the surrounding area of the *soros* on foot

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<sup>335</sup> Carman & Carman 2006a: 24.

<sup>336</sup> Information which can be compared to near contemporary descriptions of the action, e.g.: Hdts. and Aesch. *The Persians*.

<sup>337</sup> North: Leake 1829: 172-3, Frazer 1965: 2.435, see also discussion of monument in App. no.4; south: Clarke 1818: 7.27.

I asked a passing resident about Miltiades' grave but they couldn't help in locating the structure. It should be noted that in the nineteenth century the 'tomb' was identified as consisting of a square pedestal made up of several squared blocks (see App. no.4). What has been identified as the burial mound at Thermopylae (or *kolonos*) is clearly signposted and is easily accessible and structural remains are visible at the summit, but it is not clear whether the stone lion was situated here (see App. no's.27 and 28 for discussion). It is unlikely that these remains are, in fact, the remains of the monuments mentioned by Clarke.<sup>338</sup> However, seeing as the identification of Clarke's mound is unclear and I did not encounter a mound with remains matching Clarke's description I cannot say whether the archaeological remnants of the pedestal which may have supported the stone lion remains in-situ. I was unable to reach the island of Psyttaleia due to time constraints and so I cannot verify that the remains of the trophy base are still visible. However, Wallace's tentative identification of foundation stones on the island is accepted here tentatively (see App. no.34).<sup>339</sup> Finally the fourth monument which I cannot verify as still being visible today is the tomb of Themistocles (App. no.38). The area of the Piraeus port is undoubtedly very different to the area surveyed by the antiquarian travellers on whose evidence I was reliant. I explored the area of the Piraeus port on foot, searching for the remnants of the tomb from the land side, and frequently could not get close enough to the water's edge in order to view the immediate coast line. I believe the most effective way to search for the tomb today would be to search along the shore line from a small boat.

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<sup>338</sup> Clarke 1818: 7.305-310.

<sup>339</sup> Wallace 1969: 302.

With reference to table 3.2 it is clear how few of the battlefield monuments are extant; out of the twenty eight monuments presented in the list only nine are extant. In addition, I was able to verify only five of these monuments as being in (or near) their original position on the fields of conflict. Therefore the fieldwork I conducted enabled me to see that a study on the spatial relationships between monuments and surrounding features on a particular battlefield was not feasible. As a result I altered my approach to the sites of conflict:

- a) Look at *the general area of where monuments once were*;
- b) Consider and try to understand, *using surviving material evidence and literary sources*, the component parts and how they relate to one another;
- c) Assess how *battlefield commemoration* relates to its contemporary context and to comparable examples recorded *within other commemorative arenas, such as urban centres and pan-Hellenic sanctuaries*.<sup>340</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> My alterations of the approach, outlined in Bowden 1999: 23, are highlighted by the use of italics.

Table 3.2 *Identification and Location of Persian War Battlefield Monuments*

| Battle      | Monument                    | Ancient literature | Antiquarian literature | Modern literature | Extant  |        |
|-------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------|--------|
|             |                             |                    |                        |                   | In-situ | Museum |
| Marathon    | Burial mound - Athens       | ✓                  | ✓                      | ✓                 | ✓       |        |
|             | Burial mound - Plataea      | ✓                  | ✓                      | ✓                 | ✓       |        |
|             | Trophy                      | ✓                  | ✓                      | ✓                 |         | ✓      |
|             | Grave of Miltiades          | ✓                  | ✓                      |                   | ?       |        |
|             | Herakleia                   |                    |                        |                   |         |        |
|             | (archaeological evidence)   | ✓                  |                        | ✓                 |         | ✓      |
|             | Epigram - Athens            | ✓                  |                        |                   |         |        |
|             | Casualty list - Athens      | ✓                  |                        | ✓                 |         | ✓      |
| Artemisium  | Stele with epigram          | ✓                  |                        |                   |         |        |
| Thermopylae | Epigram - Sparta            | ✓                  |                        |                   |         |        |
|             | Epigram - Peloponnesians    | ✓                  |                        |                   |         |        |
|             | Epigram - Opuntian Locrians | ✓                  |                        |                   |         |        |
|             | Epigram - Thespians         | ✓                  |                        |                   |         |        |
|             | Stone lion                  | ✓                  | ✓                      |                   | ?       |        |
|             | Burial mound                | ✓                  | ✓                      | ✓                 | ✓       |        |
|             | Trophy                      | ✓                  |                        | ✓                 | ?       |        |
| Salamis     | Trophy on Salamis           | ✓                  | ✓                      | ✓                 | ✓       |        |
|             | Epitaph - Corinth           | ✓                  |                        | ✓                 |         | ✓      |
|             | Burial mound                |                    |                        | ✓                 | ✓       |        |
|             | Tomb of Themistocles        | ✓                  | ✓                      |                   | ?       |        |
|             | Trophy                      | ✓                  |                        |                   |         |        |
| Plataea     | Epigram - Sparta            | ✓                  |                        |                   |         |        |
|             | Epigram - Athens            | ✓                  |                        |                   |         |        |
|             | Epigram - Corinth           | ✓                  |                        |                   |         |        |
|             | Epigram - Tegea             | ✓                  |                        |                   |         |        |
|             | Burial mounds               | ✓                  | ✓                      |                   |         |        |
|             | Altar of Zeus               | ✓                  | ✓                      |                   |         |        |
|             | Eleutheria                  |                    |                        |                   |         |        |
|             | (archaeological evidence)   | ✓                  |                        |                   |         |        |
|             | Tomb of Mardonius           | ✓                  |                        |                   |         |        |

#### 3.4.4 The Importance of ‘Experiencing’ the Monuments

It was important to experience the extant monuments in their intended places of commemoration or failing that, where possible, in the museum environment because to engage with archaeological objects through photographs removes the sensory experience of physically engaging with the object. When looking at a photograph, the viewer is experiencing the view chosen by the photographer and the monument is

disconnected from its physical setting.<sup>341</sup> Shanks criticises the over reliance on photographs and states it is 'misleading to treat archaeological photographs as transparent windows to what they are meant to represent'.<sup>342</sup> Despite the critiques that the picture becomes a still, silent second hand perception of the object Watson presents us with an innovative and interesting way of engaging with the Neolithic henge monument at Avebury using schematic resources.<sup>343</sup> The method is based on an arrangement of images, which can be rearranged in whatever manner a viewer wishes. The arrangement that is presented is one interpretation of the collection of images and the multiplicity of options creates an on-going relationship between the self, image and place. This approach which attempts to provide a non-static representation of place neatly illustrates, visually, that as there are many ways to rearrange the pictures, there are equally as many number of Aveburys.<sup>344</sup>

To view a monument in a museum environment is to view an object away from its intended physical setting. However, for many of the extant objects it was the only viable option (see table 3.2). When attempting to physically engage with objects of history being displayed in a museum, accepted modes of behaviour must be adhered to. For example, when I visited the Epigraphical Museum in Athens in order to locate the Corinthian Salamis epitaph (see App. no.36) I was asked not to touch the object. I was therefore restricted to rely on sight in order to gain a sense of the objects I viewed in museums. Although archaeological reports and scholarly articles provide

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<sup>341</sup> Watson 2004: 80.

<sup>342</sup> Shanks 1997: 73.

<sup>343</sup> Watson 2004: 92.

<sup>344</sup> Watson 2004: 92.



measurements and images for objects it is not until a viewer experiences the object in person that the size, shape and texture (albeit by viewing, rather than touching) can be fully understood. Again I will refer to the Corinthian epitaph because pictures provided often are lit to pronounce the text and only by viewing the object in the light that it becomes clear how small and (today at least) shallow the text is. I imagine the text would have been deeper and more clearly defined nearer the time of construction but my impression was that it would still require a contemporary passer-by to purposefully read the inscription rather than it grab attention.

#### 3.4.5 Literary Material Collection

I use West's catalogue to construct my data set. The purpose of West's catalogue 'is to recover, as far as possible, knowledge of the public monuments of the Persian Wars set up by Greeks of the fifth century.'<sup>345</sup> West's catalogue includes the collection of scattered literary references which he brings together for the first time.

As noted in the material data collection section of this chapter, the initial aim of this project was to focus on the battlefields and the spatial arrangements of the monuments at these sites. It was therefore necessary to read antiquarian literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in order to find any references to the Persian War monuments and their specific locations. This research served two purposes. Firstly if the monument is no longer extant, or in situ, and no modern literature can locate it

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<sup>345</sup> West 1965: iv.

the antiquarian sources may provide information as to whether the monument was extant at the time of their writing (e.g. see App. no.4). If the monument was extant at the time of the antiquarian's writing, my assumption was that it would be easier to locate than attempting to locate the site by using the ancient literature alone. Secondly, if the positioning of the modern day monument is generally agreed upon, the antiquarian literature can confirm whether the identification was established at the time of their writing. Presenting ancient, antiquarian and modern literary monument identifications allows us to highlight various points in time and see between which points, if at all, monument identification varied.

### **3.5 Phenomenological Approach**

In order to carry out a study which was initially intended to analyse the relationship between monuments and the surrounding landscape, it was necessary to attempt a phenomenological approach. By initially carrying out a phenomenological approach I follow Carman and Carman in attempting to gain a feeling for the place by moving around it, by being in the place.<sup>346</sup> The best method for gathering information about how monuments relate to each other within a particular place is to actually be there; maps, for example, cannot substitute for personal experience.<sup>347</sup> A phenomenological approach to the places themselves was undertaken with the intention of understanding 'the multiple meanings left from the different superimposed historical

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<sup>346</sup> Carman & Carman 2006a: 22-24.

<sup>347</sup> Carman & Carman 2006a: 22-24; Tilley 1994: 75.

messages'.<sup>348</sup> Prior to embarking on a phenomenological exercise at the sites of conflict I consulted modern literature of the Greek countryside in order to ascertain more information about where the monuments stood, or at least were originally situated. Initially this literature comprised of the writings of various nineteenth century travellers who claimed to have viewed a number of the monuments which make up the current project's data set. In support of these texts I read twentieth century archaeological literature on specific monuments and the topography of specific battlefields. For example, Pritchett's work on the topography of the battle of Plataea was extremely useful in clarifying a complex battle with multiple centres of action and offered many insights into the placing of the commemorative monuments.<sup>349</sup> However, the exact locations of many of the commemorative monuments at most of the sites of conflict are still debated. I bring the key suggestions together in the Appendix, but without further archaeological discoveries or identifications it is still not possible to provide definitive answers.

To experience a place is at the core of the phenomenological methodology which enables the possibility of accessing the collective understanding of the place, by thinking about how the landscape was experienced, perceived and represented in the past.<sup>350</sup> In the same way as memory is a mouldable, changeable and interpretable collective experience, so is the understanding of place. Due to the lack of material

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<sup>348</sup> Quote from Forbes 2007: 13; see also Hoskins 1977: 12.

<sup>349</sup> Pritchett 1957; 1965.

<sup>350</sup> Van Dyke & Alcock 2003: 5-6.

evidence having survived and remaining in-situ, however, this approach is taken only so far in the current project.

My approach to particular places was primarily visual. In addition I was aware of how the battlefield 'felt' in relation to the surrounding topography; however this awareness was enabled by sight of the surrounding topographical features. The over reliance on vision has also been the subject of criticism, albeit in relation to encountering prehistoric landscapes.<sup>351</sup> The difficulty lies with overcoming the state of either being on the outside looking in at places or in the place looking out, and not comprehending the meaning place has to others.<sup>352</sup> Work has since been undertaken to adopt a more multi sensual experience of landscape. For example Tilley's earlier work is focussed on the visual relations between sites and features while later work considers other senses and rejects approaches that view the place from outside.<sup>353</sup> Work has also been conducted on the significance of touch and texture when investigating landscapes, the use of colour, and the possible role of sound.<sup>354</sup> However, when approaching the battlefields of the Persian Wars the initial aim was to locate monuments and this task was to be carried out with reliance on sight. As table 3.2 illustrates the vast minority of monuments remain in-situ and so the employment of the senses in relation to the monuments in the landscape was not possible.

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<sup>351</sup> See Cooney 2001.

<sup>352</sup> Forbes 2007: 23-24.

<sup>353</sup> Earlier work: Tilley: 1994; later work: Tilley 2004: 217-225; see also Richards 1996, Watson 2001, MacGregor 1999: 265-266 and Forbes 2007: 38.

<sup>354</sup> For example, touch and texture: Cummings 2002: 249-250; Macgregor 1999: 265; colour: Jones & Macgregor 2002; sound: Watson and Keating 1999; Watson 2001: 308.

To gauge and understand how peoples of the past understood and experienced their landscape are difficult problems to be addressed by modern archaeologists.<sup>355</sup> One method used to understand particular places in addition to sight is to 'sense the place'.<sup>356</sup> Sensing place is not a physical experience such as touching a monument to experience whether the material is hard or soft, hot or cold. Carman and Carman, in their phenomenological approach attempt to gain a 'feeling for the place as a place' and focus on how one moves through it and by doing so obtain a 'specific sense of what a particular historic battlefield represents in terms of experience and meaning'.<sup>357</sup> Sensing of place is therefore to gauge an emotional attachment to a specific place and is the perception of an intangible aura. Schofield observes that places which are least conducive to conveying a sense of place are usually the most accessible. 'For me....a peaceful landscape that once rattled to the sound of artillery; a peaceful landscape that once saw death; and a cultural landscape which retains physical traces that link the past with the present are the necessary conditions for sensing sites of conflict in an intimate and engaging way'.<sup>358</sup>

An approach that is often adopted by phenomenologists is to dehumanise those who actually lived in (or live in) landscapes.<sup>359</sup> Tilley states that '[t]o be human is both to create this distance between the self and that which is beyond and attempt to bridge

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<sup>355</sup> Fleming 1999: 124.

<sup>356</sup> See Forbes 2007: 18-25.

<sup>357</sup> See Carman & Carman 2006b, quotations from 98.

<sup>358</sup> Schofield 2005: 105.

<sup>359</sup> Forbes 2007: 20.

this distance through a variety of means – through perception’.<sup>360</sup> Questions have been raised in response to this way of approaching landscape, not least whether people both today and in the past have thought in this way: like existential philosophers.<sup>361</sup> The overly philosophical approaches to landscape have been the subject of some criticism, for example the philosophical approaches to landscape, such as the works of Heidegger and Foucault, cannot be separated from the context in which they were written.<sup>362</sup> Cooney raises the point that such approaches are ‘Western males who assumed that their version of humanity should apply to everyone else’.<sup>363</sup> Work has been conducted which acknowledges that the Westernised point of view should not take precedence over other interpretations.<sup>364</sup>

Rather than places becoming exemplars of our concepts, they should be seen as, to varying degrees, socially constructed products of *others’* interests (material as well as ideational) and as mnemonics of *others’* experiences. The contests and tensions between different actors and interests in the construction of space should be explored.<sup>365</sup>

Rodman here challenges the modern experiencer privileging their own perceptions in an attempt to say something meaningful about how people of the past valued and experienced the landscape. Carman and Carman avoid such issues of privileging

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<sup>360</sup> Tilley 1994: 12.

<sup>361</sup> Forbes 2007: 21.

<sup>362</sup> Forbes 2007: 21.

<sup>363</sup> Cooney 2001: 174.

<sup>364</sup> Forbes 2007: 21.

<sup>365</sup> Rodman 1992: 644 (original emphasis).

modern perspectives in their phenomenological approach to battlefields by ‘not searching for an experience of being in the past, but rather an experience *in the present* which reflects and derives from the contribution of history at a particular place.’<sup>366</sup> While this project will not be engaging in the philosophical debate, I follow Heidegger generally in his definition of public space, which is that public space depends upon a plurality of individual perspectives.<sup>367</sup>

Thomas has labelled groups within one society who see landscape in different ways ‘textual communities’ as he has advocated reading monuments and material culture, and thus extracting the meaning, as if they are texts.<sup>368</sup> These textual communities may cluster around alternate readings of a given text. If a monument is the physical embodiment with meaning written upon it to be read and followed, the same analogy could be used for the means in which to move around a place; a ‘pedestrian speech act’.<sup>369</sup> The inscription, or writing on the ground in the form of paths trodden before, may indicate the ideal way in which to experience the surroundings. In this sense both the reading of the monument and reading of paths both provide ways to be followed. Paths, in this sense, are an essential instrument for the formation of social relations as the more people who share in the experience of traversing the particular route, the more important it becomes.<sup>370</sup> This medium is the ‘connecting up [of] spatial

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<sup>366</sup> Carman & Carman 2006a: 24 (original emphasis); see also Carman & Carman 2012.

<sup>367</sup> Dreyfus 1991:136.

<sup>368</sup> Thomas 1999: 38.

<sup>369</sup> Tilley 1994: 28-9.

<sup>370</sup> See Forbes 2007: 27-30.

impressions with temporally inscribed memories'.<sup>371</sup> Although the 'textual turn' is a dated method of approaching sites, the importance of moving around a site in order to 'gain a particular sense of what a particular [place] represents in terms of experience and meaning' was initially intended to be a central aspect of my approach to fieldwork.<sup>372</sup> However, without definite monument locations the landscape became, essentially, impossible to read (at least in the sense I had intended to read it).

### **3.6 Quantitative Analysis and Classical Archaeology**

It became apparent that seeing as the exact location of the monuments within the landscape was, for the most part, impossible to denote I would have to select another method of analysing the data. I have selected to analyse my data quantitatively because this method allows for me to include monuments which are referenced only in the ancient literary sources and have not been located within the landscape. With a quantitative approach each monument effectively becomes equal, that is without preference being given to extant monuments. This approach allows for comparisons and contrasts to be drawn between monument types (for example see table 5.9), between arenas of commemoration (for example see table 5.5 and figures 5.5, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9) and dedicators (for example see figures 5.6 and 5.9). Furthermore I have broadened my data set to encapsulate commemorative monuments attributed to the Persian Wars erected or enacted within urban centres and pan-Hellenic sanctuaries (and 'other', see definitions in chapter 4). The purpose of the inclusion of a greater

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<sup>371</sup> Tilley 1994: 31.

<sup>372</sup> Carman & Carman 2006a: 24.



number of monuments from a greater number of spheres enables not only comparisons to be drawn between quantities of monuments across commemorative arenas (see tables 5.1 and 5.3) but an exploration of monument type preferences across particular commemorative arenas (see tables 5.7 and 5.8).

In relation to the ancient world (that is Greek and Roman culture specifically) quantitative approaches have been used to investigate the economy of the Roman Empire, Roman coins, and more recently questions to oracles in Graeco-Roman Egypt, and classical Greek architectural design.<sup>373</sup> I use the term ‘quantitative’ precisely because I am concerned with quantities. In the same way as Orton and Hughes utilise ‘quantification’ in their analysis of pottery, I intend the term to mean the measuring of the amount of monuments in a given set of commemorative places, with a view to evaluating the value attributed to those places in terms of the proportions of monuments present.<sup>374</sup> I therefore analyse and discuss, as far as is possible, a complete list of public Persian War monuments and follow Snodgrass who states, in reference to archaic Greece:

[O]nce Classical archaeologists turn from the outstanding works of art to the totality of material products, then history (thus widely interpreted) will provide them with a more serviceable framework.<sup>375</sup>

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<sup>373</sup> Roman economy: Duncan-Jones 1974; Roman coinage: Christiansen 1988; questions to oracles: Buchholz 2013; architectural design: Pakkanen 2013.

<sup>374</sup> See Orton & Hughes 2013: 21.

<sup>375</sup> Snodgrass 1980: 13.

### **3.7 Analysis Methodology**

Having selected to adopt a quantitative approach to the public monuments of the Persian Wars, I will now outline how this approach was implemented and why particular methods were selected.

As noted above, due to the lack of extant monuments on the battlefields and the general lack of consensus on their exact locations, it is necessary to incorporate public monuments from a wider set of commemorative places. Also as noted above, I divide the places at which we find commemorative monuments into four categories: 'urban', 'battlefield', 'pan-Hellenic sanctuary' and 'other'. The initial step, then, in my quantitative approach is to gauge the monument distribution over the generalised site types outlined above. The presentation of the data in such broad categories allows for general numerical comparisons to be drawn between each of the site types (figure 5.1). However, such a broad division by site type hides some of the more detailed variations of monument distribution. To highlight these variations I divide the monument distribution by specific place and to further highlight the places at which fewer monuments are constructed or enacted I present the relative frequency of monument distribution by particular place. The purpose of this is to bring to the fore places with fewer monuments. It is important to highlight these places because, according to our data set, the practice of dedicating fewer monuments at particular commemorative places was in fact a more popular practice (table 5.4). To contrast the

more popular occurrence of certain places holding fewer monuments with the less common occurrence of places holding multiple monuments it is necessary to depict the cumulative relative frequency of monument distribution (figure 5.3). The cumulative relative frequency enables numerical contrasts to be drawn between the each place's popularity in comparison with each other.

Following the general analysis of monument distribution over certain commemorative places I further examine the relationship between the commemorative place and particular commemorative groups. To do this I present the monument distribution at battlefields, urban centres and pan-Hellenic sanctuaries by particular commemorative groups. To begin this section of the analysis, I calculate the mean and median of monument distribution at the battlefield, urban centre and pan-Hellenic site types. By calculating the mean and median of monument distribution specifically, and comparing the two, it is possible to discern both what we may expect as the numerical norm, and what the numerical monument distribution over a particular site type actually is. The monument distribution at particular site types is then presented graphically in stacked bar charts (see figures 5.5, 5.7, 5.9). I have selected this form of graph to illustrate the relationship between commemorative groups and particular places of commemoration because it allows for multiple commemorative groups to be depicted at a single place and clearly represents the (mis)distribution of monuments by particular place.

Having presented the monument distribution by space I present, where possible, the monument distribution by time. In order to do this I refer initially to the Athenian commemoration of Marathon because it is possible to ascertain the dates for some 75% of the monuments for this battle. I present the number of monuments, again in a bar chart, over the first half of the fifth century BC with different commemorative places represented by different colours. This form of graph, in this instance, allows for comparisons to be drawn about preferred places to commemorate the battle of Marathon over time (measured in decades). In addition, I insert an exponential trend line to further illustrate the differences in numerical commemorative patterns between different commemorative places over time (see figure 5.12). While still focussing on the distribution of monuments over time, I also address the dateable battlefield monuments for all conflicts by all commemorative groups. The purpose of this exercise is to illustrate, having presented Athenian commemorative patterns of Marathon, how these patterns fit into the general commemorative pattern within the battlefield site type. I select the battlefield to illustrate the commemorative pattern over time because this is the site type with the highest proportion of dateable monuments. With varying degrees of accuracy and confidence, it is possible to date a number of the monuments erected on the Persian War battlefields. Again presenting the data in a bar chart ensures the clearest method of illustrating how the value attributed to a particular commemorative place, as measured by the number of monuments erected, differs over time (see figure 5.13).

To demonstrate, through quantitative analysis, the emergence of commemorative monopolies I use the Athenian commemorative data. I rely heavily on Athenian commemorative data here and elsewhere because Athens is the most frequent dedicator, according to this data set. Again, I turn to the Athenian commemoration of Marathon to exemplify commemorative monopolies as Athenian monuments can account for 90% of the monuments attributed to this battle. To compare the similarities in Athenian commemorative behaviour for Marathon and the Persian Wars in general I present the Athenian commemorative pattern of both instances in pie charts which divide the commemorative efforts by commemorative arena. In addition the chart depicting general Persian War commemoration is accompanied by a stacked bar which further numerically divides the monuments by particular battlefield (see figure 5.15). By comparing the numerical distribution of monuments at the Marathon battlefield with all monuments at all battlefields (e.g. figure 5.5), patterns may be discerned regarding the monopolisation of battlefields as places of commemoration by particular city-states. To further highlight commemorative patterns of particular dedicators I compare these patterns with pan-Hellenic dedicatory practices. I present the monument distribution of pan-Hellenic monuments over all commemorative places in a pie chart (figure 5.16). In comparing figures 5.16, 5.15 and 5.5 it is possible to view certain places as being treated in different ways with relation to the numerical distribution of monuments.

To close the quantitative analysis of the material data I address the relationship between the object and the place at which it was constructed. I do this by tabulating

the data and classifying the monuments by type and the site type at which they were constructed. Furthermore I present the data both numerically and as percentages (tables 5.7 & 5.8). I present the data in this way because it allows for clear comparisons and contrasts to be drawn between the numerical popularity of constructing monuments, of differing types, at specific site types.

Following this general classification of all Persian War monuments at a variety of site types I focus specifically on monument distribution at a specific site type and a specific form of monument across a variety of places. For the specific site type I select the battlefields to focus on in this section of the analysis because, according to the data, there are accepted methods of commemoration at this site type which are, for the most part, abided. In addition, I believe the battlefield site type provided some of the more interesting commemorative patterns visible in the data presented and these patterns form the basis of part of the discussion chapter (see chapter section 6.4). Again, I tabulate the data by monument type and the battlefield at which the monuments were constructed, presenting the data numerically and as percentages (tables 5.10 & 5.11).

For the specific form of monument across a range of site types I further analyse the distribution of statues. I select statues as a monument type because, having focussed on the battlefield, the statue is the only type of monument not represented at this site type. Having selected to use the statue monument type, the intention here is to incorporate the remaining site types (urban centres, pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, and

other) in the discussion. I present the distribution of statues in table 5.12 numerically by the conflict(s) they were constructed to commemorate. Presenting the data in a table clearly illustrates preferences in utilising this monument type for specific conflicts. For the purpose of this table I consider statue groups as a singular monument as otherwise the data would be somewhat skewed by multiple statues being erected in commemoration of a singular conflict at a specific place. The term 'statue' is a broad term which encompasses multiple statue types and so I further analyse statue distribution among various site types by differentiating between statue types, dividing them by form. I present the data in a table to reveal patterns of dedication by particular site type (see table 5.13). With regard to statue distribution I initially focus on form and the commemorative place of statue construction. However to further reveal commemorative patterns I present the statue distribution by commemorative group and by the battle that the statue was intended to commemorate (see figure 5.17). With no statues having been constructed on any battlefield I present the number of statues raised at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and at urban centres by particular commemorative group. The data is presented in bar charts together for the purpose of comparisons and contrasts (figures 5.19 & 5.20).

The analysis highlights several themes which are to be expanded upon and discussed in chapter 6. These are monument distribution over space (chapter section 6.1: 'Athens and Corinth'), monument distribution over time (chapter section 6.2: 'Behavioural Commemoration'), commemorative monopolies (chapter section 6.3: 'Fighting

Alone?'), and the relationship between object and place (chapter section 6.4: 'Commemoration and Place').

### **3.8 Conclusion**

This project is necessarily multi-disciplinary in its approach. Public monumentalisation is used here as a tool to explore Greek commemorative patterns over a range of site types. Various places within the landscape are presented as cognitive constructs which enables me to approach historical settings as meaningful contexts (as they once were) for the archaeological data. By analysing and presenting the data quantitatively, and displaying it graphically, a number of themes are highlighted which are present in the commemorative practices of the fifth century BC. These themes are expanded in chapter 6 with the use of additional material evidence and literary sources. Literary evidence is presented as an alternative method of transmitting collective memories. Literary sources are used within this project to generally provide the context against which the material evidence is assessed and evaluated. The varying methods employed throughout this project have been selected and are employed in order to engage with, and investigate, the varied relationships between commemorative group, object and commemorative place.

This thesis continues with the presentation of the data by type and an outline of the site types at which the monuments were constructed and enacted.



## Chapter 4: MONUMENTS AND PLACES

Table 4.1 *Full Monument List*

| Battle      | No. | Monument                                       | Commemorating Group     | Location                 |
|-------------|-----|--|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Marathon    | 1   | Burial Mound                                   | Athens                  | Battlefield              |
|             | 2   | Burial Mound                                   | Plataea                 | Battlefield              |
|             | 3   | Trophy   | Athens                  | Battlefield              |
|             | 4   | Grave of Miltiades                             | Athens                  | Battlefield              |
|             | 5   | <i>Herakleia</i>                               | Athens                  | Battlefield              |
|             | 6   | Epigram for the Athenians                      | Athens                  | Battlefield              |
|             | 7   | Casualty List                                  | Athens                  | Battlefield              |
|             | 8   | Treasury                                       | Athens                  | Delphi                   |
|             | 9   | Thank-Offering (Statue Group?)                 | Athens                  | Delphi                   |
|             | 10  | Callimachus Monument                           | Athens                  | Athens (Acropolis)       |
|             | 11  | Engraved Marble Base (Cenotaph?)               | Athens                  | Athens                   |
|             | 12  | <i>Stoa Poikile</i>                            | Athens                  | Athens (Agora)           |
|             | 13  | Temple of Eukleia                              | Athens                  | Athens (Agora)           |
|             | 14  | Sanctuary of Pan                               | Athens                  | Athens (Acropolis)       |
|             | 15  | Statue Group                                   | Athens                  | Delphi                   |
|             | 16  | Bronze Statue of Athena                        | Athens                  | Athens (Acropolis)       |
|             | 17  | 'Old' Parthenon                                | Athens                  | Athens (Acropolis)       |
|             | 18  | Annual Sacrifice of 500 Kids                   | Athens                  | Athens (Agrai)           |
|             | 19  | Temple of Nemesis with Statue of Nemesis       | Athens                  | Rhamnus                  |
|             | 20  | Statue of Arimnestos                           | Plataea                 | Plataea                  |
| Artemisium  | 21  | Circle of Marble Steles with an Epigram        | Athens                  | Battlefield              |
|             | 22  | Shrine to Boreas                               | Athens                  | Athens                   |
| Thermopylae | 23  | Epigram for the Spartiates                     | Amphictyons             | Battlefield              |
|             | 24  | Epigram for Peloponnesians                     | Amphictyons             | Battlefield              |
|             | 25  | Epigram for the Opuntian Locrians              | Opus                    | Battlefield              |
|             | 26  | Epigram for the Thespians                      | Thespieae               | Battlefield              |
|             | 27  | Stone Lion over Leonidas' grave                | Spartans or Amphictyons | Battlefield              |
|             | 28  | Burial mound                                   | Sparta & Thespieae      | Battlefield              |
|             | 29  | Tomb of Leonidas                               | Sparta                  | Sparta                   |
|             | 30  | List of Spartans Who Fought at Thermopylae     | Sparta                  | Sparta                   |
|             | 31  | Shrine of Maron and Alpheius                   | Sparta                  | Sparta (Agora)           |
|             | 32  | Hero-Cult practices for the fallen             | Sparta                  | Sparta                   |
|             | 33  | Epigram for Leonidas                           | Sparta                  | Sparta                   |
| Salamis     | 34  | Trophy on the Island of Psyttaleia             | Athens                  | Battlefield              |
|             | 35  | Trophy on the Island of Salamis (Cynosoura)    | Athens                  | Battlefield              |
|             | 36  | Gravestone with Epitaph for the Corinthians    | Corinth                 | Battlefield              |
|             | 37  | Burial Mound                                   |                         | Battlefield              |
|             | 38  | Tomb of Themistocles                           | Athens                  | Battlefield              |
|             | 39  | Thank-Offering of Three Triremes (1)           | Panhellenic             | Isthmus                  |
|             | 40  | Thank-Offering of Three Triremes (2)           | Panhellenic             | Sunium                   |
|             | 41  | Thank-Offering of Three Triremes (3)           | Panhellenic             | Salamis                  |
|             | 42  | Statue of Apollo Holding the Beak of a Ship    | Panhellenic             | Delphi                   |
|             | 43  | Tomb of Eurybiades                             | Sparta                  | Sparta                   |
|             | 44  | Painting of Salamis Holding the Beak of a Ship | Athens                  | Olympia                  |
|             | 45  | Sanctuary of the Hero Cychreus                 | Athens                  | Salamis                  |
|             | 46  | Epigram Engraved on a Cenotaph                 | Corinth                 | Isthmus                  |
|             | 47  | Bronze Mast with Three Gold Stars              | Aegina                  | Delphi                   |
|             | 48  | Pedimental Sculptures of the Temple of Aphaea  | Aegina                  | Aphaea sanctuary, Aegina |

Table 4.2 *Full Monument List cont.*

| Battle  | No. | Monument  | Commemorating Group | Location           |
|---------|-----|---|---------------------|--------------------|
| Plataea | 49  | Trophy  | Panhellenic         | Battlefield        |
|         | 50  | Trophy  | Sparta              | Battlefield        |
|         | 51  | Trophy  | Athens              | Battlefield        |
|         | 52  | Epigram for Athenians                               | Athens              | Battlefield        |
|         | 53  | Epigram for Spartans                                | Sparta              | Battlefield        |
|         | 54  | Epigram for Corinthians                             | Corinth             | Battlefield        |
|         | 55  | Epigram for Tegeans                                 | Tegea               | Battlefield        |
|         | 56  | Burial Mound  | Sparta              | Battlefield        |
|         | 57  | Burial Mound  | Athens              | Battlefield        |
|         | 58  | Burial Mound  | Tegea               | Battlefield        |
|         | 59  | Burial Mound  | Megara              | Battlefield        |
|         | 60  | Burial Mound  | Phlius              | Battlefield        |
|         | 61  | Burial Mound (Empty?)                               | Aegina              | Battlefield        |
|         | 62  | Empty Burial Mounds                                 | Others              | Battlefield        |
|         | 63  | Ruins of Sanctuaries as Memorial of Persian Impiety | Panhellenic         |                    |
|         | 64  | Tithing of Medising Greeks                          | Panhellenic         |                    |
|         | 65  | <i>Eleutheria</i>                                   | Panhellenic         | Battlefield        |
|         | 66  | Inviolability of Plataea                            | Panhellenic         |                    |
|         | 67  | Altar of Zeus <i>Eleutherios</i>                    | Panhellenic         | Battlefield        |
|         | 68  | Annual Rites Performed at the Greek Tombs           | Plataea             | Battlefield        |
|         | 69  | Tomb of Mardonius                                   | Plataea             | Battlefield        |
|         | 70  | Temple and Statue of Athena <i>Areia</i>            | Plataea             | Plataea            |
|         | 71  | Tomb of Pausanias                                   | Sparta              | Sparta             |
|         | 72  | Spoils Displayed in the Parthenon                   | Athens              | Athens (Acropolis) |
|         | 73  | Odeum at Athens                                     | Athens              | Athens             |
|         | 74  | Shields Hung on Temple Architraves                  | Athens              | Delphi             |
|         | 75  | Bronze Statue of Artemis the Saviour                | Megara              | Megara             |
|         | 76  | Bronze Statue of Artemis the Saviour                | Pagae (in Megarid)  | Pagae              |
|         | 77  | Grave of Euchidas with Engraved Stele               | Plataea             | Plataea            |
|         | 78  | Statue of an Ox                                     | Plataea             | Delphi             |
|         | 79  | Manger of Mardonius Dedicated to Athena <i>Alea</i> | Tegea               | Tegea              |
| General | 80  | Serpent Column                                      | Panhellenic         | Delphi             |
|         | 81  | Bronze Statue of Zeus                               | Panhellenic         | Olympia            |
|         | 82  | Bronze Statue of Poseidon                           | Panhellenic         | Isthmus            |
|         | 83  | Persian Stoa  | Sparta              | Sparta (Agora)     |
|         | 84  | Athenian Portico Displaying Spoils                  | Athens              | Delphi             |
|         | 85  | North Wall of the Acropolis                         | Athens              | Athens (Acropolis) |
|         | 86  | 'New' Parthenon                                     | Athens              | Athens (Acropolis) |
|         | 87  | Statue of Zeus <i>Eleutherios</i>                   | Athens              | Athens (Agora)     |
|         | 88  | Statue of Miltiades                                 | Athens              | Athens (Agora)     |
|         | 89  | Statue of Themistocles                              | Athens              | Athens (Agora)     |
|         | 90  | Tomb of Aristides                                   | Athens              | Athens (Phalerum)  |
|         | 91  | Epigram in Thanks to Aphrodite                      | Corinth             | Corinth            |
|         | 92  | Epigram Engraved on a Cenotaph                      | Megara              | Megara (Agora)     |
|         | 93  | Statues of Skylis and His Daughter Hydna            | Amphictyons         | Delphi             |
|         | 94  | Altar Dedicated to Helios <i>Eleutherios</i>        | Troezen             | Troezen            |
|         | 95  | Statues of Women and Children                       | Troezen             | Troezen (Agora)    |
|         | 96  | Trophy with Epigram                                 | Delphi              | Delphi             |
|         | 97  | Altar of the Winds                                  | Delphi              | Thyia              |
|         | 98  | Statue of Apollo                                    | Epidaurus           | Delphi             |
|         | 99  | Bronze Statue of an Ox                              | Carystus            | Delphi             |
|         | 100 | Statue Group  | Hermionae           | Delphi             |
|         | 101 | Gilded statue of Alexander I                        | Macedon             | Delphi             |
|         | 102 | Bronze Apollo                                       | Peparethos          | Delphi             |
|         | 103 | Bronze Apollo                                       | Samos               | Delphi             |
|         | 104 | Bronze Bull   | Eretria             | Olympia            |
|         | 105 | Inscribed Persian Helmet                            | Athens              | Olympia            |

## 4.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the type of monuments which are included in this project's data set and the types of places in which these monuments were erected and enacted. It is not the purpose of this chapter to discuss each monument separately, but the data set is divided into monument types whose key characteristics I define. Where possible I will provide a descriptive outline for each monument type which includes the generally accepted form monuments of a particular type took. When this is not possible, for example if a particular group of monuments are of an unusual style, I will discuss the forms of these examples individually. For a list of all monuments included in this data set see tables 4.1.1 and 4.1.2, above. The Appendix will be referenced in this chapter when more detailed information is relevant about a particular monument. Each monument in the data set has been assigned a specific number (hereafter e.g. App. no.1).

I begin this chapter by defining what I consider a monument to be. Following this the data set is divided into various broad monument type categories; these are cenotaphs, trophies, inscriptions, burials, dedications, structures, non-physical monuments and 'other'. Furthermore, most of these categories are sub divided, for example the category 'trophy' consists of both 'perishable' and 'permanent' sub divisions, and each sub division of a monument category is discussed in turn. Following each section on the particular monument sub divisions, tables present lists of all monuments of that particular type within this project's data set. The second section of this chapter will

focus on commemorative places. Within this section the site type divisions implemented throughout the quantitative analysis of the data in chapter 5 are defined; these site types are battlefields, urban centres, pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and other. Following this the monument and place are brought together. Each monument category is discussed again in turn in order to show which monument type could be expected to be found at which site type.

## **4.2 What is a Monument?**

Alcock has defined monuments as ‘places, structures, or objects deliberately designed, or later agreed, to provoke memories’.<sup>376</sup> However, this current project modifies Alcock’s definition slightly on two separate points. Firstly, within this definition I include behavioural commemoration as a ‘monument’. I consider behavioural commemoration to be the repetitive behaviour with a communally accepted relevance to a particular place and/or event. The inclusion of this form of non-physical commemoration in the definition of a ‘monument’ is to consider both ‘inscribed’ memorial practice and ‘incorporated’ memorial practice under the same title.<sup>377</sup> Therefore, this project illustrates the additional importance of non-material experiences which are less easily detected by the archaeologist.

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<sup>376</sup> Alcock 2002: 28.

<sup>377</sup> For ‘inscribed’ and ‘incorporated’ memorial practice see Alcock 2002: 28; Connerton 1989; Rowlands 1993.

Secondly, while Alcock's 'types of data' include monuments and places such as urban centres and sanctuaries,<sup>378</sup> I differentiate these types of data into separate categories. The monuments, which include behavioural commemoration, form this project's data set while the places such as specific urban centres, sanctuaries and battlefields provide the setting within which the data is (or at least was originally) situated. The number of monuments raised at a particular place is considered here to be a marker of how important a particular place was. The relationship between the monument and place is a central aspect in the present study (discussed in chapter sections 5.5 and 6.4 specifically) and so the data collected is understood to have (or at least had, at one time) a physical link with a particular place. Therefore the material represented in this project's data set, then, are either monuments raised, or behavioural commemorative activities enacted, at particular places.

### **4.3 Monument Types**

#### **4.3.1 Cenotaphs**

Page suggests the term 'cenotaph' 'should be reserved for memorials for the bodies not recovered for burial'.<sup>379</sup> Pritchett notes that throughout Page's study 'he recognizes only a war-memorial at home and a cenotaph on the field of battle' when honouring the war dead in the absence of their bodies.<sup>380</sup> However, as Pritchett

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<sup>378</sup> Alcock 2002: 31.

<sup>379</sup> Page 1981: 220; see also Xen. *Anabasis* 6.4.9.

<sup>380</sup> Pritchett 1985: 4.258-259.

argues, this 'is counter to Greek usage'.<sup>381</sup> For example Plutarch clearly states the monument at the Isthmus of Corinth was a *cenotaphion* (App. no.46) and it was not erected on the battlefield.<sup>382</sup> Also, the monument raised in the *demosion sema* in Athens to commemorate the Athenian war dead, in absence of the bodies themselves, has been suggested to have been a 'cenotaph' (see App. no.11 for discussion). In the case of the Marathon war dead the bodies were recovered for burial but were buried on the battlefield (see App. no.1). Therefore, the only consistent aspect of a cenotaph is the physical lack of a body, or bodies (even if their location is known to be elsewhere): they may be considered as empty graves.<sup>383</sup>

The practice of erecting cenotaphs can be traced back to the Homeric period and the forms which cenotaphs could take varied widely.<sup>384</sup> Cenotaphs may range from pits containing dedicated objects made specifically for dedication to the enormous tumulus cenotaph at Salamis, Cyprus, covering a mud-brick platform and ramp.<sup>385</sup>

Table 4.3 *Cenotaphs*

| Battle   | No. | Monument                         | Dedicator | Location       |
|----------|-----|----------------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| Marathon | 11  | Engraved Marble Base (Cenotaph?) | Athens    | Athens         |
| Salamis  | 46  | Epigram Engraved on a Cenotaph   | Corinth   | Isthmus        |
| General  | 92  | Epigram Engraved on a Cenotaph   | Megara    | Megara (Agora) |

<sup>381</sup> Pritchett 1985: 4.259.

<sup>382</sup> Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 39; Pritchett (1985: 4.259) puts the confusion over classifying ancient Greek commemorative monuments down to there being 'no separate word to designate what we call a war-memorial'.

<sup>383</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 99.

<sup>384</sup> In *Od.* 1.291 Telemachus is advised to raise a cenotaph to Odysseus in Ithaca if it is discovered that Odysseus is dead; also in *Od.* 4.584 Menelaus raises a cenotaph for Agamemnon in Egypt.

<sup>385</sup> Pits containing objects: Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 99; tumulus cenotaph: Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 258, image on 252.

### 4.3.2 Trophies

A clear physical divide can be made between the two forms of trophy: those which were destined to decay relatively rapidly, and those which were meant to be more permanent markers of a historical event. The two forms will be described below in turn under the titles of 'perishable' and 'permanent'.

#### 4.3.2.1 Perishable

The perishable monument would have been constructed at the culmination of battle. This monument would have consisted of a panoply of enemy armour placed on a stake, or a collection of pieces of enemy armour piled together.<sup>386</sup> The battlefield trophy, according to the ancient literature, would have marked the spot at which the enemy were routed.<sup>387</sup> These trophies were often erected in remote spots in enemy territory and therefore would have been difficult to interact with as objects of cult and thus access as focal points for repetitive behavioural commemoration.<sup>388</sup> Furthermore, it has been suggested that the perishable battlefield trophy was a symbol of prestige.<sup>389</sup> For example, Thucydides informs us that the Spartans returned to the site of conflict to erect a trophy after their naval victory over an Athenian squadron in

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<sup>386</sup> *OCD*: 1512 'trophies'; see West 1969: 10, n.17 for visual representations of trophies.

<sup>387</sup> Thucydides refers to trophies of the turning point (*trope*) of battles on two occasions: 2.92.5 and 7.54; this is also attested in later literature: Diod. 13.51.7; Cassius Dio 42.40.5; see Pritchett 1974: 2.253 for further references; West 1965: xxxix-xi; see also *OCD*: 1512 'trophies'.

<sup>388</sup> Pritchett 1974: 2.272-273.

<sup>389</sup> Pritchett 1974: 2.273.

412/411 BC.<sup>390</sup> The return journey, which took place in winter, would have totalled fifty miles or more and Thucydides provides no other reason for this other than to erect a trophy.<sup>391</sup> The trophy was raised in territory occupied by the enemy and most probably would not have been intended as an object to return to; the trophy was to become an instrument 'of publicity for advertising the prowess of the victor'.<sup>392</sup>

The perishable form of trophy would slowly degrade over time and the renewal or repair of these monuments was forbidden. The purpose of this prohibition was to avoid prolonging hatreds caused in warfare by ensuring monuments on the battlefield had a finite lifespan.<sup>393</sup> The testimonies which explicitly support this point were writing in the first century BC, or the first century AD and are therefore considered late. However, it has been argued that their judgement is supported by the fact that Thucydides and Xenophon (authors of the fifth and fourth centuries BC) do not mention the use of either stone or bronze for the trophies of any battle that they describe.<sup>394</sup>

In order to erect a trophy, the victor must have control of the battlefield. Thucydides provides us with just one example of the destruction of a trophy, and the justification

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<sup>390</sup> See Thuc. 8.42.4.

<sup>391</sup> The distance between Knidos (where the Spartans were anchored after the conflict) and Syme (where they returned to in order to erect a trophy) has been estimated by Pritchett (1974: 2.273) to be approximately forty kilometres as the crow flies.

<sup>392</sup> Pritchett 1974: 2.273.

<sup>393</sup> Plut. *The Roman Questions* 273c-d; Cic. *On inventions* 2.23 (69-70); Diod. 13.24.5-6.

<sup>394</sup> West 1969: 9; furthermore, although it is not in reference to a 'trophy', Aeschines (*Against Ctesiphon* 116) describes how the Thebans requested the Athenians be fined for renewing hanging shields affixed to the temple of Apollo at Delphi after it was destroyed by fire early in the fourth century BC. For more detail on the monument see chapter section 6.3.5 and App. no.74.



for violating the monument was that the victor was not in possession of the battlefield when the trophy was erected.<sup>395</sup> The Athenians sailed to Panormos in Milesian territory and defeated the Spartan rescue force, only to wait two days to erect a trophy which was subsequently pulled down by the Milesians. For one force to demonstrate control of the battlefield in a naval clash is more difficult than on land. As a result, opposing navies could both erect trophies to claim the victory and these monuments would be constructed at the nearest shore to where the clash took place.<sup>396</sup>

With the focus on a finite existence for this form of monument and the prohibition of permanent monuments it has been suggested that the perishable trophy may be considered a sign of the defeat of the enemy rather than a monument to victory.<sup>397</sup>

#### 4.3.2.2 Permanent

The trophies of the Persian Wars were the first to be given permanent form; in the transformation process the meaning attributed to these monuments (still referred to as *tropaia*) altered from the traditional meaning (as a sign of the defeat of the enemy) to a victory monument.<sup>398</sup> It has been argued, convincingly, that Aristophanes introduces us to a new usage of the term *tropaion*, when he references the trophy on

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<sup>395</sup> Thuc. 8.24.1.

<sup>396</sup> Pritchett 1974: 2.260.

<sup>397</sup> West 1969: 13; for trophies as causes of shame for the defeated see Thuc. 1.105.6; Xen. *Hellenica* 6.4.14.

<sup>398</sup> West 1969: 18.

the Marathon battlefield.<sup>399</sup> The *tropaion* on the battlefield of Marathon is put on par with the city of Athens itself,<sup>400</sup> and the regal treatment the Athenians enjoyed from cities paying them tribute is deemed worthy of both the land and the trophy.<sup>401</sup> West believes that Aristophanes is describing a permanent trophy, as a temporary trophy which had been decaying for two generations would hardly have been 'worthy of the city'.<sup>402</sup> Moreover, Aristophanes' reference in the *Knights* is the first reference in extant fifth century BC sources to the trophy as an object of emulation (see also App. no.3).<sup>403</sup>

Chaniotis states that trophies were an important aspect of the cultural memory of 'Greeks'.<sup>404</sup> These structures were religiously protected and, although the form changed from perishable to permanent, it remained sacrilegious to destroy trophies. However, the permanent trophies would not degrade as quickly as their perishable predecessors and the prohibition of renewing or repairing trophies must only be understood as relevant to the perishable examples discussed above.<sup>405</sup> As a result measures could be taken by the defeated to remove the permanent trophy from sight; for example, the Rhodians constructed a building around a trophy to prevent it being seen so as to avoid destroying the structure itself.<sup>406</sup> Herodotus never mentions trophies in his histories of the Persian Wars. It has been argued that by the time of

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<sup>399</sup> West 1969: 12; see Aristoph. *Knights* 1333-1334 and Aristoph. *Wasps* 707-711.

<sup>400</sup> Aristoph. *Knights* 1333-1334.

<sup>401</sup> Aristoph. *Wasps* 707-711.

<sup>402</sup> West 1969: 12; Aristophanes' *Knights* and *Wasps* are dated to 424 and 422 BC respectively.

<sup>403</sup> West 1969: 12.

<sup>404</sup> Chaniotis 2005: 234.

<sup>405</sup> Pritchett 1985: 2.257.

<sup>406</sup> Vit. 2.8.15.

Herodotus' writing many imposing monuments stood on the battlefields and in sanctuaries referencing Greek victory and so 'Herodotus felt that his audience did not need to be told who won the great battles of the Persian wars'.<sup>407</sup> However, it should be noted that terminology may vary among authors as Plutarch refers to numerous monuments as *tropaia* which were not described as such by Herodotus. For example the serpent column at Delphi described by Herodotus is referred to as a trophy by Plutarch.<sup>408</sup>

With regard to this project's data set, the only trophy of whose style we may be sure of is the Athenian trophy at Marathon. The permanent monument of Marathon, of which archaeological remains have been identified, was a nine metre column monument topped with an ionic capital, which was cut to receive a statue (see App. no.3).<sup>409</sup> At Salamis and Plataea trophies are also said to have been constructed but no sources refer to the style.<sup>410</sup>

Table 4.4 *Trophies*

| Battle   | No. | Monument                                    | Dedicator   | Location    |
|----------|-----|---|-------------|-------------|
| Marathon | 3   | Trophy                                      | Athens      | Battlefield |
| Salamis  | 34  | Trophy on the island of Psyttaleia          | Athens      | Battlefield |
|          | 35  | Trophy on the island on Salamis (Cynosoura) | Athens      | Battlefield |
| Plataea  | 49  | Trophy                                      | Panhellenic | Battlefield |
|          | 50  | Trophy                                      | Sparta      | Battlefield |
|          | 51  | Trophy                                      | Athens      | Battlefield |
| General  | 96  | Trophy with epigram                         | Delphi      | Delphi      |

<sup>407</sup> Pritchett 1985: 2.270.

<sup>408</sup> Hdts. 9.81.1; Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 837d & e.

<sup>409</sup> See Vanderpool 1966.

<sup>410</sup> Salamis: Paus. 1.36.1.; Psyttaleia: Plut. *Aristides* 9.2., Paus. 1.36.2.; Plataea: Plut. *Aristides* 20.3., Paus. 9.2.6.

### 4.3.3 Inscriptions

Inscriptions regarded in this project as ‘monuments’ are divided into two parts: epigrams and epitaphs.

#### 4.3.3.1 Epigrams

In the archaic period the epigram was a short inscription on an object or monument intended to inform the onlooker who it belonged to, who made it, who dedicated it and to which god, or who is buried beneath it.<sup>411</sup> During the classical period epigrams inscribed on monuments were normally anonymous. The earliest signed by the author can be dated to the mid-fourth century BC.<sup>412</sup> Many epigrams are attributed to earlier poets, the earliest being Simonides. Multiple epigrams and epitaphs included in this project’s data set have been attributed to Simonides by different authors. However, it has been argued that only one (which incidentally is not included in this project’s data set as it is erected by, and commemorates, an individual) may be confidently attributed to Simonides; this is the epitaph for Magistias constructed at the Thermopylae field of conflict.<sup>413</sup>

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<sup>411</sup> *OCD*: 515 ‘Epigram, Greek’.

<sup>412</sup> See *CEG* 2.819 & 888, ii; *OCD*: 515 ‘Epigram, Greek’.

<sup>413</sup> *Hdts.* 7.228; Page 1981: VI.

#### 4.3.3.2 Epitaphs

An epitaph is particular form of epigram in that it has direct relevance to the deceased. 'Epitaph' may be translated as 'over', or 'at a tomb' (made up from *epi*: 'at, or over' and *taphos*: 'tomb'). Epitaphs could be erected at the site of an individual tomb or a communal grave. At the site of an individual grave the epitaph would at the least give the name of the dead, and at the most give an account of the dead person's virtues, how he died, and bid for sympathy from the viewer who was often directly addressed.<sup>414</sup> At the beginning of the fifth century BC epitaphs were usually quite crude in design (e.g. App. no.36) with just the text inscribed. However, by the late fifth century BC epitaphs had become more complex and figurative imagery was added to the stone.<sup>415</sup>

Table 4.5 *Epigrams and Epitaphs*

| Battle      | No. | Monument                                       | Dedicator   | Location       |
|-------------|-----|--|-------------|----------------|
| Marathon    | 6   | Epigram for fallen Athenians                   | Athens      | Battlefield    |
|             | 11  | Marble base upon which 2 epigrams are engraved | Athens      | Athens         |
| Artemisium  | 21  | Circle of marble stelae with epigram           | Athens      | Battlefield    |
| Thermopylae | 23  | Epigram for Spartiates                         | Amphictyons | Battlefield    |
|             | 24  | Epigram for Peloponnesians                     | Amphictyons | Battlefield    |
|             | 25  | Epigram for the Opuntian Locrians              | Opus        | Battlefield    |
|             | 26  | Epigram for the Thespians                      | Thespieae   | Battlefield    |
|             | 33  | Epigram for Leonidas                           | Sparta      | Sparta         |
| Salamis     | 36  | Epitaph for Corinthians buried on Salamis      | Corinth     | Battlefield    |
|             | 46  | Epigram Engraved on a Cenotaph                 | Corinth     | Isthmus        |
| Plataea     | 52  | Epigram for Athenians                          | Athens      | Battlefield    |
|             | 53  | Epigram for Spartans                           | Sparta      | Battlefield    |
|             | 54  | Epigram for Corinthians                        | Corinth     | Battlefield    |
|             | 55  | Epigram for Tegeans                            | Tegea       | Battlefield    |
|             | 77  | Grave of Euchidas with engraved stele          | Plataea     | Plataea        |
| General     | 91  | Epigram in thanks to Aphrodite                 | Corinth     | Corinth        |
|             | 92  | Epigram engraved on a cenotaph                 | Megara      | Megara (Agora) |

<sup>414</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 260.

<sup>415</sup> See Peek 1955: no. 1600

#### 4.3.3.3 Casualty Lists

The Athenian casualty lists of the fifth century BC found in the *Kerameikos* are by far the most numerous example of this type of monument, represented by over thirty examples.<sup>416</sup> In Athens, each year casualty lists would be set up denoting who had died in war. If there were no wars, no casualty lists were erected. Casualty lists could be inscribed and raised at a distance from the buried dead, or even if the dead were not recovered. In cases such as these the casualty list may form a part of a monument which, in turn, may be considered a cenotaph. This, arguably, occurs at the 'cenotaph' raised for the Marathon dead at Athens (see App. no.11).<sup>417</sup> In contrast to the Athenian examples, only sixteen examples of casualty lists have been discovered outside of Athens.<sup>418</sup>

Casualty lists consisted of an upstanding stele inscribed with the names of the war dead. In the case of the recently discovered Marathon casualty list (App. no.7) the list of names are preceded by a short inscription denoting who the named dead are and how they died. The form of the Marathon casualty lists suggests that, on this

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<sup>416</sup> Bradeen 1969: 146; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 112; Pritchett 1985: 4.139.

<sup>417</sup> See Matthaïou 2003: 197-200.

<sup>418</sup> Pritchett 1985: 4.140 ff.

monument specifically, each Athenian tribe would have been designated their own stele and these would be lined up on a communal base.<sup>419</sup>

Table 4.6 *Casualty Lists*

| Battle      | No. | Monument                                | Dedicator | Location    |
|-------------|-----|---|-----------|-------------|
| Marathon    | 7   | Marathon casualty list                  | Athens    | Battlefield |
| Thermopylae | 30  | List of those who fought at Thermopylae | Sparta    | Sparta      |

#### 4.3.4 Burials

##### 4.3.4.1 Collective

A collective burial or *polyandrion* is the covering of multiple bodies with earth, an object (such as a monumental structure), or both. Funerary architecture above the ground would usually adhere to two basic types: the round and rectangular mounds. The examples in this project's data set which have survived and are viewable today, the Athenian and Plataean burial mounds at Marathon (App. no's.1 and 2) and perhaps the burial mound on Salamis (App. no.37), represent the round type. The rectangular mounds and built tombs were popular in the archaic period but continued into the classical period.<sup>420</sup> The bodies contained within these monuments can be cremated, partly cremated, or buried. In the classical period in Athens both cremation and inhumation were practised. The collective burials contained within this project's data

<sup>419</sup> In the same way as casualty lists *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 1147 and *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 1147bis. A one-slab-per-tribe arrangement is only one possible form for casualty lists; for example, for multiple tribes-per-slab see Bradeen 1964: 43-55.

<sup>420</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 106, 111.

set represent cremations and inhumations. For example at Marathon the bodies of the dead Athenians ‘were cremated and a tumulus was raised over a brick platform which some have seen as the cremation area, together with some vase offerings’.<sup>421</sup> Again at Marathon a contrasting method of communal burial can be seen; the Plataeans and slaves together were buried as opposed to having been cremated.<sup>422</sup> Inhumation was the less expensive and less time consuming form of burial. However, a pyre of offerings was found beside the inhumations in the grave of the Plataeans and slaves (App. no.2).<sup>423</sup>

Table 4.7 *Collective Burials*

| Battle      | No. | Monument              | Dedicator        | Location    |
|-------------|-----|-----------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Marathon    | 1   | Burial mound          | Athens           | Battlefield |
|             | 2   | Burial mound          | Plataea          | Battlefield |
| Thermopylae | 28  | Burial mound          | Sparta/Thespieae | Battlefield |
| Salamis     | 37  | Burial mound          |                  | Battlefield |
| Plataea     | 56  | Burial mound          | Sparta           | Battlefield |
|             | 57  | Burial mound          | Athens           | Battlefield |
|             | 58  | Burial mound          | Tegea            | Battlefield |
|             | 59  | Burial mound          | Megara           | Battlefield |
|             | 60  | Burial mound          | Phlius           | Battlefield |
|             | 61  | Burial mound (empty?) | Aegina           | Battlefield |
|             | 62  | Empty burial mounds   | Others           | Battlefield |

<sup>421</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 247.

<sup>422</sup> Paus. 1.32.3.

<sup>423</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 247.



#### 4.3.4.2 Commander

All burials of military leaders in table 4.8 are reliant on literary evidence as none have been identified with confidence. In addition all military leader burials represented in this data set were buried, or at least reburied, alone.

With regard to the examples of the burial of Greek military leaders from the Persian Wars we only have evidence from two city states: Athens and Sparta (for a discussion on this practice see chapter section 6.4). The form and location of Miltiades' grave has been the subject of some debate (see App. no.4) but may have consisted of a base with an inscribed stele identifying who was buried beneath.<sup>424</sup> The tombs of Leonidas and Pausanias at Sparta are referred to only by Pausanias.<sup>425</sup> Pausanias makes no reference to the form of the tombs but states that the bones of Leonidas were removed from the battlefield of Thermopylae about forty years after the battle (see App. no.29). This suggests that Leonidas' body was still identifiable at the battlefield and the bones were interred at Sparta. We learn from literary sources that the bodies of the dead Spartan leaders were carefully preserved for transport from the site of conflict, therefore the general practice may have been inhumation.<sup>426</sup> The return of Themistocles' bones to Attica is mentioned by Thucydides.<sup>427</sup> However, the earliest information which has survived regarding the form of Themistocles' tomb is from Plutarch who states that 'there is a basement of goodly size, and that the altar-like

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<sup>424</sup> Paus. 1.32.4; West 1965: 13.

<sup>425</sup> Paus. 3.14.1.

<sup>426</sup> Pritchett 1985: 4.255; see Xen. *Hellenica* 5.3.19.; Plut. *Agessilaus* 40.3.

<sup>427</sup> Thuc. 1.138.5-6.

structure upon this is the tomb of Themistocles.<sup>428</sup> The literary evidence does not offer any information about the forms of Aristides' and Eurybiades' tombs.

I also include the tomb of Mardonius, the Persian General, who was killed at the battle of Plataea and supposedly buried on the battlefield.<sup>429</sup> Pausanias is the only literary source for this grave and does not give any information about its form.

It should be noted that only Leonidas, from the collection of commemorated Greek commanders represented in this data set, died in battle. The remaining individuals died after the Persian Wars (as defined in this project). With regards to Spartan practice, despite Eurybiades and Pausanias dying at later dates,<sup>430</sup> the three Spartan commanders are all afforded tombs within the urban centre. Furthermore, no Athenian commander represented in table 4.8 died during the Persian Wars.<sup>431</sup> However, Miltiades and Themistocles are given tombs on, or near, particular sites of conflict (Marathon and Salamis respectively) while Aristides is given a tomb at Phalerum (which is considered under the 'urban' site type). According to the examples presented in table 4.8, Sparta is consistent with the treatment of their Persian War commanders despite the circumstances of the individual's death. On the other hand,

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<sup>428</sup> Plut. *Them.* 32.4.

<sup>429</sup> Paus. 9.2.2.

<sup>430</sup> Eurybiades survived the battle of Salamis, at which he commanded the Spartan navy, as according to Herodotus (8.124) he received an award for his valour and argued against destroying the Persian bridge over the Hellespont (8.108.2-4); Pausanias, according to Thucydides (1.134), was starved to death in Sparta.

<sup>431</sup> Miltiades is said to have died from a gangrenous leg wound after an unsuccessful assault on Paros (Hdts. 6.132-136); Themistocles is said to have died of 'disease', or perhaps poison while exiled (Thuc. 1.138.4); according to Plutarch (*Aristides* 26.1-2) numerous stories existed about the time and whereabouts of Aristides' death, none of which tell of him dying in battle.

variation can be seen in the site types selected for the Athenian commanders' tombs, with a preference being shown for battlefield burial.

Table 4.8 *Commander Burials*

| Battle      | No. | Monument             | Dedicator | Location          |
|-------------|-----|----------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| Marathon    | 4   | Grave of Miltiades   | Athens    | Battlefield       |
| Thermopylae | 29  | Tomb of Leonidas     | Sparta    | Sparta            |
| Salamis     | 38  | Tomb of Themistocles | Athens    | Battlefield       |
|             | 43  | Tomb of Eurybiades   | Sparta    | Sparta            |
| Plataea     | 69  | Tomb of Mardonius    | Plataea   | Battlefield       |
|             | 71  | Tomb of Pausanias    | Sparta    | Sparta            |
| General     | 90  | Tomb of Aristides    | Athens    | Athens (Phalerum) |

#### 4.3.5 Dedications

Dedications have been defined as the '[t]ransfer of a thing from the human into the divine sphere...indicating surrender of an object into divine ownership'.<sup>432</sup> The dedications included in this project's data set include: the spoils of war (App. no's. 9, 39, 40, 41, 72, 74, 79, 84 and 105); statues of deities (App. no's. 15, 16, 19, 42, 70, 75, 76, 81, 82, 87, 98, 100, 102 and 103), heroes (no. 15), mortals (no's. 15, 93 and 101) and animals (no's. 78, 99 and 104); and votive offerings (no's. 8, 10, 44, 47, 48 and 80). Each sub category of dedication will be discussed in turn below.

<sup>432</sup> OCD: 422 '*dedicatio*'.

#### 4.3.5.1 Dedications of Spoils of War

The dedication of the spoils of war is represented in the three major Greek victories: Marathon (App. no.9), Salamis (App. no's. 39, 40 and 41) and Plataea (App. no's. 72, 74 and 79). Also, spoils of war were dedicated to represent the Persian Wars generally (no's. 84 and 105). These offerings were voluntary, but it would have been considered impious not to dedicate a portion of the spoils of war.<sup>433</sup> In addition to offering a portion of won goods to a particular deity, it has been suggested that the dedication of captured arms and armour is intended to show the mastery over the enemy.<sup>434</sup>

The arms and armour of the defeated would be collected and a portion would be set apart for the gods. The dedication of spoils can take either one of two forms. The first would be to dedicate a token immediately. Alternatively, the portion set aside could be sold in order to construct monuments in another form, for example a statue. These two forms of dedication are, however, not exclusive and may have at any time been carried out simultaneously. Table 4.9 contains examples of these two forms of dedications of spoils. For example, the shields hung on the temple architraves at Delphi (App. no.74) were spoils reworked and dedicated; these shields were gilded and constructed from the spoils taken from the booty at Plataea.<sup>435</sup> Also the thank-offering positioned in front of the Athenian treasury at Delphi may have taken the form of a

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<sup>433</sup> Rouse 1902: 99.

<sup>434</sup> West 1965: xlv.

<sup>435</sup> See Aesch. *Against Ctesiphon* 116.

statue group (see App. no.9). In contrast, the inscribed Persian helmet (App. no.105) was dedicated at Olympia in its original form.

The only naval battle in our data set which offers dedications of spoils is Salamis. We learn from Herodotus that three whole triremes were dedicated at three different commemorative sites.<sup>436</sup> There was no accepted mode of commemorative behaviour concerning captured naval spoils. For example, the three triremes in table 4.9 were dedicated in their entirety whereas captured ships in subsequent conflicts were commissioned and reused by the victor.<sup>437</sup> Alternatively to the dedication of entire ships, parts of ships taken in war were often dedicated to particular deities; the beak or the ram became the regular token of captured ships.<sup>438</sup> There was therefore a range of options of how to use captured naval spoils and there were no conventions, religious or otherwise, dictating how naval spoils should be used or dedicated.<sup>439</sup>

Table 4.9 *Spoils of War*

| Battle   | No. | Monument                                     | Dedicator   | Location           |
|----------|-----|--|-------------|--------------------|
| Marathon | 9   | Thank-Offering (Statue Group?)               | Athens      | Delphi             |
| Salamis  | 39  | Thank-offering of three triremes (1)         | Panhellenic | Isthmus            |
|          | 40  | Thank-offering of three triremes (2)         | Panhellenic | Sunium             |
|          | 41  | Thank-offering of three triremes (3)         | Panhellenic | Salamis            |
| Plataea  | 72  | Spoils dedicated in the Parthenon            | Athens      | Athens (Acropolis) |
|          | 74  | Shields hung on the temple architraves       | Athens      | Delphi             |
|          | 79  | Manger of Mardonius dedicated to Athena Alea | Tegea       | Tegea              |
| General  | 84  | Athenian portico displaying spoils           | Athens      | Delphi             |
|          | 105 | Inscribed Persian helmet                     | Athens      | Olympia            |

<sup>436</sup> Hdts. 8.121.

<sup>437</sup> See Pritchett 1979: 3.279 for numerous examples.

<sup>438</sup> Pritchett 1979: 3.281.

<sup>439</sup> Pritchett 1979: 3.285.

#### 4.3.5.2 Statues

Statues can be divided into four categories which are represented in this project's data set and table 4.10: deities, heroes, mortals, and animals. Statues were dedicated to specific deities and could be paid for by money made from the sale of booty. For example, the statue of Athena set up on the Acropolis (App. no. 16) was apparently paid for by the sale of booty from the battle of Marathon.<sup>440</sup>

The dedication of a statue of a god was a popular mode of showing thanks to the protecting deity and table 4.10 shows that there are many examples in this data set.<sup>441</sup> In addition, it has been suggested that the dedication of a statue would demonstrate the acknowledgement of the deity's power.<sup>442</sup> Another form which falls within this category of monument type is the statues of heroes. Only one monument (App. no.15) attests to this style of statue and the heroes from which the Athenian tribes' names were derived were depicted.<sup>443</sup> Among this group was a statue of Miltiades and it has been suggested that the statue group honours the gods and heroes who aided Miltiades in defeating the Persians.<sup>444</sup> Statues of animals are also represented in table 4.10. It has been suggested that the oxen dedicated at Delphi by Plataea (App. no.78) and Carystus (App. no.99) may be intended to represent an agricultural state or

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<sup>440</sup> Paus. 9.4.1.

<sup>441</sup> See Rouse 1902: 126-127 for other collected examples.

<sup>442</sup> Rouse 1902: 129.

<sup>443</sup> See West 1965: 53-54.

<sup>444</sup> West 1965: 53-54.

possibly the strength of the dedicator.<sup>445</sup> Pausanias believes that the oxen represent the victory over the barbarian and therefore the securing of the land which would now be free to plough.<sup>446</sup> Alternatively, as Rouse suggests, the dedication of an animal statue may be representative of the entire act of sacrifice, including the procession.<sup>447</sup>

In order to present all statues in the data set together, statues set up in a non-religious context are included in table 4.10; these statues, for the most part, took the form of mortals. For example, a statue group of mortals set up by Troezen was to commemorate the assistance they offered Athens when Athens was evacuated in the months before the battle of Salamis (App. no.95). In addition statues of famous men such as Themistocles and Miltiades set up in the Athenian agora have been included in the data set, despite Demosthenes' assertions that Conon was the first to receive such honours since Harmodius and Aristogeiton.<sup>448</sup> The erection of a statue of a victorious commander in the fifth century BC is peculiar to the examples listed in table 4.10 and Rouse states that he couldn't find evidence of victorious generals, other than these examples, receiving stand-alone statues in the fifth century BC (for further discussion see App. no's.88 and 89).<sup>449</sup> One mortal is dedicated as a stand-alone monument in a religious context; that is the Macedonian monument of the gilded statue of Alexander I

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<sup>445</sup> West 1965: xlviii.

<sup>446</sup> Paus. 10.16.6.

<sup>447</sup> Rouse 1902: 145.

<sup>448</sup> Dem. *Against Leptines* 70; as noted in App. no's.88 and 89, Demosthenes may be understood to be describing the lack of Themistocles' and Miltiades' statues in the fifth century BC specifically. Demosthenes (in his *Against Aristocrates* 196) states that *his ancestors* didn't raise statues to these men, not that the statues did not exist (author's emphasis). Therefore, statues of Themistocles and Miltiades could have been constructed in the Athenian agora after that of Conon but still within the classical period.

<sup>449</sup> Rouse 1902: 137.

(App. no.101). This monument was not a typical Greek dedication as it was not the usual practice to depict a mortal in a dedication within a religious sanctuary and thus equate him with the gods.<sup>450</sup>

Table 4.10 *Statues*

| Battle   | No. | Monument                                    | Dedicator          | Location           |
|----------|-----|---|--------------------|--------------------|
| Marathon | 15  | Statue Group                                | Athens             | Delphi             |
|          | 16  | Bronze Statue of Athena                     | Athens             | Athens (Acropolis) |
|          | 19  | Temple of Nemesis with Statue of Nemesis    | Athens             | Rhamnus            |
|          | 20  | Statue of Arimnestos                        | Plataea            | Plataea            |
| Salamis  | 42  | Statue of Apollo Holding the Beak of a Ship | Panhellenic        | Delphi             |
| Plataea  | 70  | Temple and Statue of Athena <i>Areia</i>    | Plataea            | Plataea            |
|          | 75  | Bronze Statue of Artemis the Saviour        | Megara             | Megara             |
|          | 76  | Bronze Statue of Artemis the Saviour        | Pagae (in Megarid) | Pagae              |
|          | 78  | Statue of an Ox                             | Plataea            | Delphi             |
| General  | 81  | Bronze Statue of Zeus                       | Panhellenic        | Olympia            |
|          | 82  | Bronze Statue of Poseidon                   | Panhellenic        | Isthmus            |
|          | 87  | Statue of Zeus <i>Eleutherios</i>           | Athens             | Athens (Agora)     |
|          | 88  | Statue of Miltiades                         | Athens             | Athens (Agora)     |
|          | 89  | Statue of Themistocles                      | Athens             | Athens (Agora)     |
|          | 93  | Statues of Skyllis and His Daughter Hydna   | Amphictyons        | Delphi             |
|          | 95  | Statues of Women and Children               | Troezen            | Troezen (Agora)    |
|          | 98  | Statue of Apollo                            | Epidaurus          | Delphi             |
|          | 99  | Bronze Statue of an Ox                      | Carystus           | Delphi             |
|          | 100 | Statue Group                                | Hermionae          | Delphi             |
|          | 101 | Gilded statue of Alexander I                | Macedon            | Delphi             |
|          | 102 | Bronze Apollo                               | Peparethos         | Delphi             |
|          | 103 | Bronze Apollo                               | Samos              | Delphi             |
|          | 104 | Bronze Bull                                 | Eretria            | Olympia            |

#### 4.3.5.3 Votive offerings

Votive offerings are voluntary offerings to deities and are closely related to the vows made to deities, usually in periods of anxiety or achievement. Votive offerings illustrates the 'if-then' relationship both individuals and communities shared with deities.<sup>451</sup> This form of dedication is both equally an expression of thanks to the deity

<sup>450</sup> West 1965: xlviii.

<sup>451</sup> OCD: 1564 'votive offerings'.



for favour and a reflection of the piety of the dedicator.<sup>452</sup> However, as represented by table 4.11 there is little consistency in the style of votive monuments.

Tripods were a popular form of dedication. Initially this form of object was dedicated for its value; however, the tripod, over time, became a traditional object of dedication.<sup>453</sup> In the eighth and seventh centuries BC tripods had mostly been dedicated by individuals at Olympia and Delphi as status symbols, cult objects or prizes. However, by the beginning of the fifth century BC these objects became more popular amongst city-states as dedicatory items and were utilised, particularly at Delphi, to commemorate victories in battle.<sup>454</sup> The tripod is represented in table 4.11 (App. no.80) and forms part of, arguably, the most famous Persian War monument: the serpent column. The tripod was placed on top of a pedestal of three intertwined snakes and a list of Greek city-states that fought against Persia was inscribed on the bodies of the snakes.

Although objects such as tripods had become traditional dedicatory objects, votive offerings could take multiple forms. For example in pan-Hellenic sanctuaries individual *poleis* may have dedicated a '*thesauros*', a term commonly translated as 'treasury'. However to define the structure as a treasury, a structure built to merely store offerings, is misleading. I include the Athenian treasury (App. no.8) in this section on votive offerings because treasury buildings may be considered as offerings in their own

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<sup>452</sup> West 1965: xlii.

<sup>453</sup> Rouse 1902: 146.

<sup>454</sup> Scott 2010: 77.

right.<sup>455</sup> Other forms of votive offering include a mast adorned with three gold stars dedicated by the Aeginetans (App. no.47).<sup>456</sup> Herodotus is the only source for this monument and after mentioning the offering does not explain the choice in form. It has been suggested that the monument was influenced by natural phenomena understood to be a positive omen or the stars were intended to symbolise nautical skill.<sup>457</sup> Pausanias is the only source to refer to the painting of the personification of Salamis holding the beak of a ship dedicated by the Athenians at Olympia (App. no.44).<sup>458</sup> The painting is accompanied by eight others containing mythological characters, apparently unrelated to the Persian Wars. This painting is the only attested votive offering of this type.

Taken together, the variety of these votive offerings has been suggested as evidence for the beginning of a change in attitude towards the style of commemorative monument; the idea that celebrating victory was becoming more important than traditional religious attitudes.<sup>459</sup>

Table 4.11 *Votive Offerings*

| Battle   | No. | Monument                                       | Dedicator   | Location                 |
|----------|-----|--|-------------|--------------------------|
| Marathon | 8   | Treasury                                       | Athens      | Delphi                   |
|          | 10  | Callimachus Monument                           | Athens      | Athens (Acropolis)       |
| Salamis  | 44  | Painting of Salamis Holding the Beak of a Ship | Athens      | Olympia                  |
|          | 47  | Bronze Mast with Three Gold Stars              | Aegina      | Delphi                   |
|          | 48  | Pedimental Sculptures of the Temple of Aphaea  | Aegina      | Aphaea sanctuary, Aegina |
| General  | 80  | Serpent Column                                 | Panhellenic | Delphi                   |

<sup>455</sup> *OCD*: 1315 'sanctuaries, Greek'; see Scott 2010: 77-81.

<sup>456</sup> Hdts. 8.122.

<sup>457</sup> Natural phenomenon (St.Elmo's fire): Rouse 1902: 135; nautical skill: West 1965: 186.

<sup>458</sup> Paus. 5.11.5-6.

<sup>459</sup> West 1965: xlviii.

#### 4.3.6 Structures

Altars, sanctuaries and temples were not considered dedications *per se*. According to West, although these monuments were religious monuments offered to a specific god, they did not have to be set up in a specific sanctuary in order to be consecrated; certain areas were considered sacred to a certain deity.<sup>460</sup> The structures set up in commemoration of the Persian Wars are divided here into two categories: religious structures and non-religious structures. The religious structures include altars (App. no's. 67, 94 and 97) sacred precincts (App. no's. 14, 22, 31 and 45) and temples (App. no's. 17, 19, and 70) and a stoa (App. no. 84). The non-religious category includes a varied range of structures (App. no's. 73, 83 and 85) which will be discussed collectively.

##### 4.3.6.1 Altars

The construction of an altar, in contrast to dedications discussed above in *Dedications*, implies the worship of a particular deity at a specific place opposed to the recognition of favour.<sup>461</sup> Altars would have usually been raised structures upon which a fire would be lit for worshippers to witness the cremation of parts of the sacrificial animal. The

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<sup>460</sup> West 1965: xliii.

<sup>461</sup> West 1965: xlix.

structure would usually have been made of ‘dressed stone’, were typically rectangular and occasionally approached by a flight of steps.<sup>462</sup>

Table 4.12 *Altars*

| Battle  | No. | Monument                                     | Dedicator   | Location    |
|---------|-----|--|-------------|-------------|
| Plataea | 67  | Altar of Zeus <i>Eleutherios</i>             | Panhellenic | Battlefield |
| General | 94  | Altar Dedicated to Helios <i>Eleutherios</i> | Troezen     | Troezen     |
|         | 97  | Altar of the Winds                           | Delphi      | Thyia       |

#### 4.3.6.2 Sacred Precincts, Temples and Stoas

Within the broad spectrum of sacred precincts I include both sanctuaries and shrines. Monuments of this scale would only be constructed when the spoils of war were considerable. Sanctuaries were ‘areas set aside for religious purposes and separate from the normal secular world’.<sup>463</sup> Both sanctuaries and shrines were referred to in the ancient sources as *hieroi* which is defined here as sacred space, again demarcated from the secular world by either a wall or boundary markers.<sup>464</sup> Sufficient space was required to construct a sacred precinct as congregations would typically gather to participate in the ritual carried out on the behalf of the particular deity.<sup>465</sup> Within the sacred area, or *temenos*, other structures such as temples and altars could be constructed depending on the varying religious needs. Sanctuaries can be developed for specific communities and each *polis* would have one major site dedicated to its protecting deity. Other smaller sanctuaries may also be constructed which were

<sup>462</sup> *OCD*: 66 ‘altars’.

<sup>463</sup> *OCD*: 1314 ‘sanctuaries, Greek’.

<sup>464</sup> Liddel & Scott 1996: ‘*ἱερόν*’.

<sup>465</sup> *OCD*: 1314 ‘sanctuaries, Greek’.

designed to cater for smaller sections of one particular community. Alternatively, sanctuaries (such as pan-Hellenic sanctuaries) could grow to serve more than one community and attract worshippers from all of Greece.<sup>466</sup>

Within the sacred space a temple could be constructed. The temple, however, was not a prerequisite for a sanctuary. The Greek temple contained the image of the god and was considered the god's house. The statue was usually positioned inside the temple so it would be facing the open door and could 'see' the burning of the sacrificial animal on the altar which stood outside.<sup>467</sup> In addition to housing the cult statue, the temple would have served as a repository for the property of the god which would have included votive offerings. Stoa or porticoes within sanctuaries, such as the Athenian portico at Delphi (App. no.84), would have been a structure of lesser importance in comparison to the main religious structures, such as the sanctuary temple.<sup>468</sup> The portico included in table 4.13 can be broadly defined under the term stoa. This term encompasses various building types but can be characterised by an open colonnade with a roof over the top, adjoining to a rear wall.<sup>469</sup> Stoa are most commonly found in agoras where they would serve the purpose of defining a boundary, such as the stoa containing the painting of the battle of Marathon (App. no.12).

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<sup>466</sup> *OCD*: 1315 'sanctuaries, Greek'.

<sup>467</sup> *OCD*: 1438 'temple'.

<sup>468</sup> *OCD*: 1403 'stoa'.

<sup>469</sup> *OCD*: 1402 'stoa'.

Table 4.13 *Sacred Precincts, Temples and Stoas*

| Battle      | No. | Monument                                 | Dedicator | Location           |
|-------------|-----|--|-----------|--------------------|
| Marathon    | 17  | 'Old' Parthenon                          | Athens    | Athens (Acropolis) |
|             | 13  | Temple of Eukleia                        | Athens    | Athens (Agora)     |
|             | 14  | Sanctuary of Pan                         | Athens    | Athens (Acropolis) |
|             | 19  | Temple of Nemesis with Statue of Nemesis | Athens    | Rhamnus            |
| Artemisium  | 22  | Shrine to Boreas                         | Athens    | Athens             |
| Thermopylae | 31  | Shrine of Maron and Alpheius             | Sparta    | Sparta (Agora)     |
| Salamis     | 45  | Sanctuary of the Hero Cychreus           | Athens    | Salamis            |
| Plataea     | 70  | Temple and Statue of Athena <i>Areia</i> | Plataea   | Plataea            |
| General     | 84  | Athenian Portico Displaying Spoils       | Athens    | Delphi             |
|             | 86  | 'New' Parthenon                          | Athens    | Athens (Acropolis) |

#### 4.3.6.3 Non-Religious Structures

Structures in commemoration of the Persian Wars could also be built with no overt reference to a particular deity. The forms of these structures vary widely and of the three examples contained in this project's data set and presented in table 4.14 no two are the same (App. no's.73, 83 and 85).

The odeum of Pericles was, according to Pausanias, constructed in imitation of Xerxes' tent.<sup>470</sup> The tent of Xerxes, which was left behind for Mardonius, could have come into the hands of the Greeks after the battle of Plataea.<sup>471</sup> Odeons were small theatres or roofed halls for musical competitions and other events. These structures would have usually taken the form of a miniature theatre and had the seats arranged in a

<sup>470</sup> Paus. 1.20.4.

<sup>471</sup> West 1965: 155.

semicircle.<sup>472</sup> However, the odeum of Pericles was a square hall with, according to Vitruvius, remnants of Persian ships used as roof beams.<sup>473</sup>

The stoa constructed at Sparta (App. no.83) which, by the time of Pausanias, had statues of Persians acting as pillars to hold up the roof and is now known as the Persian Stoa was one of three contained in this project's data set (the other two are App. no's.12 and 84). The usual form of the stoa has been explained above under *Sacred Precincts, Temples and Stoa*s, and the Persian Stoa fits in with the usual practice of erecting a building of this type in the agora.

The Athenians utilised fragments of destroyed temples, left by the Persian destruction of Athens, to build the north wall of the Acropolis (App. no.85). It has been suggested that this was a practical solution to wall building at a period in which money was tight, however a counter argument has been put forward that suggests this was a purposeful method of commemoration.<sup>474</sup> They are viewable quite clearly from the lower city today, north of the Acropolis, and would have stood out far more in antiquity because they would have been brightly painted.<sup>475</sup> The varied designs of non-religious structures imply that there were no established conventions in the fifth century BC on how to commemorate in this way. In addition, the general lack of non-religious structures also implies that this was not a popular method of commemoration. For example, many more structures are erected in a religious context.

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<sup>472</sup> *OCD*: 1032 'odeum'.

<sup>473</sup> Square structure: Broneer 1944: 309; roof beams: Vit. 5.9.1.

<sup>474</sup> See Kousser 2009: 271.

<sup>475</sup> As stated by Kousser 2009: 271.

Table 4.14 *Non-Religious Structures*

| Battle  | No. | Monument                    | Dedicator | Location           |
|---------|-----|-----------------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| Plataea | 73  | Odeum at Athens             | Athens    | Athens             |
| General | 83  | Persian Stoa                | Sparta    | Sparta (Agora)     |
|         | 85  | North Wall of the Acropolis | Athens    | Athens (Acropolis) |

#### 4.3.7 Non-Physical Monuments

##### 4.3.7.1 Military Vow

The vow is a promise to a deity and would usually accompany a prayer which was the most common form of expression in ancient Greek religion.<sup>476</sup> It has been described as ‘the proposal of a bargain that the recipient of the favour requested shall make suitable recompense.’<sup>477</sup> In making a vow to a deity for a particular purpose, the god would have to grant the favour first and only then would the deity receive the promised votive offering.<sup>478</sup> With regard to warfare, rarely would a leader pay the vow before the battle was fought but if this was performed it could be interpreted as presumptuous by the deity and the army would be defeated.<sup>479</sup> Vows were malleable. For example, the vow the Athenian made to Artemis *Agrotera* that they would sacrifice one goat for every Persian killed was altered to an annual sacrifice of five hundred

<sup>476</sup> *OCD*: 1205 ‘prayer’.

<sup>477</sup> Pritchett 1979: 3.230.

<sup>478</sup> Pritchett 1979: 3.236; see also Rouse 1902: 97.

<sup>479</sup> For examples see Paus. 2.6.3; 4.25.1.



goats as enough goats could not be found, the Persian dead amounting to six thousand four hundred.<sup>480</sup>

Table 4.15 *Military Vows*

| Battle   | No. | Monument                     | Dedicator | Location       |
|----------|-----|------------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| Marathon | 18  | Annual Sacrifice of 500 Kids | Athens    | Athens (Agrai) |

#### 4.3.7.2 Oaths

Oaths are promises undertaken by groups binding them to future behaviour. An oath has been described as ‘a statement (assertory) or promise (promissory) strengthened by the invocation of a god as a witness and often with the addition of a curse in case of perjury’.<sup>481</sup> The maintenance of oaths was considered a central aspect of piety, both personal and public.<sup>482</sup> For example, the Spartans attribute their loss of the naval battle at Pylos in 425 BC and other losses to their disregard of an oath.<sup>483</sup>

Table 4.16 consists of two oaths: the Oath of Plataea and the Covenant of Plataea. Neither of these oaths are represented in this data set as individual monuments; however, the clauses which (may have) made up each oath are represented in the Appendix. The Oath of Plataea was apparently sworn before the battle of Plataea which included three main clauses: to fight to one’s utmost, obey orders, and bury the

<sup>480</sup> Xen. *Anabasis* 3.2.12; Arist. *Knights* 658-662; Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 26; casualty numbers: Hdts. 6.117.

<sup>481</sup> OCD: 1029 ‘oath’.

<sup>482</sup> OCD: 1029 ‘oath’.

<sup>483</sup> Thuc. 7.18.2.

allied dead (App. no's.56-62); to punish the cities who had sided with the Persians (App. no.64); and to not rebuild sanctuaries destroyed by the Persians (App. no.63). What appears to be the inscribed text of the oath has been preserved on the stele of Acharnae.<sup>484</sup> This inscribed oath finishes by explaining how a curse was placed on those who did not abide by what was sworn. The oath is also mentioned by two literary sources and only these literary versions refer to the clause about leaving the ruined sanctuaries as a mark of Persian impiety.<sup>485</sup>

The second oath is known as the Covenant of Plataea and consists of four commemorative clauses: *theoroi* and *probouloi* were to assemble at Plataea every year (see discussion in App. no.68); a victory festival, the *Eleutheria*, was to be celebrated at Plataea every four years (App. no.65); a pan-Hellenic force was to be levied;<sup>486</sup> and Plataea was to be kept inviolate and sacrosanct, so that the Plataeans might offer sacrifices to Zeus on behalf of all the Greeks (App. no.66, and also no.67).

Table 4.16 *Oaths*

| Battle  | No. | Monument            | Dedicator | Location |
|---------|-----|---------------------|-----------|----------|
| Plataea |     | Oath of Plataea     |           |          |
|         |     | Covenant of Plataea |           |          |

<sup>484</sup> RO 88; see also App. no.63 for further discussion.

<sup>485</sup> Lyc. *Against Leocrates* 80-81; Diod. 11.29.2-3.

<sup>486</sup> This clause is not counted as a commemorative monument in this data set as the levying of a force is interpreted here as a means to continue the conflict, see discussion in App. no.65.

#### 4.3.7.3 Behavioural Commemoration

The behavioural commemorations listed in table 4.17 can be divided into three categories: commemorative festivals (App. no's. 5 and 65), annual ritual practice (App. no's. 18 and 68), and hero-cult practices (App. no. 32).

Festivals were at the centre of the social and political spheres of ancient Greek life.<sup>487</sup> According to Plato religious festivals are divinely ordained and athletic competition at games, both military and non-military, would have been similar in type.<sup>488</sup> For example, despite the evidence for the establishment of the *Eleutheria* (App. no. 65) in the fifth century BC being slim (see chapter section 6.2), once the games were fully established they consisted of running races including full armoured races, gymnastic contests, and horse racing.<sup>489</sup> The sacrificing of 500 Kids to Artemis was the result of a vow,<sup>490</sup> but the repetitious act warrants the monument's inclusion in the behavioural commemoration category (App. no. 18). Heroes were 'a class of beings worshipped by the Greeks, generally conceived as the powerful dead, and often as forming a class intermediate between gods and men.'<sup>491</sup> Hero-shrines were often constructed around tombs and the hero had a particular connection with a particular place. I include the *Herakleia* among religious festivals because Herakles was an exception to this rule and

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<sup>487</sup> Brandt and Iddeng 2012: 1.

<sup>488</sup> Plato *Laws* 2.653D; see also Pritchett 1979: 3.154.

<sup>489</sup> Running: Paus. 9.2.4; armoured races: Phil. *Gymnasticus* 8.24; gymnastics: *IG* 7 1666; horse races: *IG* 4 1136; see Pritchett 1979: 3.154.

<sup>490</sup> Xen. *Anabasis* 3.2.12; Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 26.

<sup>491</sup> *OCD*: 672 'hero-cult'.

is considered ‘as much god as hero’ (App. no.5).<sup>492</sup> We learn of the hero-cult carried out Sparta for the fallen of Thermopylae due to Diodorus, who relates a poem supposedly composed by Simonides (App. no.32).<sup>493</sup> The poem makes it clear that the poem would be performed in a *sekos*, which is a sacred enclosure appropriate to a hero.<sup>494</sup>

Table 4.17 *Behavioural Commemoration*

| Battle      | No. | Monument                                  | Dedicator   | Location       |
|-------------|-----|---|-------------|----------------|
| Marathon    | 5   | <i>Herakleia</i>                          | Athens      | Battlefield    |
|             | 18  | Annual Sacrifice of 500 Kids              | Athens      | Athens (Agrai) |
| Thermopylae | 32  | Hero-Cult practices for the fallen        | Sparta      | Sparta         |
| Plataea     | 65  | <i>Eleutheria</i>                         | Panhellenic | Battlefield    |
|             | 68  | Annual Rites Performed at the Greek Tombs | Plataea     | Battlefield    |

#### 4.3.8 Other

This category contains the sole monument which does not fit in to the broad monument types outlined above. The monument is the stone lion set up over Leonidas’ grave at Thermopylae (see App. no.27). No other grave or battlefield in this project’s data set was adorned with a monument similar to this. The monument is mentioned by Herodotus and this form of monument has been said to represent valour.<sup>495</sup>

<sup>492</sup> *OCD*: 672 ‘hero-cult’.

<sup>493</sup> Diod. 11.11.6.

<sup>494</sup> West 1965: 123.

<sup>495</sup> Monument: Hdts. 7.225; representing valour (Pausanias is here describing the lion at Chaeronea): Paus. 9.40.10; see West 1965: 185.

Table 4.18 *Other*

| Battle      | No. | Monument                        | Dedicator               | Location    |
|-------------|-----|---------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| Thermopylae | 27  | Stone Lion over Leonidas' grave | Spartans or Amphictyons | Battlefield |

#### 4.4 Place Definitions

I will now define the places at which the commemorative monuments were raised or enacted. As stated in chapter 3, I have devised and implemented site type divisions: battlefield, urban centre, pan-Hellenic sanctuary and other. However, these site types are dictated by the original location of the commemorative monuments.

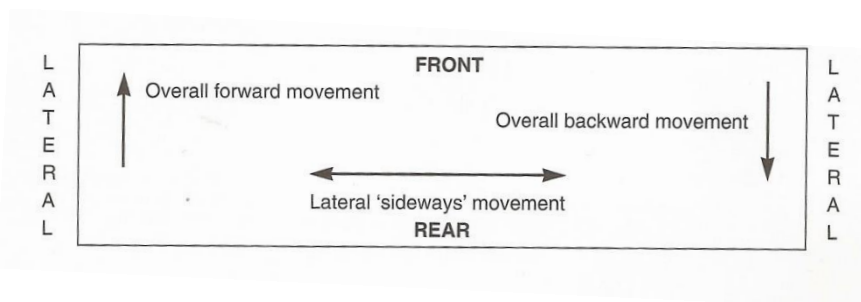
##### 4.4.1 Battlefield

The purpose of defining what a battlefield is to identify the boundaries of the site of conflict and therefore delineate a commemorative place. The conflict sites of the Persian War provide a varied collection of battlefield types: Marathon was fought on a coastal plain; Thermopylae was fought in a pass, restricted on both lateral sides by physical boundaries; Artemisium and Salamis were naval battles, one fought in more open water and the other in the restricted strait between Athens and the island of Salamis; and Plataea was fought on an undulating inland plain. It will be necessary to apply a broad definition of what a battlefield is and the space it occupies within the broader landscape to encompass the varied collection of battlefield types represented in the Persian Wars. Therefore, I follow Carman and Carman in their definition of the term 'battlefield':

so far as can be identified, those places where troops concentrated with the intention of fighting are considered by us to be inside the battlefield space, and locations where no fighting either took place or was intended (as far as we can ascertain) lie outside.<sup>496</sup>

As Carman and Carman explain, to simplify the battlefield space is to acknowledge that it has ‘four edges’.<sup>497</sup>

Figure 4.1 *Establishing Boundaries to the Battlefield Space*



*After Carman & Carman 2006a: 135.*

As figure 4.1 illustrates, the battlefield is understood to have a ‘front’ which marks the edge of any forward movement; a ‘rear’ which marks the extent of any movement in the opposite direction and ‘sides’ which mark the extent of movement to either side. The range of battlefield types mentioned above illustrate how some boundaries are physical, for example the pass at Thermopylae and the Attic and Salamis coast lines at Salamis, and some were less physical (as far as I can ascertain) such as the lateral boundaries at Plataea. Broadly defining the edges to the battlefield makes it possible

<sup>496</sup> Carman & Carman 2006a: 134.

<sup>497</sup> Carman & Carman 2006a: 134.

to attribute the construction of certain monuments to particular site types. Presenting battlefields as places with edges enables the differentiation of the space outside of these boundaries. The boundaries are necessarily loose due to the varied collection of battlefield types, and I understand commemorative monuments to have been built upon the battlefield if they were constructed where or nearby where fighting took place.

#### 4.4.2 Urban centre

With regard to the site type 'urban centre' I am referring to the ancient Greek city: the *polis*. The *polis* may be thought of as a town and as a state.<sup>498</sup> However for the purpose of presenting the *polis* as a place of commemoration and the differentiation from the other site types I am concerned with the definition of the *polis* as an urban centre (for the *polis* as a state see chapter 1). The urban centre is understood here as a dense collection of individuals with a higher population density than the area surrounding it. Density of population as representative of a city is outlined by Aristotle:

A city is an aggregate made up of houses and land and property, self-sufficient with regard to a good life.<sup>499</sup>

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<sup>498</sup> Hansen 1997: 10; Hansen 2006: 62-65.

<sup>499</sup> Arist. *Economics* 1343a10; trans. Hansen.

The *polis* has always been linked to the surrounding countryside (*chora*).<sup>500</sup> When the *polis* is understood as a state, the term *chora* is used to denote the territory of which the urban centre was a part. However, when the term *polis* is used to denote an urban centre, *chora* usually refers to the countryside and is often opposed to the *polis*.<sup>501</sup> In this project I define the urban centre, for the purpose of defining different places of commemoration, as different from what is not the urban centre.

The defining line between urban and non-urban in this project is understood, for the vast majority of *poleis*, to be the city walls.<sup>502</sup> For example in the classical period it was regarded as exceptional and old fashioned for a *polis* to not be protected by walls.<sup>503</sup> However, it should be noted that the ancient intention of constructing a wall was for defensive purposes only and not to create a barrier between those individuals living within the urban centre and those individuals living in the surrounding countryside. During peace times people could enter or exit the city gates at will, while they were guarded during times of war.<sup>504</sup> As this project considers the urban centre as differentiated from the space around it, by the walls which demarcate it in the landscape, everything inside the walls falls under this title; urban sanctuaries are therefore necessarily included. In short I present the urban centre here, for the purpose of defining a place of commemoration, as a physical thing with clearly defined boundaries.

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<sup>500</sup> Hansen 1997: 17, see n.73 for further references.

<sup>501</sup> Hansen 1997: 17; see Arist. *Politics* 5.1303b7-10 for an example of differentiating *polis* and *chora*.

<sup>502</sup> For city walls see Hansen & Nielsen 2004: 135-137.

<sup>503</sup> Hansen 1997: 52; Sparta: Xen. *Hellenica* 6.5.28; Elis: Xen. *Hellenica* 3.2.27.

<sup>504</sup> See Thuc. 7.29.3 for an account of a surprise attack finding the city gates open and unguarded; see Aen. Tact. 28.1-4 for guarding the gates during times of war; see also Hansen 1997: 52.



#### 4.4.3 Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary

At the most basic level a sanctuary would have consisted of an altar and a boundary. The animal sacrifice, which was the primary act of worship, would have been performed at the altar and the boundary would have separated the sacred area from the secular.<sup>505</sup> These two aspects would be among the defining features of sanctuaries. In addition the altar and boundary could be accompanied by temples, groves, statues, and other offerings; all these aspects taken together or various combinations would have comprised a sanctuary.<sup>506</sup> Sanctuaries varied greatly in size. The smaller sanctuaries may not have had many or any structures apart from a hearth, or altar, to perform the sacrifice and perhaps even an imaginary boundary. The larger sanctuaries, however, had many buildings which would have been constructed to accommodate the ritual behaviour. For example, at Delphi the paved sacred way is clearly defined and lined with structures and would have served as the route for processions towards the altar. Many of the treasuries which lined the sacred way at Delphi were not orientated towards the temple or the altar but were situated to be visible to visitors.<sup>507</sup>

Sanctuaries were either local or pan-Hellenic. Local sanctuaries were maintained by a particular *polis* and were intended for the use of citizens from that city-state, while

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<sup>505</sup> Emerson 2007: 4.

<sup>506</sup> Pedley 2005: 6.

<sup>507</sup> Pedley 2005: 6-8.

pan-Hellenic sanctuaries were intended for use by all Greeks.<sup>508</sup> The main four pan-Hellenic sanctuaries were Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia and Nemea. According to this project's data set no monuments commemorating the Persian War were erected at Nemea and so only Olympia, Delphi and Isthmia are represented. Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries were likely to be politically neutral and were often situated away from the more powerful *poleis*. These sanctuaries were run by either local administrations or federations representing local interests and so provided an equitable place at which Greek city-states could come to meet and interact.<sup>509</sup> Sanctuaries of this scale would have provided a neutral place to argue, compete in athletic and musical contests or display social prowess. By winning victories in competition or dedicating lavish gifts to the gods (either individually or as a collective city-state), both the individual and their *polis* would be glorified. Dedications on an individual and collective scale could have taken the form of, for example, weapons and art and these sites have been described as 'museums'.<sup>510</sup> On a purely collective scale treasuries were constructed at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries in order to display the wealth and construction skills of the dedicating *polis*. Some city-states used materials from their home territory so the treasury became a home territory in a distant sanctuary.<sup>511</sup> As neutral sites, these sanctuaries became focal points for the exchange of both political and artistic ideas.<sup>512</sup>

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<sup>508</sup> Emerson 2007: 5-6.

<sup>509</sup> Pedley 2005: 40;

<sup>510</sup> Pedley 2005: 41.

<sup>511</sup> Pedley 2005: 40.

<sup>512</sup> Pedley 2005: 41.

The unified idea of a pan-Hellenic sanctuary has recently been challenged, and it has been argued that these pan-Hellenic sites were sites of disunity, were not active at all times, and would have experienced an irregular flow of visitors.<sup>513</sup> Furthermore, it is suggested that the term 'pan-Hellenic' is vague and ill-fitting when considering the variety of activities that took place at these sanctuaries over time by various groups. While the vagueness of the 'pan-Hellenic' label is acknowledged here, it is utilised to set apart specific sanctuaries: Delphi, Olympia, Isthmia, and Nemea.<sup>514</sup>

#### 4.4.4 Other

Monuments are attributed to this category when they cannot be attributed to the three main general categories. This category includes monuments erected at non-urban, non-pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and when a monument cannot be allocated a specific physical commemorative place, for example in the case of vows and oaths. Non-urban, non-pan-Hellenic sanctuaries would have functioned in the same manner as other sanctuaries but they were usually not as large as pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and they were situated outside the walls of the *polis*. Vows and oaths were non-physical monuments and would have, initially, consisted of a verbal agreement with the divine. This verbal component of commemoration will therefore not be assigned a specific site type or specific place of commemoration. However, in cases in which a vow is repaid

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<sup>513</sup> Scott 2010: esp. 256-264, with further bibliography.

<sup>514</sup> For similarities between these four sanctuaries particularly, see Roux 1980; Scott (2010: 257-258) also accepts these sanctuaries are set apart.

with behavioural commemoration, such as sacrifice, the commemorative act is associated with a specific place.

#### 4.5 What is Found Where?

The monumental data outlined above is inextricably linked with the place within which it was originally situated or enacted. This chapter section will merge the monument and site types and outline which monument types are most likely to be found at which site types.

Table 4.19 *What is Found Where?*

| Category               | sub-division                     | Battlefield | Urban Centre | Pan-Hellenic sanctuary | Other |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------------|-------|
| Cenotaph               | □                                |             | ✓            | ✓                      |       |
| Trophy                 | Perishable and Permanent         | ✓           |              | ✓                      |       |
| Inscriptions           | Epigram and Epitaph              | ✓           | ✓            |                        |       |
|                        | Casualty List                    | ✓           | ✓            |                        |       |
| Burials                | Collective                       | ✓           |              |                        |       |
|                        | Commander                        | ✓           | ✓            |                        |       |
| Dedications            | Spoils of War                    |             | ✓            | ✓                      | ✓     |
|                        | Statue                           |             | ✓            | ✓                      | ✓     |
|                        | Votive Offering                  |             | ✓            | ✓                      | ✓     |
| Structures             | Altar                            | ✓           | ✓            | ✓                      |       |
|                        | Sacred Precinct, Temple and Stoa |             | ✓            | ✓                      | ✓     |
|                        | Non-Religious Structures         |             | ✓            |                        |       |
| Non-Physical Monuments | Military Vow                     |             |              |                        | ✓     |
|                        | Oath                             |             |              |                        | ✓     |
|                        | Behavioural Commemoration        | ✓           | ✓            |                        |       |
|                        | Other                            | ✓           |              |                        |       |

Cenotaphs were constructed in the absence of bodies of the dead (see discussion on cenotaphs above) and may be constructed at a number of site types. If the war dead were buried on the battlefield, for example, a cenotaph could be erected at the home

city as a record of the names and the event.<sup>515</sup> It has also been stated that a cenotaph may be constructed on the field of battle, and offerings would be made at the monument as if it were a tomb containing the dead.<sup>516</sup> However, within this data set the cenotaph is utilised only within the urban centre and at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries.

In antiquity, trophies were constructed at a variety of sites including market places, sanctuaries and sites of conflict.<sup>517</sup> However, this project's data set represents trophies which are only constructed at sites of conflict. As stated above, it has been argued that the construction of permanent trophies began in response to the victories of the Persian Wars.<sup>518</sup> The fact that this method of commemoration was, arguably, beginning during this period may explain the restricted use at only the sites of conflict. As noted in chapter section 5.5, a trophy was raised at the pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Delphi. This trophy was in response to the Persian army being repulsed while attempting to attack the sanctuary and so may be interpreted as having been raised at a site of conflict.

The epitaph must be in close proximity to a tomb, for example, the inscription may be placed on top of the tomb or in front of the tomb.<sup>519</sup> However, the location of a

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<sup>515</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 257.

<sup>516</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 257; for example Pritchett (1985: 4.257-258) notes 'a stone marking a cenotaph...found on the Argive-Lakonian border where the Battle of Champions of about 550 BC took place. Said to be in Argive script of the fifth century (*SEG* 13.266), the stone presumably marked a cenotaph for the Argive dead on the field of battle.' See also *SEG* 30.379, and Pritchett, in his studies of ancient Greek topography, dedicates a chapter to this inscription with further bibliography: Pritchett 1989: 6.79-83.

<sup>517</sup> Market places: Paus. 2.20.1; Sanctuaries: Paus. 5.27.11, 6.21.2; see also *OCD*: 1512 'trophies'.

<sup>518</sup> See West 1969.

<sup>519</sup> Peek 1955: no. 1210.

specific tomb may vary. Within this data set it is difficult to differentiate between epigrams and epitaphs, particularly because the exact location of the tomb is lost. Therefore it is only possible to note that epigrams and epitaphs were erected on the battlefields and within urban centres. The location of casualty lists, as with other forms of inscriptions, is dependent on the placement of the monuments on which they are inscribed. Therefore as casualty lists, according to this data set, are either inscribed on monuments adorning collective burials or on cenotaphs, they are to be found either on the battlefield or within urban centres.

The burial of the war dead would have usually taken place on the battlefield (see chapter section 6.4 for further discussion).<sup>520</sup> However, no rules concerning burial may be applied to all Greek city-states. For example it was customary for the Athenian war dead in the classical period to be returned to the *polis* for burial. For the war dead who were not repatriated, the cremation of the bodies need not necessarily be carried out at the battlefield. On a number of occasions various Greek cities transported their dead from the battlefield to be cremated elsewhere. For example at Solygeia in 425 BC the corpses were removed by ship, and after the battle of Ephesus in 409 BC the Athenians sailed to Notion with their four hundred dead where they carried out the burial rites.<sup>521</sup> Generally, different Greek cities performed burial rites in different ways and each case should be taken individually. However all Persian War burials according to the available information, by all participating city-states, took place on the

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<sup>520</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 247.

<sup>521</sup> Pritchett 1985: 4.250; Solygeia: Thuc. 4.42-44; Ephesus: Xen. *Hellenica* 1.2.1 – 11; see also Montagu 2000: 69.

battlefields. The general treatment of dead commanders also varies from city to city. However from the information presented in table 4.8 a general pattern can be seen: Sparta return their dead commander's body to the city for burial (or reburial at a later date) while the Athenians, for the most part, bury their commanders on the battlefield. These battlefield burials occur even when the commander did not die at that particular conflict.

Dedications of arms and armour were intended to show the mastery over the defeated and so would have been displayed in prominent places. For example spoils were displayed on the Athenian Acropolis (App. no.72). Alternatively a building could be specifically constructed in order to house the display of captured goods from the enemy, for example the Athenian portico at Delphi (App. no.84). It has been highlighted that Greeks made a distinction between captured armour dedicated at temples and captured armour dedicated in stoas.<sup>522</sup> When Philip marched on Thermon in 218 BC he and his Macedonian force found stoas full of displayed armour in stoas. His forces took the most valuable items and destroyed the rest; these actions were described by Polybius as 'right and fair by the laws of war'.<sup>523</sup> However, when the Macedonians went on to destroy dedicated goods within temples and sacred ground Polybius criticises the behaviour.<sup>524</sup> The dedicated spoils of war and votive offerings more generally included in this data set can be seen to be dedicated at urban centres, pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and other. 'Other' here refers to non-urban, non-pan-Hellenic

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<sup>522</sup> Pritchett 1979: 3.294; see Diod. 13.64.1; Xen. *Hellenica* 1.2.7-10; Montagu 2000: 77.

<sup>523</sup> Polyb. 5.8.9.

<sup>524</sup> Polyb. 5.8.8-5.9.1; see also Pritchett 1979: 3.294.

sanctuaries and represents the sanctuary to Poseidon at Sunium (spoils of war) and the Aphaea sanctuary on Aegina (votive offerings). The dedications of spoils of war, and votive offerings more generally, were offerings to deities and so when they are represented in the urban centres they would have been dedicated at religious sites within the city.

Statues which have a religious connotation were either images of deities themselves or animals erected within religious contexts, for example at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. As noted above, some statues were erected without an overt relevance to religion and these monuments were likenesses of mortals constructed, for example, in the Athenian agora (App. no's. 88 and 89) and in the market place of Troezen (App. no.95).

Religious structures such as altars and temples were either constructed at sacred spaces, such as sanctuaries, or the construction of the monument made the space sacred. For example the altar on the Plataean battlefield (App. no. 67) was constructed and became the focus of regular religious rites. One temple, for Nemesis (App. no.19) falls within the 'other' category in table 4.19. This temple was constructed on sacred ground in the non-urban, non-pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Rhamnus. Non-religious structures were usually constructed in non-religious settings and, within this data set, may be found solely in the urban centres. For example in Sparta a stoa was constructed in the Spartan agora (App. no.83). However, temple fragments were built into the Acropolis' north wall which verges on sacred space (App. no.85).<sup>525</sup>

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<sup>525</sup> Kousser 2009: 271.



The vow and oaths included in this data set have been categorised under the site type 'other' in table 4.19. The vow and the oath are non-physical monuments and thus cannot be assigned a specific commemorative place. However, vows and oaths consist of specific clauses which are undertaken, sometimes at particular places. For example, the vow to sacrifice 500 Kids (App. no.18) is also included in behavioural commemoration and the act of sacrifice to Artemis was undertaken in Athens, an urban centre. The behavioural commemoration may be divided into two site types: those enacted on the battlefield and those enacted within urban centres. The commemorative festivals, the *Herakleia* (App. no.5) and the *Eleutheria* (App. no.65) both were enacted on the battlefield in addition to the annual rites performed for the war dead from the battle of Plataea (App. no.68). Other forms of commemorative activity such as the repayment of a vow mentioned above and the hero-cult practices for the fallen of Thermopylae (App. no.32) were undertaken within urban centres.

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

A monument, within this project, is either a material construction or a behavioural act. The range of monuments presented within this chapter illustrates the variety of methods used by Greek communities to commemorate the Persian Wars. The place at which the monument is either constructed or enacted is understood as the monument's context. The site types, battlefield, urban centre, pan-Hellenic sanctuary and other, are defined by the locations at which the monuments were constructed or enacted. The monuments and the places at which they were constructed or enacted

are presented here as being inextricably linked. The types of monument and site types have been presented here to provide both background information and a point of reference for the data analysis.

This thesis will continue with a quantitative analysis of the data, presented in chapter 5.

## **Chapter 5: REVEALING COMMEMORATIVE PATTERNS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

Within this chapter the data is analysed using a quantitative methodology. The material and behavioural data will be divided by type of monument and site type at which it was constructed or enacted, both of which have been defined in chapter 4. The data presented and analysed below are not intended to represent the entire collection of public monuments erected for, and carried out in memory of, the Persian Wars. It should be noted that some monuments may have been destroyed in antiquity and other structures which originally were erected in memory of the Persian Wars may possibly have since been attributed to other conflicts and events. The collection of monuments presented below, as far as possible, consists of examples which according to modern scholarship and ancient literature were erected in remembrance of the Persian Wars within about a century of the conflict. In analysing the monuments it will be possible to give a representation of the distribution over space and, with less certainty, over time. I exercise caution with the analysis of this data by not attempting to extrapolate the results to ancient Greek commemorative practice as a whole. It would be possible to compare or contrast this analysis with data pertaining to other conflicts, but that is not the purpose of the current analysis; the patterns and anomalies that are highlighted in this analysis are relevant to this data set alone.

For the purpose of carrying out a quantitative analysis of the data set, it will be necessary to count all monuments, here and in the subsequent sections of chapter 6, as equal regardless of their confidence rating (which are presented in tables App. 1 and 2). The problem with adopting this approach is that the results, if taken at face value, may be skewed by the presence of monuments attested by questionable evidence. However, in order to reveal commemorative patterns in the data set as a whole, it is necessary to approach the data set holistically, and in doing so include all examples. The data are addressed, in relation to the reliability of evidence, on an individual basis in the Appendix and may be referred to in light of conclusions drawn from this quantitative analysis.

This chapter is divided into four main sections: general monument distribution, monument distribution over space and time, commemorative monopolies, and the relationship between object and place. This chapter begins, then, by illustrating the general monument distribution over the range of site types defined in chapter 4. Following the general analysis, monumental distribution remains the focus but with specific focus on the distribution over space and time. To analyse the distribution of monuments over space each of the site types will be addressed in turn. To analyse the distribution of monuments over time I will focus primarily on the commemorations of the battle of Marathon because it is possible to date a large number of these monuments. Thirdly, I will present the theme of commemorative monopolies. Athenian commemorative monuments will provide a basis for the analysis of this theme because, as a group, Athenians are the most frequent constructor and enactor

of monuments according to this data set. The fourth analysis section highlights the relationship between object and place. Within this section, monument types are analysed with reference to the specific place at which they were constructed or enacted.

## 5.2 General Monument Distribution

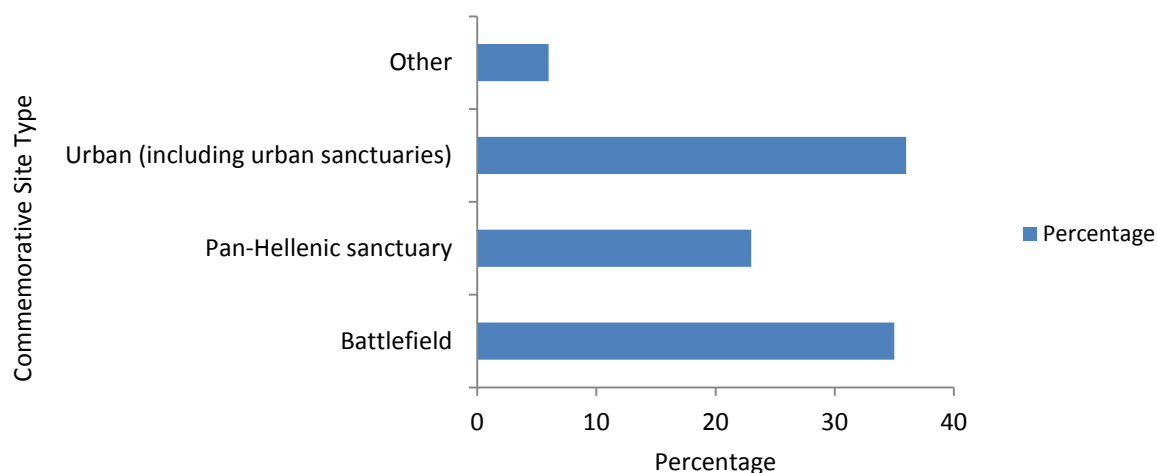
Table 5.1 *Division of Monuments by Place*

| Category                            | Number of monuments in category (frequency) |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Battlefield                         | 37  |
| Pan-Hellenic sanctuary              | 24  |
| Urban (including urban sanctuaries) | 38  |
| Other                               | 6   |
|                                     | 105   |

Table 5.2 *Relative Frequency and Percentage of Monument Distribution*

| Category                            | Relative frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| Battlefield                         | 0.35               | 35         |
| Pan-Hellenic sanctuary              | 0.23               | 23         |
| Urban (including urban sanctuaries) | 0.36               | 36         |
| Other                               | 0.06               | 6          |
|                                     | 1                  | 100        |

Figure 5.1 *Relative Frequency and Percentage of Monument Distribution*



In tables 5.1 and 5.2 and figure 5.1 the characterisation ‘other’ refers to either monuments which cannot be directly linked to a specific place, or are connected to non-pan-Hellenic, non-urban sanctuaries.<sup>526</sup> Monuments either erected or enacted upon the field of battle comprise over a third of all Persian War commemorative monuments. Presented this way, that is combining all battlefields, pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and urban centres each into their respective site types, the number of monuments counted on the battlefield outnumbers those erected within pan-Hellenic sanctuaries by over 10%. It is surprising then that monuments erected within urban centres and especially those at major sanctuaries receive the most scholarly interest while battlefield monuments are often overlooked. The combining of these sites into such homogenous groups somewhat hides the variations of the distribution of

<sup>526</sup> These are App. no.19 (Statue and Temple of Nemesis), no.40 (Thank-Offering of a Trireme), no.48 (Pedimental Sculptures of the Temple of Aphaea), no.63 (Ruins of Sanctuaries as Memorial of Persian Impiety), no.64 (Tithing of Medising Greeks), and no.67 (Inviolability of Plataea). The inviolability of Plataea may not be assigned a specific commemorative place, even though it mentions Plataea, because it is considered a vow of inaction.

monuments by particular place. In order to reveal a more detailed impression of monument distribution it will be necessary to divide the monuments by particular place.

Table 5.3 *Division of Monuments by Particular Place*

| Particular sites          | Number of monuments | Percentage |
|---------------------------|---------------------|------------|
| Marathon (battlefield)    | 7                   |            |
| Artemisium (battlefield)  | 1                   |            |
| Thermopylae (battlefield) | 6                   |            |
| Salamis (battlefield)     | 5                   |            |
| Plataea (battlefield)     | 18                  | 17.14      |
| Delphi                    | 17                  | 16.19      |
| Olympia                   | 4                   |            |
| Isthmus                   | 3                   |            |
| Sparta                    | 8                   |            |
| Athens                    | 17                  | 16.19      |
| Corinth                   | 1                   |            |
| Tegea                     | 1                   |            |
| Megara                    | 2                   |            |
| Troezen                   | 2                   |            |
| Plataea                   | 3                   |            |
| Thyia                     | 1                   |            |
| Pagae                     | 1                   |            |
| Salamis                   | 2                   |            |
| Sunium                    | 1                   |            |
| Rhamnus                   | 1                   |            |
| Aphaea sanctuary, Aegina  | 1                   |            |
| Other                     | 3                   |            |
|                           | 105                 | 49.52      |

In the case of table 5.3 the characterisation ‘other’ refers to monuments which are non-physical and cannot be assigned a specific site.<sup>527</sup> It should be noted that the city in which the monument was erected was not necessarily responsible for its construction (see also figure 5.9). For example, one of the monuments raised in Salamis has been attributed to Athens. The second monument raised at Salamis was a

<sup>527</sup> These are App. no.63 (Ruins of Sanctuaries as Memorial of Persian Impiety), no.64 (Tithing of Medising Greeks), and no.67 (Inviolability of Plataea).

pan-Hellenic effort, while the singular monument raised at Thyia was erected by the Delphians. Table 5.3 immediately reveals that there is a large discrepancy in the distribution of monuments that was not clear from table 5.2 or figure 5.1 which considered monument distribution over broad site types. Particularly, one battlefield (Plataea), one pan-Hellenic sanctuary (Delphi) and one urban settlement (Athens) account for about 50% of all public monuments in this data set. With such a popular trend for commemorating so frequently at so few of the represented places, many of these places appear to fade into obscurity. In order to bring these, apparently under-represented, commemorative places to the fore it will be necessary to address the relative frequency of the numbers of commemorations.

#### 5.2.1 Commemorative Frequencies

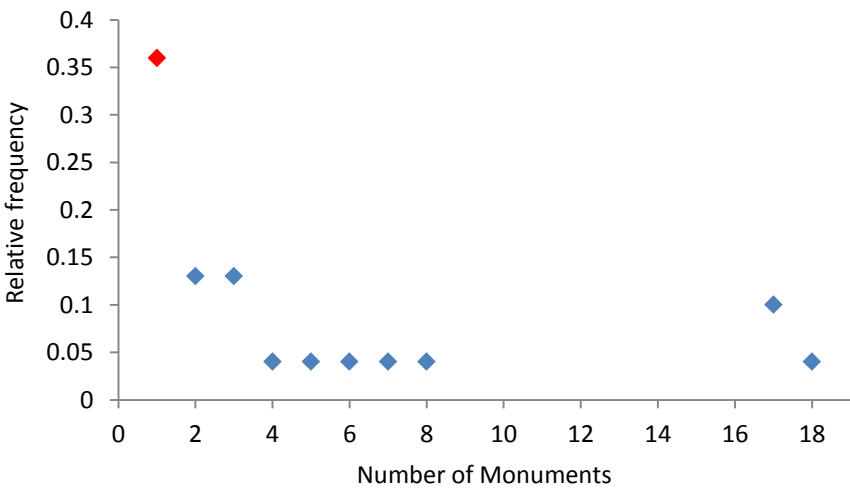
Table 5.4 *Commemorative Frequencies*

| Number of monuments | Frequency | Relative frequency | Cumulative frequency | Cumulative relative frequency |
|---------------------|-----------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1                   | 8         | 0.36               | 8                    | 0.36                          |
| 2                   | 3         | 0.13               | 11                   | 0.49                          |
| 3                   | 3         | 0.13               | 14                   | 0.62                          |
| 4                   | 1         | 0.04               | 15                   | 0.66                          |
| 5                   | 1         | 0.04               | 16                   | 0.7                           |
| 6                   | 1         | 0.04               | 17                   | 0.74                          |
| 7                   | 1         | 0.04               | 18                   | 0.78                          |
| 8                   | 1         | 0.04               | 19                   | 0.82                          |
| 9                   | 0         | -                  | -                    | -                             |
| 10                  | 0         | -                  | -                    | -                             |
| 11                  | 0         | -                  | -                    | -                             |
| 12                  | 0         | -                  | -                    | -                             |
| 13                  | 0         | -                  | -                    | -                             |
| 14                  | 0         | -                  | -                    | -                             |
| 15                  | 0         | -                  | -                    | -                             |
| 16                  | 0         | -                  | -                    | -                             |
| 17                  | 2         | 0.1                | 21                   | 0.92                          |
| 18                  | 1         | 0.04               | 22                   | 0.96                          |
|                     | 22        | 0.96               |                      |                               |



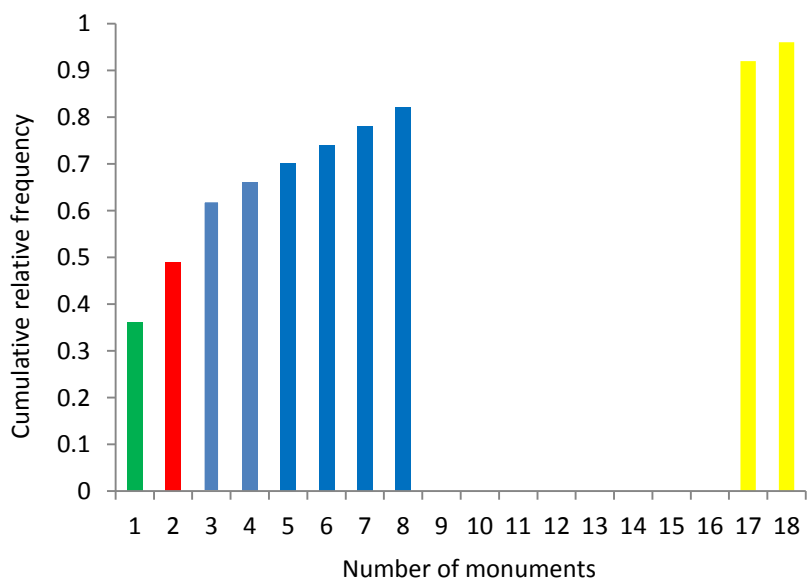
Table 5.4 illustrates that for a commemorative place to have seventeen or eighteen monuments is something of an anomaly. Although these more popular commemorative places may usually receive the majority of attention, the relative frequency of monument distribution shows that it is far more likely for a particular place to hold a single monument in commemoration of the Persian Wars, according to this particular data set. Indeed, over 35% of the represented places hold just one monument while the more famous commemorative places such as the battlefield of Plataea, Delphi, or Athens represent just around 4% each of the monument distribution frequency. By combining Plataea, Delphi and Athens the sum of the distribution frequency is still less than half of the percentage represented by places with only one monument.

Figure 5.2 *Relative Frequencies of Monuments per Place*



Displaying the frequency as in figure 5.2 allows us to clearly see the distribution of monuments across unspecified places. The modal value, highlighted in red in figure 5.2, is one monument; that is, one monument per commemorative place is the practice which occurs most frequently. Figure 5.2 clearly illustrates that fewer places hold multiple commemorative monuments and a general, and initially rather steep, decline in frequency is visible as the number of monuments rise. However, the frequency of places with singular public dedications does not detract from the importance of places which hold multiple commemorations. In an effort to contrast the places and their relative popularity in comparison to each other we may visually address the cumulative relative frequency, as in figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3 *Cumulative Relative Frequencies*



The height of the bar above the horizontal axis (which enumerates the monuments), at any value, represents the proportion of places with that many monuments or less. By

calculating the cumulative relative frequency and presenting the data in a bar chart it is possible to discern the cumulative relative frequency of the distribution of monuments. Displaying the data in this way allows us to divide the bars into four distinct groups; major places of commemoration, seventeen or eighteen monuments (in yellow); semi-major places, three to eight monuments (in blue); semi-minor places, two monuments (in red); and minor places, one monument (in green).

Following this outline the division of sites can be suggested as follows:

|                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Major commemorative places -      | Delphi<br>Athens<br>Plataea (battlefield)   |
| Semi-major commemorative places - | Olympia<br>Sparta<br>Marathon<br>Thermopylae (battlefield)<br>Salamis (battlefield)<br>Plataea<br>Isthmus |
| Semi-minor commemorative places - | Megara<br>Troezen<br>Salamis  |
| Minor-commemorative places -      | Artemisium (battlefield)<br>Corinth<br>Tegea<br>Aegina<br>Thyia<br>Pagae                                  |

Sunium  
Rhamnus

### 5.3 Monument Distribution over Space and Time

We will now further explore particular commemorative places and specific commemorating groups. To do this I will first present monument distribution over a range of places, that is by space, and secondly I will present, where possible, monument distribution by time.

#### 5.3.1 Distribution over Space

Having looked at all the commemorative places together, we will now isolate the battlefields.

Table 5.5 *Number of Monuments per Battlefield*

| Battlefields | Number of monuments |
|--------------|---------------------|
| Marathon     | 7                   |
| Artemisium   | 1                   |
| Thermopylae  | 6                   |
| Salamis      | 5                   |
| Plataea      | 18                  |

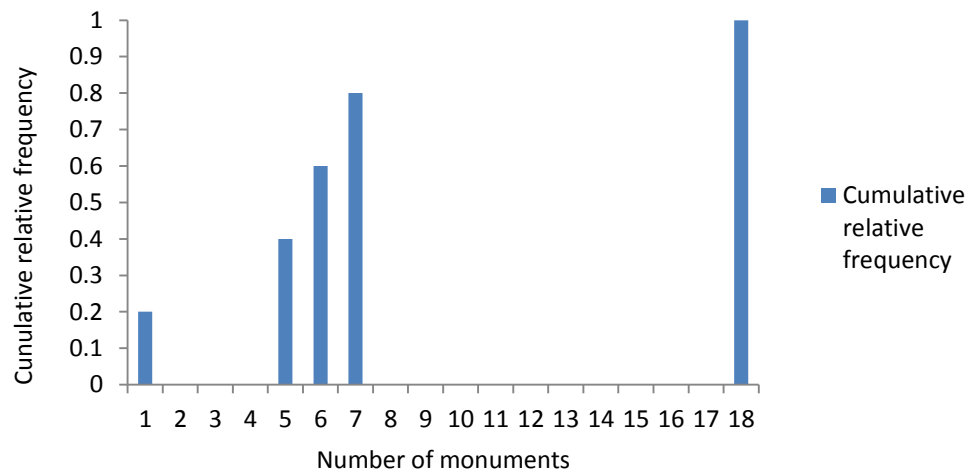
As noted above, Plataea stands alone as a battlefield with far more commemoration than any other Persian War battlefield. In contrast, Artemisium also stands alone at

the other end of the spectrum with just one monument. As there are only five battlefields and none of these places share the same number of monuments, the relative frequency of the monuments does not make for particularly useful data as each value is 0.2, or 20%. We will turn, then, to the cumulative relative frequency.

Table 5.6 *Commemorative Frequencies on the Battlefield*

| Number of monuments | Frequency | Relative frequency | Cumulative frequency | Cumulative relative frequency |
|---------------------|-----------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1                   | 1         | 0.2                | 1                    | 0.2                           |
| 2                   | 0         |                    |                      |                               |
| 3                   | 0         |                    |                      |                               |
| 4                   | 0         |                    |                      |                               |
| 5                   | 1         | 0.2                | 2                    | 0.4                           |
| 6                   | 1         | 0.2                | 3                    | 0.6                           |
| 7                   | 1         | 0.2                | 4                    | 0.8                           |
| 8                   | 0         |                    |                      |                               |
| 9                   | 0         |                    |                      |                               |
| 10                  | 0         |                    |                      |                               |
| 11                  | 0         |                    |                      |                               |
| 12                  | 0         |                    |                      |                               |
| 13                  | 0         |                    |                      |                               |
| 14                  | 0         |                    |                      |                               |
| 15                  | 0         |                    |                      |                               |
| 16                  | 0         |                    |                      |                               |
| 17                  | 0         |                    |                      |                               |
| 18                  | 1         | 0.2                | 5                    | 1                             |
| Total               | 5         | 1                  |                      |                               |

Figure 5.4 *Battlefield Cumulative Relative Frequencies*



The data represented in figure 5.4 illustrates how Plataea on the right and Artemisium on the left are anomalous and the norm for battlefield commemoration, according to this data set, is somewhere in between. The mean number of monuments per battlefield is 7.4:

$$\frac{1+5+6+7+18}{5} = 7.4$$

Within an urban setting the mean number of monuments is 3.8:

$$\frac{1+1+1+1+2+2+2+3+8+17}{10} = 3.8$$

At pan-Hellenic sanctuaries the mean is 8:

$$\frac{3+4+17}{3} = 8$$

These figures can be deceptive and shall not be taken at face value.<sup>528</sup> The mean number of monuments on the battlefield is somewhat skewed by the tendency to commemorate heavily at Plataea. However, if we calculate the median of the monuments erected on the battlefield, we see it is 6. This presents us with a much clearer idea of the distribution of monuments per battlefield. Within an urban setting

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<sup>528</sup> For reference, the total mean number of monuments per site is:

$$\frac{7+1+6+5+18+17+4+3+8+17+1+1+2+2+3+1+1+2+1+1+1}{21} = 4.86$$

the median is 2, while in pan-Hellenic sanctuaries the median is 4. Such a stark contrast between the mean and the median, particularly at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and urban centres where the mean is about double the median, reveals that there is gross misdistribution of monuments erected upon the places within a certain site type.

This gross misdistribution of monuments can be best expressed visually, as in figures 5.5, 5.7 and 5.9. By maintaining the division of monuments by site type a stacked bar chart will allow us to view the commemorative pattern at each specific place within the particular site type.

Figure 5.5 Monument Distributions on the Battlefields

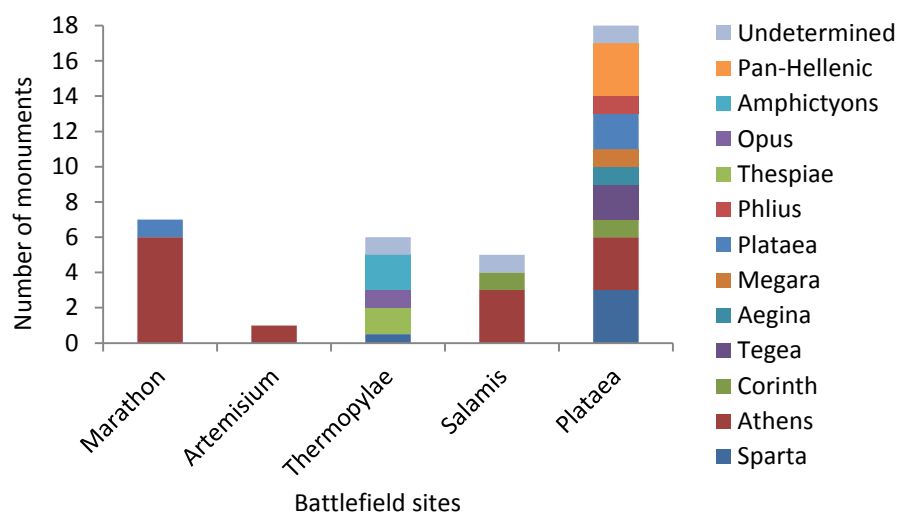
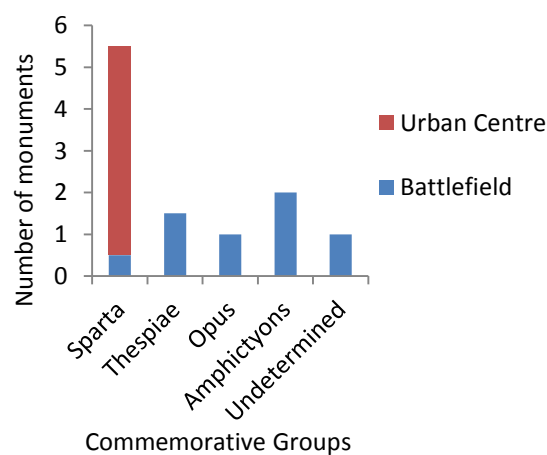


Figure 5.5 illustrates the monuments represented at each of our five battlefields and further presents the dedicator per place. This chart immediately reveals how Marathon, Artemisium and Salamis are primarily commemorated by Athens while Thermopylae and Plataea appear to be places which received commemorations from a

multitude of groups. It is no surprise that Marathon, a battlefield relatively near Athens and a conflict popular in later Athenian public discourse, is dominated by Athenian commemoration. However, as the data is presented in figure 5.5, what is less expected is the apparent lack of Spartan commemoration at Thermopylae. The data, again, is misleading, particularly regarding Thermopylae; the ‘undetermined’ monument is the lion erected over Leonidas’ grave whose commemorative group cannot be determined between Sparta and the Amphictyons, and also one of the Amphictyonic monuments was an epigram dedicated to the Spartans. Taking this into account the pattern of monuments at Thermopylae could look quite different. Sparta, with a possible 2.5 monuments (considering the Spartan contingent shared the mass grave with the Thespians) at the battlefield, would dominate the commemorative landscape. In addition to the data presented in figure 5.5, it would be useful to take into consideration the commemorative activity for the battle at Thermopylae as a whole. Figure 5.6 illustrates that Sparta did indeed commemorate the conflict but, according to this data, actively chose to do so within an urban setting.

Figure 5.6 *Commemoration of Thermopylae*

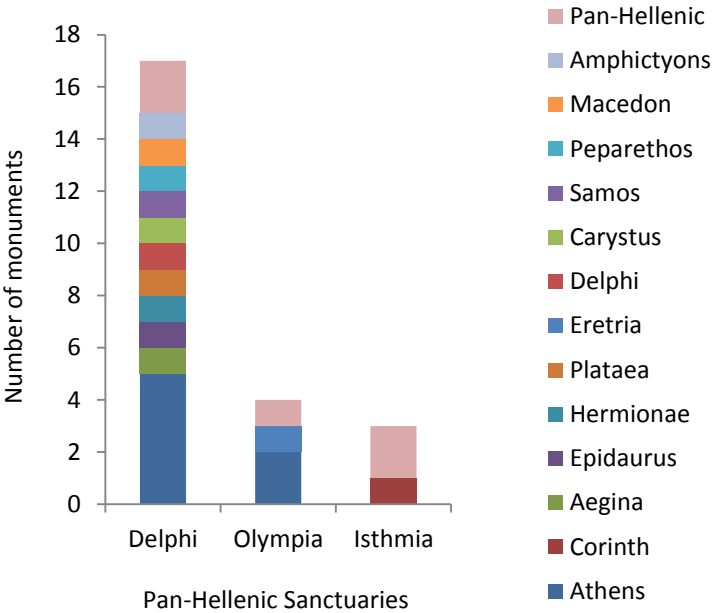




Artemisium, in contrast to the other commemorative places which have at least five monuments each, has only one monument. This particular conflict was an indecisive clash between the collective Greek and Persian fleets.<sup>529</sup> The Greek fleet retreated when the news of Leonidas’ defeat at Thermopylae reached them and so with no decisive victory earned, the lack of commemorative monuments is not understood here as an anomaly. However, the example of Artemisium further highlights the unusual commemorative behaviour at Thermopylae, which was a Greek defeat.

According to figure 5.7 Athens was very active at certain pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, particularly Delphi where the city dedicated five monuments.

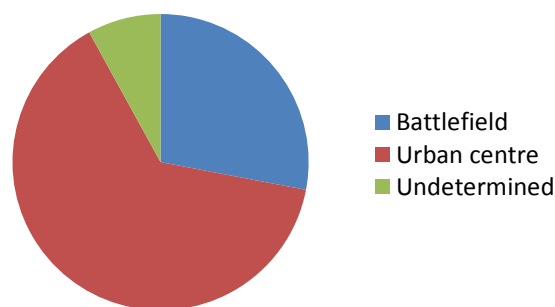
Figure 5.7 Monument Distributions at pan-Hellenic Sanctuaries



<sup>529</sup> Hdts. 8.1-39.

If the percentages of Athenian monuments per sanctuary are calculated we see that, at Delphi, Athens constructed over 29% of the monuments. At Olympia, although there were only four monuments, 50% of them may be attributed to Athens. It is all the more surprising then that we see a complete lack of Athenian, and in fact all other city-state commemorative monuments at Isthmia, apart from Corinthian and pan-Hellenic. As will be discussed in chapter section 6.1, relations between Corinth (who presided over the pan-Hellenic games at Isthmia) and Athens became strained throughout the fifth century BC and may have affected the commemorative narrative. To return briefly to Spartan Persian War commemorative practice, in stark contrast to Athens, the data reveals that Sparta did not construct or enact any solely Spartan public monuments for the Persian Wars at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. In fact, with the assistance of the pie chart in figure 5.8 we can see that according to our data Sparta only raised public monuments at either the battlefield or within the city of Sparta, with a preference towards an urban setting.<sup>530</sup>

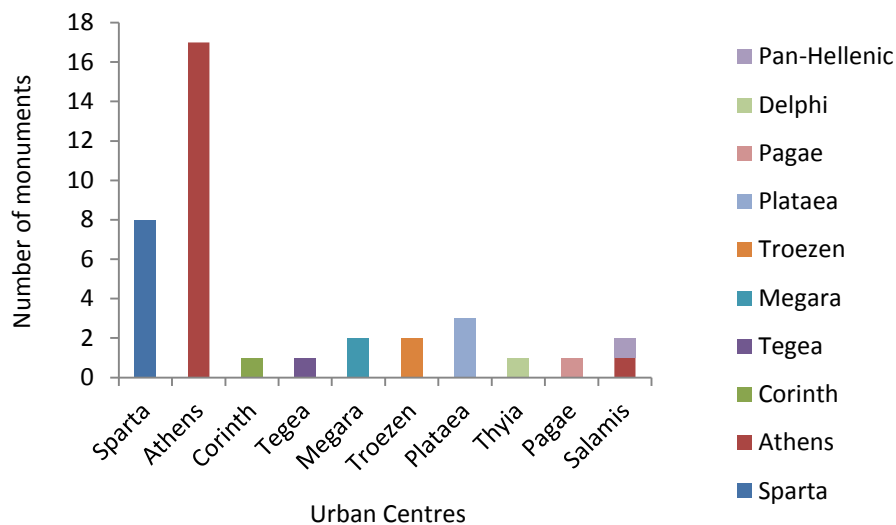
Figure 5.8 *Spartan Commemorative Monument Distributions by Site Type*



<sup>530</sup> The undetermined monument is App. no.27 (Stone Lion over Leonidas' Grave) which could be either a Spartan or Amphictyonic monument.

We will now compare Sparta's preference for an urban setting with other commemorative groups. As is quite clear in figure 5.9 Athens, as in the other site types, dominates the graph in the sheer number of commemorative monuments constructed and enacted. Although this is Sparta's most popular sphere of commemoration, it is also Athens'. We can see when we look at the column 'Salamis' that Athens also constructs monuments in other urban centres. Similarly, Delphi also raises a public monument at Thyia, the only known monument related to the Persian Wars at this urban centre.

Figure 5.9 Monument Distributions at Urban Centres



### 5.3.2 Distribution over Time

Athenian commemoration of Marathon proves a useful example of monumental distribution over time because it is possible, with varying levels of accuracy and

confidence, to ascertain the dates of commemoration for some 75% of the monuments. Therefore, we will use Athenian commemoration, initially of Marathon, to reveal the preferred places of Athenian commemoration and the distribution of these monuments over time.

The series of maps in figure 5.10 illustrate the commemorative pattern of Marathon over time. Only monuments which can be dated with some confidence have been included in this figure. In addition, many of the monuments have been dated to a certain period, for example the painting concerning Marathon in the Stoa *Poikile* in Athens has been attributed to 470-450 BC,<sup>531</sup> and so for the purpose of the map these have been consigned to the earliest decade of their supposed creation (470-460 BC for the Stoa *Poikile* painting).<sup>532</sup>

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<sup>531</sup> Castriota 2005: 90-91.

<sup>532</sup> The levels of confidence placed on the dates for these monuments vary. See Appendix for further discussion of each monument; the monuments included in figure 5.10 are 490-480 BC: App. no.1 (Athenian Burial Mound), no.2 (Plataean Burial Mound), no.4 (Grave of Miltiades), no.5 (*Herakleia*), no.7 (Casualty List), no.8 (Treasury), no.9 (Statue Group), no.17 ('Old' Parthenon); 480-470 BC: App. no.11 (Engraved Marble Base); 470-460 BC: App. no.3 (Trophy), no.12 (Stoa *Poikile*), no.15 (Statue Group), no.20 (Statue of Arimnestos); 460-450 BC: App. no.16 (Bronze Statue of Athena); 450 BC onwards: App. no.19 (Temple and Statue of Nemesis).

Figure 5.10 *Fifth Century Marathon Commemoration*

1. 490 - 480 BC



2. 480 - 470 BC



3. 470 - 460 BC



4. 460 - 450 BC



5. 450 BC →



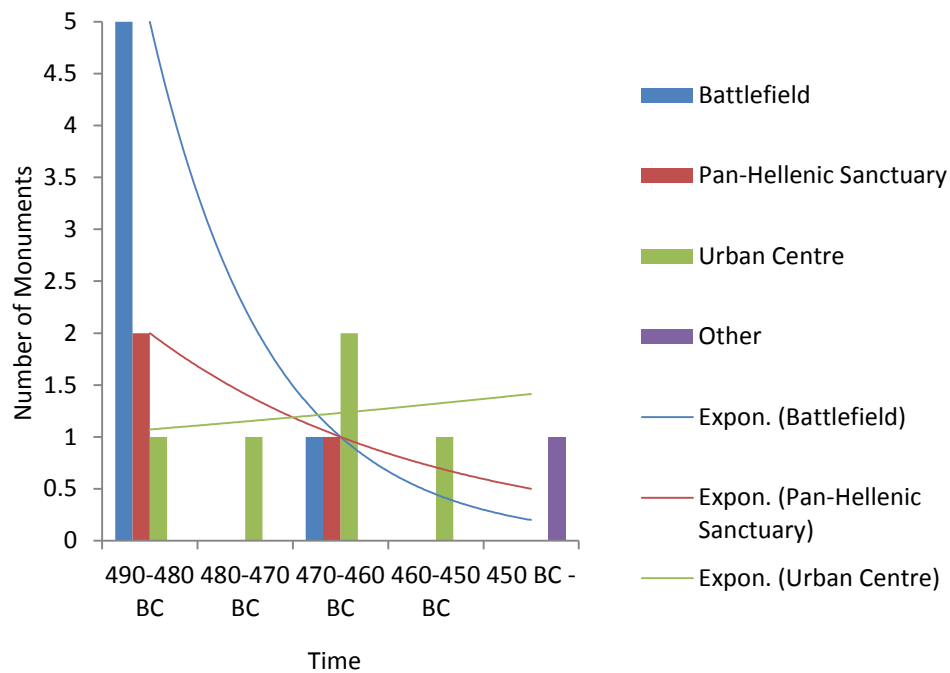
#### Key

- ☆ - Battlefield site
- - Other sites
- - 1 monument
- - 2 monuments
- - 3-4 monuments
- - 5 or more monuments

As is shown in figure 5.10.1, immediately after the battle and in the succeeding decade, commemoration was prevalent on the battlefield. At the same time, to a slightly lesser degree commemorative activity was undertaken at Athens and at Delphi. Commemoration primarily on the battlefield, within the primary protagonist's urban centre and at a pan-Hellenic sanctuary was therefore an almost immediate response to victory. As we move into the following decade with map 5.10.2 we observe a 'cooling' of commemorative activity with Athens only commemorating Marathon within the urban centre. However, as we move into the decade 470-460 BC, with map 5.10.3 we can see the commemorative activity 'heating up' again. Monuments are constructed at each of the site types: monuments are raised in each urban centre of those who fought at Marathon (Athens and Plataea), Athens erects a monument at the Battlefield, and an Athenian monument is also raised at the pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Delphi. Map 5.10.4 displays a further single monument raised at Athens for the decade 460-450 BC. With map 5.10.5 we see a solitary monument being constructed at the sanctuary at Rhamnus, north of the site of battle.

Figure 5.11 illustrates the commemorative trends of Marathon over the same period of time as the map sequence above. However, displaying the data in columns allows us to insert an exponential trend line.

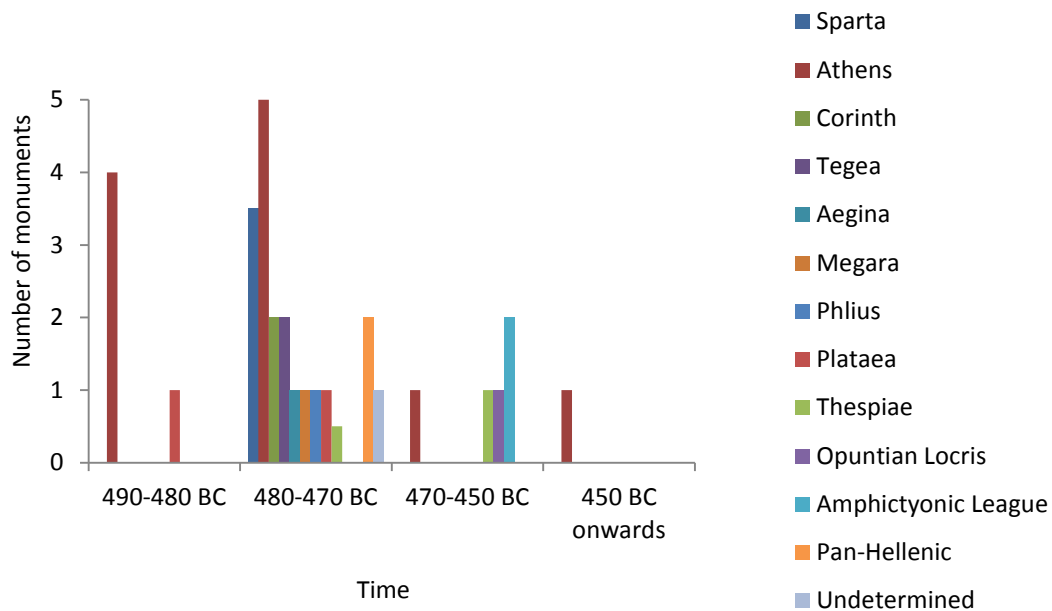
Figure 5.11 *Commemorative Trends of Marathon over Time*



In the case of monuments raised on the battlefield, according to this display of data, there is little commemoration taking place at this site type in the decades following the conflict and so the exponential trend line displays a sharp decrease. A similar declining pattern is visible for commemorative activity at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, however as the initial commemorative activity was not as intense at this site type the trend line decreases with less severity than that of the battlefield. The clear anomaly is commemoration within urban centres. After commemoration began at a moderate rate within urban centres in the decade following the conflict we see a consistent commemorative effort being maintained throughout the first half of the fifth century BC, with a slight rise in the decade 470 – 460 BC.

If we were to compare the data presented in figures 5.10 and 5.11 with all dateable battlefield monuments from our data set, as in figure 5.12 below, we can see that all city-state battlefield commemoration of all Persian War conflicts follow a specific pattern. A high level of intensive commemoration at the site of conflict is followed by a general decline in monuments constructed at these places.<sup>533</sup>

Figure 5.12 *Construction of Monuments on the Battlefield over Time*



Winter asserts that sites of memory have phases. Firstly is the initial creative phase, when spaces are constructed or adapted for a specific purpose. The second phase is

<sup>533</sup> The levels of confidence placed on the dates for these monuments vary. See Appendix for a discussion of the material; the monuments included in figure 5.12 are 490-480 BC: App. no.1 (Athenian Burial Mound), no.2 (Plataean Burial Mound), no.4 (Miltiades' Grave), no.5 (*Herakleia*), no.7 (Casualty List); 480-470 BC: App. no.28 (Burial Mound), no.36 (Gravestone with Epitaph), no.47 (Bronze Mast with Three Gold Stars), no's.49-51 (Trophies), no's.52-55 (Epigrams), no's.56-62 (Burial Mounds), no.67 (Altar of Zeus *Eleutherios*); 470-450 BC: App. no.3 (Trophy), no's.23 & 24 (Epigrams for the Spartiates and the Peloponnesians), no.26 (Epigram for the Thespians), no.25 (Epigram for the Opuntian Locrians); 450 BC onwards: App. no.38 (Tomb of Themistocles).



the institutionalisation of their use by, for example, marking a commemorative date on a calendar. Thirdly, completing the life cycle of a place of meaning is the disappearance of the active site of memory.<sup>534</sup> This same phenomenon can be seen in the graph created by Schofield on meaning attributed to places, and this will be expanded upon in chapter section 6.2.<sup>535</sup> What we see here is, after a peak in the relevance of the place usually brought about through physical interaction, a uniform decline of the meaning of place; or put another way, the loss of the memory which makes the place relevant from within the cultural framework. Although Schofield's graph and figure 5.13 above share a general pattern, the presentation of the data does not accurately measure all forms of monumentalisation. Various behavioural practices as monuments to the Persian War are included within this project's data set. These behavioural practices would have often been repetitive and, as a result, those undertaken on the battlefield would have continuously reaffirmed a particular place's importance in the participant's understanding about their collective past.

#### **5.4 Commemorative Monopolies**

We will now look at the emergence of commemorative monopolies. To do so, we will explore Athenian commemorative patterns. According to our data, Athens is the group who commemorates most frequently. About 33% of all Persian War monuments accounted for in the data set may be attributed to Athens. In addition, the Athenian commemoration of Marathon is particularly exemplary; no other Persian War conflict

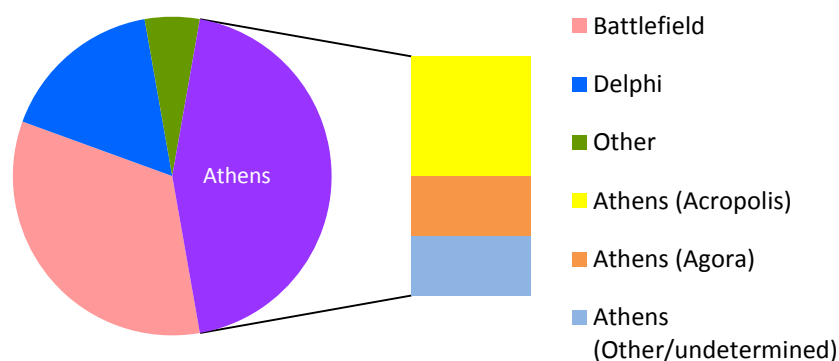
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<sup>534</sup> Winter 2010: 61.

<sup>535</sup> See graph in Schofield 2005: 85.

receives as much Athenian commemorative interest as the battle of Marathon, with Athenian commemoration accounting for 90% of the monuments. As discussed in more detail in chapter section 6.3, the dominance of Athenian commemoration of Marathon complements the tradition that they fought alone at Marathon, a tradition which was both nurtured and promulgated within Athens. Athens as a commemorative group is a particularly revealing example of commemorative practice because it is possible, with many of the examples, to discern particular areas of commemoration within the urban centre in addition to outside the confines of the city.

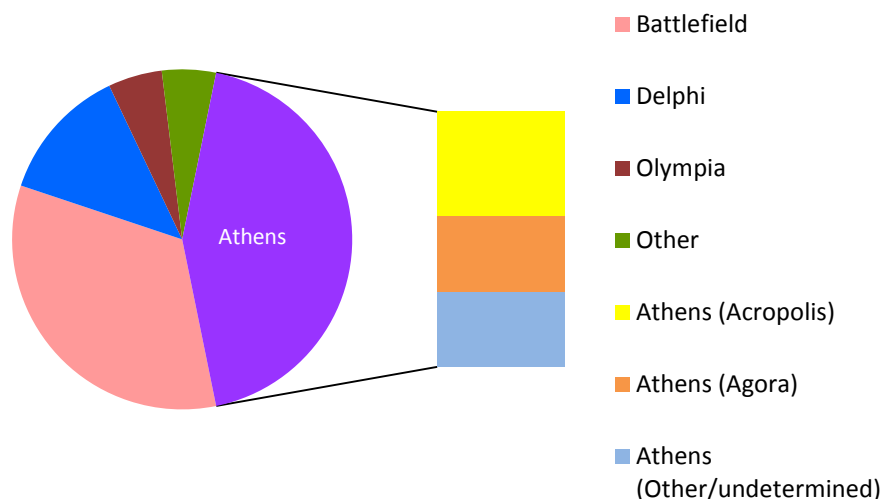
Figure 5.13 *Athenian Monuments of Marathon*



We can see by looking at figure 5.13 that the battlefield, again, falls behind the urban centre as the favoured site type of commemoration; the battlefield holds 33% of monuments while the urban centre holds 44%. It should be noted that the 'other' characterisation relates to the monument constructed at the non-urban, non-pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Rhamnus. Delphi is the only pan-Hellenic sanctuary chosen to commemorate this particular battle although, as is portrayed in figure 5.7, Athens does

commemorate at other pan-Hellenic sanctuaries for other conflicts and at Delphi again for the Persian Wars in general. As such a high percentage of commemorations were erected or enacted within the city, Athens has been divided up into three categories. Again, we can see a pattern emerge; that is the Acropolis appears to be the most popular area in which to commemorate the battle within the city, displaying 50% of the urban commemorative monuments and about 22% of all Athenian Marathon monuments.

Figure 5.14 *The Distribution of Athenian Persian War Monuments*

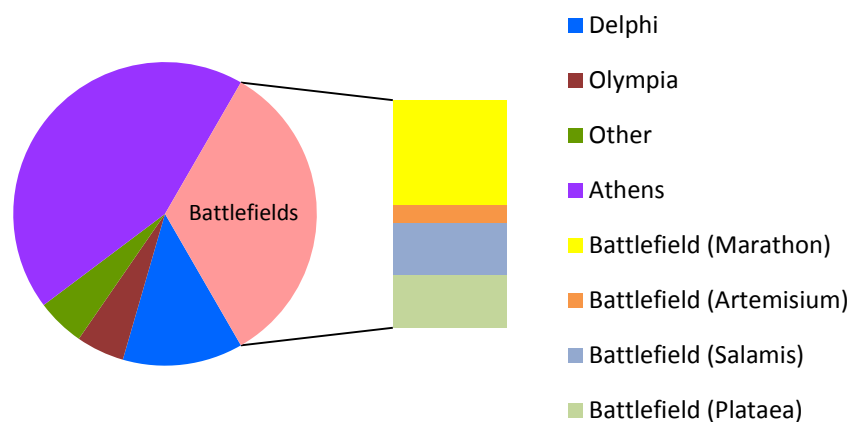


When we look at the Athenian commemorations for the Persian Wars in their entirety, the pattern is much the same as the Athenian pattern for Marathon (as can be seen in comparing figures 5.13 and 5.14). Battlefield commemoration receives 33% of both the Athenian commemorations of Marathon and when looking across all conflicts and monuments to the Persian Wars in general. The urban commemorations account for 44% of the Athenian commemorations of Marathon and also stand at 44% for the wars

collectively. Furthermore the general distribution of monuments within the Athenian urban centre commemorating the battle of Marathon bears a strong resemblance to the urban monument distribution in commemorating the Persian Wars in their entirety. The 'other' characterisation here, again, refers to the non-urban sanctuary Rhamnus, and the construction of an Athenian monument in Salamis.

While continuing to focus on Athenian monuments we will divide the battlefield monuments in a similar way to how the urban commemorative monuments were divided in figures 5.13 and 5.14.

Figure 5.15 *Athenian Persian War Monuments: Segregating the Battlefield Monuments*



It is immediately evident from figure 5.15 that Marathon (represented in yellow in the stacked bar) can account for the vast majority of the battlefield monuments erected and enacted by Athens, these account for just over 46% of battlefield commemorations and about 15% of all Athenian Persian War monuments. If we compare the data presented in figure 5.15 with the data presented in figure 5.5 it is

possible to discern a vague pattern. At the battlefields of Marathon, Salamis and Artemisium Athens appears to numerically monopolise the commemorations. Conversely at the battlefield of Plataea, Athens still constructs three monuments but many more commemorative groups can be seen to participate in their own commemorations. Although Athens played an integral role in the battle of Plataea, and erected their own personal victory trophy, this place only accounts for just over 23% of their battlefield commemorations, exactly half of those at the Marathon battlefield, and nearly 8% of all Athenian Persian War monuments.

In contrast to a particular city's commemorative behaviour, when observing pan-Hellenic commemoration, a slightly different pattern is visible:

Figure 5.16 *Distribution of Pan-Hellenic Persian War Monuments by Place*

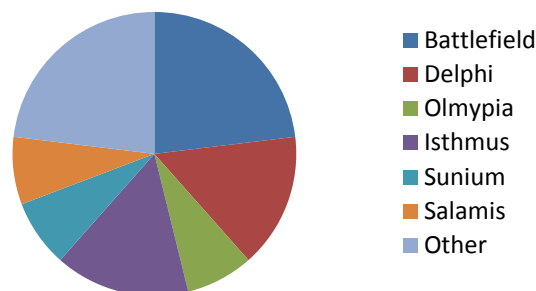


Figure 5.16 displays the distribution of pan-Hellenic Persian War monuments and in this case the characterisation 'other' refers to monuments which are non-physical and cannot be assigned a specific commemorative place. It is immediately clear that no pan-Hellenic monuments are erected or enacted within an urban setting. Urban

settings are places for which commemoration is reserved purely for a specific group, usually erected or enacted within the city by its inhabitants, although not exclusively (see figure 5.9). Interestingly, Delphi only contains about 15% of the pan-Hellenic monuments, which is equal to that of the, arguably less dominant (with regard to general Persian War commemoration), pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Isthmia. Therefore Delphi, as can be seen when comparing figures 5.7 and 5.16, was a place in which city-states would commemorate individually in tandem with a small number of pan-Hellenic monuments.

With regard to the battlefield site type, about 23% of pan-Hellenic monuments were erected on the battlefield. It should be noted that all pan-Hellenic monuments erected and enacted on the battlefield were done so at Plataea. When looking again at figure 5.5 we can see that at Marathon, Artemisium, and Salamis, Athens was the prominent commemorative group; at these battlefields, specifically, commemorative groups other than Athens were less likely to construct or enact monuments. At Thermopylae there is also an absence of pan-Hellenic commemoration. Although Sparta does not overtly stake a commemorative claim to the place, as figure 5.5 illustrates they contribute only 0.5 monuments to the commemorative landscape, the majority of the monuments relate, or refer directly, to the Spartans, or at least the Peloponnesians. Plataea, then, rivals and exceeds each of the pan-Hellenic sanctuaries as a place of commemoration while the other sites of conflict are seemingly monopolised by specific city-states.

## 5.5 Relationships between Object and Place

### 5.5.1 General Relationships

Having considered the commemorative groups and the places at which they preferred to construct and enact their monuments, we will turn our attention to the form the monuments took in relation to the place in which they were constructed and enacted.

Table 5.7 *Classification of Persian War Monuments at a Variety of Sites Types*

| Site                   | Collective Burial | Commander burial | Trophy | Behavioural Commemoration | Casualty list | Epigram | Cenotaph | Statue(s) | Building | Altar | Painting | Display of Spoils | Other |
|------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------|---------------------------|---------------|---------|----------|-----------|----------|-------|----------|-------------------|-------|
| Battlefield            | 11                | 3                | 6      | 3                         | 1             | 12      |          |           |          | 1     |          |                   | 2     |
| Pan-Hellenic sanctuary |                   |                  | 1      |                           |               | 2       | 1        | 13        | 2        |       | 1        | 4                 | 3     |
| Urban                  |                   | 4                |        | 2                         | 1             | 5       | 1        | 9         | 10       | 2     | 1        | 3                 | 4     |
| Other                  |                   |                  |        |                           |               |         |          | 1         | 1        |       |          | 1                 | 4     |

Table 5.8 *Percentages of Monuments at Each Site Type*

| Site                   | Collective Burial | Commander burial | Trophy | Behavioural Commemoration | Casualty list | Epigram | Cenotaph | Statue(s) | Building | Altar | Painting | Display of Spoils | Other |
|------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------|---------------------------|---------------|---------|----------|-----------|----------|-------|----------|-------------------|-------|
| Battlefield            | 9.5               | 2.6              | 5.2    | 2.6                       | 0.8           | 10.4    |          |           |          | 0.8   |          |                   | 1.7   |
| Pan-Hellenic sanctuary |                   |                  | 0.8    |                           |               | 1.7     | 0.8      | 11.3      | 1.7      |       | 0.8      | 3.4               | 2.6   |
| Urban                  |                   | 3.4              |        | 1.7                       | 0.8           | 4.3     | 0.8      | 7.8       | 8.6      | 1.7   | 0.8      | 2.6               | 3.4   |
| Other                  |                   |                  |        |                           |               |         |          | 0.8       | 0.8      |       |          | 0.8               | 3.4   |

Tables 5.7 and 5.8 illustrate the diversity of strategies used to commemorate the Persian Wars. Several monuments appear twice as they fall into more than one category.<sup>536</sup> Also, within the category ‘other’ monument type category is a varied

<sup>536</sup> These examples include App. no.11 (Engraved Marble Base) included in ‘Epigram’ and ‘Other’, as the monument’s form is unclear; no.19 (Temple of Nemesis with Statue of Nemesis) because the monument incorporates both a building and statue; no.21 (Circle of Marble Steles with an Epigram) included in

collection of monumental forms which are not utilised enough to form a distinct category, or whose form is unclear.<sup>537</sup> The 'other' site type includes monuments from non-urban and non-pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and monuments that cannot be assigned a specific place.<sup>538</sup> We can see that this category is highest at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and urban centres, with 2.6% and 3.4% of 'other' forms of monument being selected at each of these site types respectively, which indicates that there is less of an accepted form of commemoration at these places. The variety of commemorative methods at both the urban site type and the pan-Hellenic sanctuary site type is greater than at battlefields. The battlefield holds 1.7% of 'other' forms of monumentalisation which indicates that there is an accepted method of commemoration at this site type which, for the most part, is respected.

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'Epigram' and 'Other', as the monument's form is otherwise unattested; no.46 (Epigram Engraved on a Cenotaph) because the monument incorporates both an epigram and cenotaph; no.67 (Altar of Zeus *Eleutherios* with an Epigram) because the monument incorporates both an altar and epigram; no.70 (Temple and Statue of Athena *Areia*) because the monument incorporates both a building and statue; no.77 (Grave of Euchidas with Engraved Stele), included as in 'Epigram' and 'Other', as honouring an individual, who is not a commander, in this manner is otherwise unattested; no.84 (Athenian Portico Displaying Spoils), included in 'Building' and 'Display of Spoils' because the monument incorporates both forms of commemoration; no.92 (Epigram Engraved on a Cenotaph) because the monument incorporates both an epigram and cenotaph; no.96 (Trophy with Epigram), because the monument incorporates both a trophy and epigram.

<sup>537</sup> These examples include App. no.9 (Thank-Offering), no.10 (Callimachus Monument), no.11 (Engraved Marble Base), no.21 (Circle of Marble Steles with an Epigram), no.27 (Stone Lion), no.47 (Bronze Mast with Three Gold Stars), no.77 (Grave of Euchidas with Engraved Stele), no.80 (Serpent Column), and no.85 (North Wall of the Acropolis).

<sup>538</sup> These examples include App. no.19 (Temple of Nemesis with Statue of Nemesis), no.40 (Thank-Offering of a Trireme), no.48 (Pedimental Sculptures of the Temple of Aphaea), no.63 (Ruins of Sanctuaries as Memorial of Persian Impiety), no.64 (Tithing of Medising Greeks), no.66 (Inviolability of Plataea).



### 5.5.2 Monuments and the Battlefield

Due to the battlefield containing the least number of ‘other’ forms of monuments, as illustrated in tables 5.7 and 5.8, which illustrate mostly abided commemorative practices, this site type will be addressed to further analyse the relationship between object and commemorative place. The identification of particular forms of commemoration on the battlefield is presented in table 5.9.

Table 5.9 *Cross Classification of Persian War Monuments on the Battlefield*

| Battle      | Collective Burial | Commander burial | Trophy | Behavioural Commemoration | Casualty list | Epigram | Altar | Other |
|-------------|-------------------|------------------|--------|---------------------------|---------------|---------|-------|-------|
| Marathon    | ✓                 | ✓                | ✓      | ✓                         | ✓             | ✓       |       |       |
| Artemisium  |                   |                  |        |                           |               | ✓       |       | ✓     |
| Thermopylae | ✓                 | ✓                |        |                           |               | ✓       |       | ✓     |
| Salamis     | ✓                 | ✓                | ✓      |                           |               | ✓       |       |       |
| Plataea     | ✓                 | ✓                | ✓      | ✓                         |               | ✓       | ✓     |       |

Table 5.10 *Numerical Distribution of Monuments on the Battlefield*

| Battle      | Collective Burial | Commander burial | Trophy | Behavioural Commemoration | Casualty List | Epigram | Altar | Other |
|-------------|-------------------|------------------|--------|---------------------------|---------------|---------|-------|-------|
| Marathon    | 2                 | 1                | 1      | 1                         | 1             | 1       |       |       |
| Artemisium  |                   |                  |        |                           |               | 1       |       | 1     |
| Thermopylae | 1                 |                  |        |                           |               | 4       |       | 1     |
| Salamis     | 1                 | 1                | 2      |                           |               | 1       |       |       |
| Plataea     | 7                 | 1                | 3      | 2                         |               | 5       | 1     |       |

Table 5.11 *Percentages of Monuments on the Battlefield*

| Battle      | Collective Burial | Commander burial | Trophy | Behavioural Commemoration | Casualty List | Epigram | Altar | Other |
|-------------|-------------------|------------------|--------|---------------------------|---------------|---------|-------|-------|
| Marathon    | 5.1               | 2.5              | 2.5    | 2.5                       | 2.5           | 2.5     |       |       |
| Artemisium  |                   |                  |        |                           |               | 2.5     |       | 2.5   |
| Thermopylae | 2.5               |                  |        |                           |               | 10.2    |       | 2.5   |
| Salamis     | 2.5               | 2.5              | 5.1    |                           |               | 2.5     |       |       |
| Plataea     | 17.9              | 2.5              | 7.6    | 5.1                       |               | 12.8    | 2.5   |       |

As mentioned in the analysis concerning tables 5.7 and 5.8, at the battlefields addressed in tables 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11, an accepted way to commemorate (which is mostly respected) becomes apparent. Again, the 'other' category in tables 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11 contain monuments that do not appear often enough in the data set to warrant a separate category.<sup>539</sup> Furthermore, the altar to Zeus *Eleutherios* which was inscribed with an epigram (App. no.67) is counted in both the 'Altar' and 'Epigram' categories. The sole commander burial on the Plataean battlefield is that of the Persian commander Mardonius and it should be noted that the erection of a tomb to the defeated enemy commander is not undertaken at any other of our represented conflicts.

The battlefield of Marathon contains a monument otherwise unrepresented at other sites of conflict; this monument is a casualty list displaying the names of the Athenian fallen organised by their tribe. To display this form of monument on the battlefield is solely an Athenian practice. If we look back at table 5.7 we can see that one other casualty list was erected, but in an urban setting. This urban casualty list, set up at Sparta, was for the Spartans who fought and died at Thermopylae and figure 5.8 illustrated the Spartan preference for urban commemoration. According to our data set then, Athens is the only commemorative group who construct casualty lists on the battlefield.

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<sup>539</sup> These include App. no.21 (Circle of Marble Steles with an Epigram) and no.27 (Stone Lion over Leonidas' grave).

Collective burials only appear on the battlefield (see table 5.8). Collective burial appears prevalent at most of the battlefields; however Artemisium is the sole battlefield which is not represented in this category. We are told from Herodotus that at the culmination of the three indecisive days of conflict both the Greeks and Xerxes' fleet had suffered many casualties.<sup>540</sup> In addition, Herodotus states clearly that the Greeks were left in control of the corpses. We do not, however, learn of the construction of a burial mound. The site of Thermopylae, after the defeat of the Greek forces, was left in enemy territory and so the construction of the burial mound would either have been undertaken by components of the invading army, or after Xerxes' forces had retreated from Greece. Again, there is little information regarding the burial mound at Salamis. At Marathon the Athenians and Plataeans erected their own burial mounds, and at Plataea numerous mounds were constructed by various participating, and supposedly even non-participating, city-states. However, the mound which has been identified as the Salamis *polyandrion* is, at least today, a single structure accounting for all the casualties of this naval conflict (see App. no.37). As mentioned above, Plataea is by far the place at which the most burial mounds were constructed; even empty barrows were constructed by absent city-states, apparently as an expression of shame.<sup>541</sup>

We may compare the 'collective burial' category with that of 'epigram', because these two commemorative forms are by far the most utilised at the battlefield site representing 9.5% and 10.4% of the monument distribution, respectively (see table

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<sup>540</sup> Hdts. 8.16-18.

<sup>541</sup> See Hdts. 9.85.

5.8). Furthermore, according to table 5.10 a general pattern may be discerned between the numbers of collective burials per place and the numbers of epigrams per place; generally if there are few collective burials there are few epigrams present, while epigram numbers increase at Plataea where there are a greater number of collective burials. However, at Thermopylae only one burial mound was supposedly constructed while at least four epigrams were erected at this site of conflict (see chapter section 6.4).<sup>542</sup> Although the data set cannot allocate each burial mound with an epigram, both the epigram and the burial mound would have emphasised the effort and sacrifice offered by the soldiers. Therefore, the similarity in numbers (for the most part) and the shared focus of commemoration may suggest that these monument types were co-operative forms of commemoration.

The burial of the victorious commander on the field of battle accounts for 7.5% of the battlefield commemoration as displayed in table 5.11. As mentioned above, the commander burial at Plataea is for the Persian commander Mardonius, while burials of Greek commanders only occur at Marathon and Salamis, and this form of commemoration is solely an Athenian practice. Interestingly, neither of the commanders, Miltiades nor Themistocles, were killed at Marathon or Salamis respectively but were posthumously moved to the site of conflict for burial. In stark contrast we may take the example of Leonidas at Thermopylae who was killed at the battle and whose body was left there due to the annihilation of the Greek forces and the field being in Persian control. Sometime after the Persian army left Greece,

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<sup>542</sup> cf. Strabo 9.4.2.

Leonidas' body was removed from Thermopylae to Sparta for burial within an urban setting (see discussion in App. no.29).

The construction of a trophy was certainly a military related act. The initial, temporary trophy would have consisted of the enemy arms and the setting up of this temporary monument would have contributed to signalling the culmination of the conflict and ownership of the field.<sup>543</sup> One might expect to read that three trophies had been erected, seeing as there were three victories amongst our collection of conflicts. However there are six battlefield trophies accounting for 6% of the total monuments and, interestingly, one erected in a pan-Hellenic sanctuary (see tables 5.7 and 5.8). As is to be expected Athens constructed a trophy at Marathon, but constructed two at Salamis to represent the naval and infantry aspects of the conflict. Also, Athens erected a trophy in addition to Sparta on the battlefield of Plataea, although Sparta held overall command. In addition to these two monuments, which were probably perishable, a permanent pan-Hellenic trophy was constructed. The trophy erected in the pan-Hellenic sanctuary is attributed to the city-state Delphi constructing the trophy at the Delphi sanctuary. This trophy was erected in thanks to Zeus and Apollo for their aid in repelling the Persians when they came to sack Delphi. The trophy, then, retains its direct military relevance.

Recurrent festivals at the site of conflict only occur at two of our battlefields: Marathon and Plataea. It is interesting to note that it is these two battlefields which

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<sup>543</sup> Pritchett 1974: 2.259; see also West 1969.

also hold the most commemorative monuments, according to table 5.11; Plataea holds over 48% of battlefield commemoration while Marathon holds nearly 18%. It should also be noted, however, that Marathon is primarily commemorated by a singular city-state: Athens. The existence of a commemorative festival would certainly aid the maintenance and proliferation of the collective memory of the conflict which in turn would raise awareness and possibly the desire to contribute to the commemoration. As illustrated by figure 5.5, Marathon is primarily commemorated by Athens and it stands to reason that the commemorative event, the *Herakleia*, would also be a specifically Athenian or at least Attic affair. In contrast, again referring to figure 5.5, it is clear Plataea was a place akin to a more plural commemorative tradition. Plataea, which holds nearly half of the commemorative battlefield monuments from ten contributory groups, was the location for the *Eleutheria*. The initiation of this festival possibly in the fifth century BC which was created as, or developed into, a pan-Hellenic celebration, may have contributed to the commemorative tradition at this place to be understood as 'open'.<sup>544</sup>

### 5.5.3 Statues: Practice and Place

Statues, according to tables 5.7 and 5.8, are the most numerous form of commemorative monument. Furthermore, this commemorative form is not represented on the battlefield. Statues are a most popular method of commemoration within the pan-Hellenic sanctuaries which, as a site type, hold over half of statues

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<sup>544</sup> The second behavioural commemoration at the battlefield at Plataea was the annual rites performed at the Greek tombs which were performed by the city-state of Plataea (see App. no.68).

intended as Persian War monuments. The other primary site type which statues are a popular method of commemoration is the urban centre, which holds about 40% of the data set's statue monuments. In order to incorporate the pan-Hellenic sanctuary and urban centre as site types, we will focus on the 'statues' category and further analyse the relationship between the practice of raising a statue and the place chosen at which to construct it.

Table 5.12 *Statues Commemorating Specific Battles by Site Type*

|                        | Marathon | Salamis | Plataea | General | Total |
|------------------------|----------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary | 1        | 1       | 1       | 10      | 13    |
| Urban Centre           | 2        |         | 3       | 4       | 9     |
| Other                  | 1        |         |         |         | 1     |
| Total                  | 4        | 1       | 4       | 14      | 23    |

As in the initial analysis of monuments by type, the 'other' category in table 5.12 and table 5.13 refers to the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnus and the statue of Nemesis constructed there. In table 5.12, each 'statue' represents a commemorative monument; for example the single monument at a pan-Hellenic sanctuary for the battle of Marathon represents a statue group consisting of ten statues. I count these statues as one because they form a single monument. The data in table 5.12 illustrates that the majority of statues erected in commemoration of the Persian Wars were raised at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries while urban centres were also popular places in which to erect statues. It may be inferred that outside pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and urban centres it was not regular practice to erect statues in commemoration to these conflicts. About 17% of the statues may be attributed to the commemoration of the

battle of Marathon and Plataea, with about 4% in commemoration of the naval battle of Salamis. Rather strikingly, about 60% of the statues represented in our data set commemorated the Persian Wars in general. In addition, the vast majority of statues which commemorated the Persian Wars in general, some 56%, were raised at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries.

In contrast, statues which commemorated specific battles appear most frequently at urban centres. If we combine the only statues constructed at urban centres which commemorated specific battles (Marathon and Plataea), they exceed the number of statues erected at urban centres which commemorated the Persian Wars in general. The data suggests, then, that statues were utilised primarily to commemorate the conflicts of the Persian Wars generally while it was a less common practice to erect statues for specific conflicts. However, statues commemorating the Persian Wars in general were most frequently constructed at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries while if statues were erected to commemorate a specific battle they were most likely to have been erected within an urban centre.

The term 'statue' is vague and encompasses multiple anthropomorphic and animalistic forms. It is necessary, then, to divide statues by type in order to reveal patterns of commemoration by site type.



Table 5.13 *Statue 'Type' by Site Type*

|                        | Deity | Hero | Mortal | Animal | Total |
|------------------------|-------|------|--------|--------|-------|
| Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary | 8     | 1    | 3      | 3      | 15    |
| Urban Centre           | 5     |      | 4      |        | 9     |
| Other                  | 1     |      |        |        | 1     |
| Total                  | 14    | 1    | 7      | 3      | 25    |

In table 5.13 the number of statue monuments constructed at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries has increased by two. This is because the Athenian statue group at Delphi (App. no.15) is a statue group which contained deities, heroes and at least one mortal. The statue group has therefore been counted in the three relevant categories. Furthermore, the 'other' category in table 5.12 and table 5.13 refers to the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnus and the statue of Nemesis constructed there. The data illustrates that pan-Hellenic sanctuaries boast the widest variety of statuary type commemorating the Persian Wars, representing all four statue types in table 5.13, and proves the most popular site type at which to construct a statue. The prime role of pan-Hellenic sanctuaries was to function as a religious site and so it may not be surprising that the most popular statue type raised at these places were, in fact, deities. According to table 5.13 deities are, by some margin, the most popular form of commemorative statuary type; over 50% of the presented examples may be counted as deities. Although deities are most often represented in pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, statues of this type are also erected in urban centres.

According to the data presented in table 5.13, 20% of the statues may be attributed to deity statues erected in urban centres. However, it is within urban centres that statues of mortals are most popular, again with 16% of the statues accounted for in table 5.13. Within urban centres the data illustrates how only deities and mortals are represented in statuary form and these statue types are represented at nearly an equal level at these site types; this practice contrasts with pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, within which all statue types are represented. The data suggests that while pan-Hellenic sanctuaries were the most popular arena in which to display statues and welcomed the widest variety of statuary type, urban centres appear the most popular site type at which to construct statues of mortals. Mortals were, however, a distant second to deities in commemorative statuary type accounting for 28% of the total number of statues in table 5.13, while deities account for 56%. Thus far we have been concerned with solely the forms and commemorative places of statue monuments. The commemorative pattern may be further clarified by dividing the commemorative groups by the battle in which statues are intended to commemorate.

Figure 5.17 *Statues by Battle*

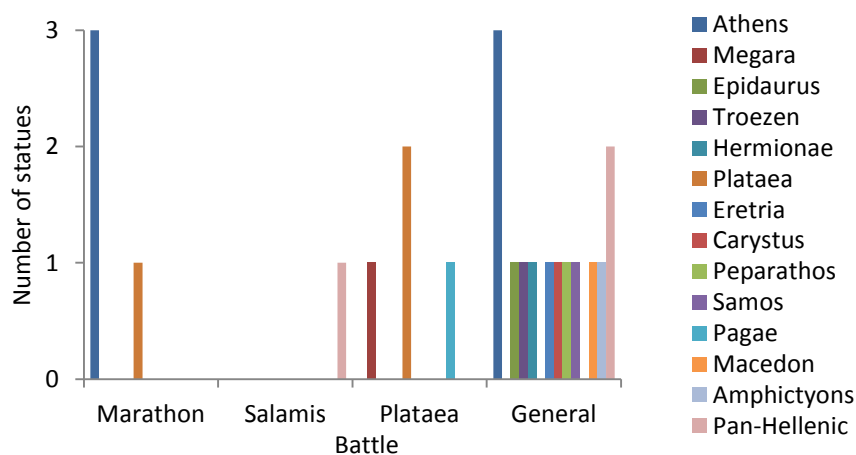


Figure 5.17 complements the pattern already outlined in this chapter that Athens commemorated Marathon heavily; it could be argued that Athens created a commemorative monopoly over this particular conflict (see chapter section 6.3). Athens constructs three times as many statues in commemoration of Marathon as the city-state of Plataea, the only other Greek city-state present at the battle. In contrast to the Athenian pattern of statue construction, figure 5.17 illustrates how the majority of other commemorative groups are represented by a single statue (or statue group), except Plataea who construct two statues to commemorate the battle of Plataea. In relation to commemorating particular battles the data suggests, therefore, that the common practice of raising statues was to erect a singular monument, if at all, and the practice of raising more than one was the anomaly. No single *polis* constructed a statue for the battle of Salamis; the singular statue was a pan-Hellenic monument. Figure 5.17 clearly illustrates (as does table 5.12) that it was most common for statues to be erected in order to commemorate the Persian Wars in general, opposed to a particular battle. However, what figure 5.17 further shows is the distribution of the statues among commemorative groups. Over 57% of the statues constructed to commemorate the Persian Wars in general were singular monuments from individual commemorative groups. Two of the fourteen statues were pan-Hellenic monuments while Athens constructed three of the statue monuments in this category. Having highlighted the distribution of these monuments over particular conflicts, or indeed the entire series of conflicts in general, it will be useful to return to analyse once again the statue type, now in relation to the particular commemorative group.

Figure 5.18 *Statue Type by Commemorative Group*

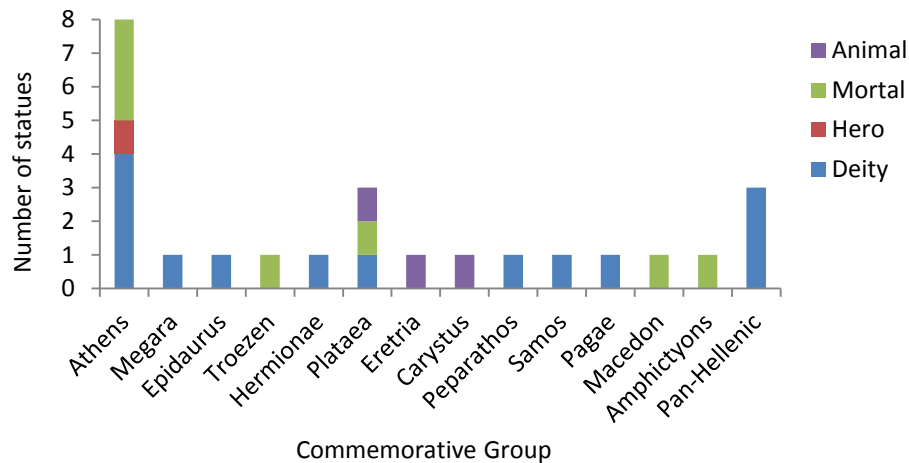


Figure 5.18 illustrates (as does figure 5.17) how assertive the Athenian commemorative efforts were in comparison to other *poleis*. If we compare figure 5.18 with table 5.13, of the fourteen deity statues counted in our data set, Athens may claim four of them. Again, a large share of the statues of mortals represented in our data set, three of the seven examples, is constructed solely by Athens. Excluding Athens, Plataea, and the pan-Hellenic statuary from the discussion temporarily,<sup>545</sup> the commemorative groups generally conform to a singular statue per city-state (as illustrated by figure 5.17). Deities appear to be the most popular form of statue to commemorate the Persian Wars (as illustrated in table 5.13) and the consistency across a number of commemorative groups illustrates how this pattern is followed throughout the Greek world. Second only to Athens in the construction of deity

<sup>545</sup> 'Pan-Hellenic statues' here refer to statuary attributed to the combined commemorative efforts of a collection of Greek city-states. See chapter 1.6.3 for a definition of the pan-Hellenic commemorative group.

statuary are those constructed by the pan-Hellenic commemorative group. In addition it should be noted that statues raised under the pan-Hellenic banner are solely deities, neither mortals nor animals are represented in this column. Deities were arguably considered accessible by all Greeks; clearly the practice of communally constructing a statue of a deity was preferable to constructing a statue of a mortal who may have had an affiliation with a particular *polis*.

With the exception of one monument (a statue of Nemesis raised at Rhamnus, App. no.19), the two main site types at which statues are constructed are pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and urban centres. We will now divide the data by these two site types and display the data in separate graphs (figures 5.19 and 5.20). However, we will discuss the data presented in these two graphs together for the purposes of comparisons and contrasts.

Figure 5.19 *Statues Constructed at pan-Hellenic Sanctuaries*

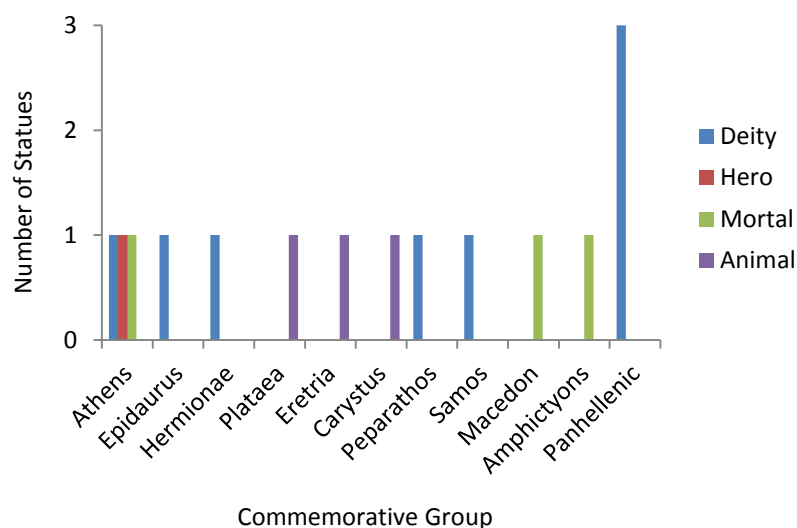


Figure 5.20 Statues Constructed at Urban Centres

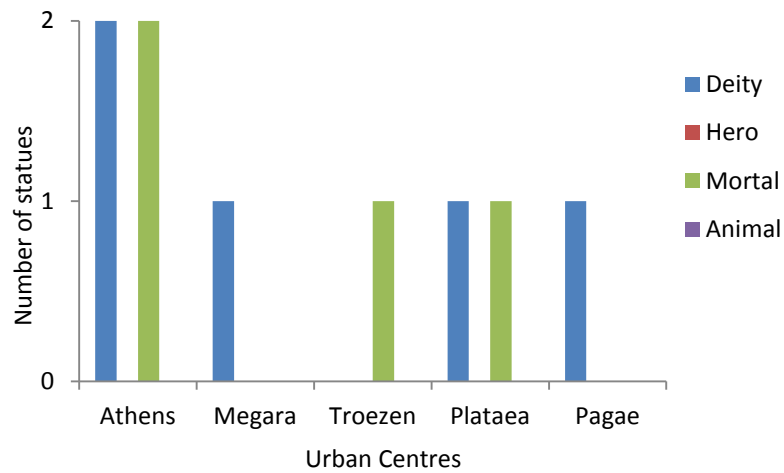


Figure 5.19 illustrates the number of statues raised at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, whereas figure 5.20 illustrates the number of statues raised at urban centres. Table 5.13 provided us with a numerical breakdown of the statue distribution between site types but now we may look at the distribution by particular commemorative groups. The fifteen statues (or statue groups) erected at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries are spread over a large number of commemorative groups, while the nine statues raised in urban centres are spread between fewer commemorative groups. The data is partly skewed by the anomalous pattern of Athenian commemoration in both figures 5.19 and 5.20. Within a pan-Hellenic arena, while other groups commemorate the conflict with a singular type of statue, Athens erects statues of deities, heroes and at least one mortal. These particular statues actually constituted a single statue group and have only been divided here as we are separating the data by type. Conversely in an urban setting, Athens constructs statues of two mortals, twice as many as in a pan-Hellenic

setting, and two deities, again twice as many than in a pan-Hellenic setting. The data indicates that Athens had a preference of constructing statues within its urban centre. In addition, statues of mortals were preferably constructed within the urban centre rather than the pan-Hellenic sanctuary (see also table 5.13). Perhaps unsurprisingly, as shown in figure 5.19, pan-Hellenic statues were reserved solely for pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. No pan-Hellenic statues may be accounted for within urban centres. In much the same way as the lack of pan-Hellenic statuary depicting mortals (see figure 5.18), no urban centre is adorned with pan-Hellenic statuary. The data suggests this form of pan-Hellenic commemoration depicts figures, and is reserved for places, which are deemed in some sense communal.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

The analysis of the data above reveals three key themes: preferences of commemorative place, commemorative monopolies, and the relationships between types of commemoration and the chosen place of commemoration. In conclusion we will now look briefly at each of the themes in turn to highlight the issues which will be addressed in the following chapter and, where possible, the proposed method by which the investigation will be carried out.

The first theme that emerges in this analysis is that of preferences of commemorative places, and negative preferences may also be viewed as important selections. For example, as figure 5.7 illustrates, no city-state apart from Corinth raises

commemorative Persian War monuments at the Isthmus. The lack of Athenian commemoration at this place is particularly interesting because this city-state commemorated so heavily at Delphi and to a lesser extent, but still more than any other city-state at Olympia. It may be revealing to explore the relationship between Corinth and particularly Athens in the fifth century BC in an attempt to see whether interstate relations could affect or restrict commemorative behaviour. To return to the field of conflict, we can see in figure 5.12 that the battlefield apparently loses significance as a decline in monumental activity is evident. However to oppose this graph, and challenge the idea that the battlefield itself loses commemorative significance over time, it will be necessary to address the initiation of recurrent commemorative festivals at these places. In order to separate these two aspects of place preference, the theme will be divided into two distinct discussions. Chapter section 6.1 will discuss place preferences over space. This chapter section will address the lack of Athenian commemorative material at the pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Isthmia. Chapter section 6.2 will discuss place preferences over time. This chapter section will present monument distributions at a range of site types and explores how different forms of commemoration were preferred at different places over time.

The second theme that emerges from this analysis is that of commemorative monopolisation. Again Athens, which features so heavily in the commemorative narratives of the Persian Wars, plays a central role in the monopolisation of commemorative traditions. However, interstate commemorative practice was certainly more complex than the analysis of the data in this chapter allows. To look at a



specific example, the battle of Marathon dominates the Athenian commemorative focus and in turn Athens dominates the commemoration of the battle of Marathon. The Athenian commemorative monopolisation of the battle of Marathon will be discussed in chapter section 6.3. This example will afford the opportunity to compare mnemonic traditions outside of our commemorative memorial framework to see if the concurrent narratives complement or contradict one another. To do this we will examine the narrative promulgated by Athens that they actually fought alone at Marathon and committed the Plataean presence at the battle to oblivion.

The third theme apparent in this analysis is the relationships between the type of commemoration and the place of commemoration. Table 5.11 and, to some extent table 5.8, show how there is a positive correlation between the presence of a collective burial and the presence of an epigram; these two forms of commemoration appear to share a mutual dependence, or at least a connection in meaning. We can see from table 5.10 that only at Marathon and Salamis are Greek commanders buried on the field of conflict and, according to the data, this is particularly an Athenian practice. Tables 5.7 and 5.8 reveal a dichotomy between the construction of collective burials and the construction of statues. Collective burial is a form of monument which is reserved for the battlefield, whereas in contrast statues are constructed in all site types apart from sites of conflict. The relationship between the object and commemorative place will be discussed in chapter section 6.4. To present the battlefield as a place of commemoration I explore the possible relationship between epigrams and collective burial. Furthermore, in order to incorporate the urban centre

and pan-Hellenic sanctuary as places of commemoration, I analyse the distribution of statues by type.

This thesis will continue with chapter 6 which will be presented in four sections. Chapter section 6.1, will discuss place preferences over space, chapter section 6.2 will discuss place preferences over time, chapter section 6.3 will discuss commemorative monopolies and chapter section 6.4 will discuss the relationship between the object and commemorative place.

## Chapter 6: UNDERSTANDING COMMEMORATIVE PATTERNS

### 6.1: Athens and Corinth

#### 6.1.1 Introduction

Three pan-Hellenic sanctuaries were utilised as places at which to commemorate the Persian Wars: Delphi, Olympia, and Isthmia. As highlighted in chapter 5, Athens was the most prolific commemorative group at Olympia and Delphi while no Athenian monuments for the Persian Wars were raised at Isthmia (see figure 5.7). It is the purpose of the following discussion to investigate this lack of Athenian public monuments at the pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Isthmia. In order to gauge whether this lack of Athenian monuments reflected a general lack of interest in this particular pan-Hellenic sanctuary, I will look at the use of Attic ceramics at Isthmia. I select this material because it is both plentiful and often dateable with a high degree of precision. The sanctuary at Isthmia was administered by Corinth. Therefore, in order to gauge whether other factors influenced Athenian choices in commemorative sites, the contemporary interstate relations between these two *poleis* are particularly relevant to the current discussion. As will be explained below, over the course of the first half of the fifth century BC Athens and Corinth became bitter enemies. Whether these deteriorating interstate relations had any effect on our chosen material will be assessed by discussing the distribution of Attic ceramic ware in Corinthian graves and dedicatory material at Isthmia over time. This discussion will test the hypothesis that if

the distribution of Attic ceramics may be affected by deteriorating interstate relations then so too could the erection of Athenian public monuments.

Firstly the interstate relations between Athens and Corinth will be presented. Secondly grave goods within the Corinthia generally will be discussed in an effort to determine the level of Corinthian usage of Attic ceramic ware over time. This will be followed by a more focussed discussion concerning Attic ceramics in the archaeological record specifically at the sanctuary at Isthmia. Within the sanctuary and surrounding area offerings at burial sites will be discussed which indicate sixth century BC usage of Attic ceramic ware and possible dedication deposits at the temple site which will reveal late sixth and fifth century BC usage of Attic ceramic ware. To close, we will apply modern theories of memory to the deteriorating inter-*polis* relations between Corinth and Athens in the fifth century BC. Each *polis* would want to assert their own contribution to the Persian Wars, resulting in memories and counter-memories of the same event being produced and perpetuated at will.<sup>546</sup> However, to begin this discussion it will be necessary to question the relations between the archaeological material and the association with a particular people. Any conclusions drawn from this discussion should be interpreted as tentative due to the correlation of different forms of often scant evidence.

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<sup>546</sup> See Scott 2010; Yates 2011.

### 6.1.2 Pots and People

Attic pots being present at Isthmia does not necessarily equate to the unequivocal presence of Athenian people. The general point of pots not equating to people has been raised previously in relation to the deposition of Greek pottery on a wider scale, in Al Mina in the Levant. Euboean *skyphoi* (two handled drinking cups) dating from the early to mid-eighth century BC dominate the assemblages discovered in the earliest levels of Al Mina, with Greek wares in general accounting for about 93.3% of early ceramics at the site.<sup>547</sup> However, the archaeological record has not revealed Greek everyday items or burials which would support the theory of early Greek settlement. Thus, how the material arrived in the Levant, who deposited it, and how it should be interpreted are topics which have been the cause of much debate; theories include both Greek and Phoenician transportation of objects.<sup>548</sup> It is probable that defining terms such as 'Greek' and 'Phoenician' or even 'Euboean' may do little to explain the complexities of trade in this period. In the same way that a glut of Euboean material does not necessarily indicate Euboean presence, a lack of Greek everyday material (according to our material data to date) should not be understood as a lack of Greek presence.

Therefore, material evidence does not definitively indicate the presence of the people from which the product originated but also absence of evidence should not be understood firmly as evidence of absence. Attic wares may be detected in the

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<sup>547</sup> Hall 2007: 97.

<sup>548</sup> See Hall 2007:96-98 and for further bibliography see 117.

archaeological record at Isthmia but, as noted below, who brought the object to the site and for what purpose are often points open for discussion. Furthermore, again as we will see below, Athens and Corinth endured a difficult relationship throughout the fifth century BC. I therefore clarify here that while Attic material in Corinthian territory does not indicate a pattern of Athenian settlement in the Corinthia, I interpret the material as evidence of some level of symbiosis between the city-states.

### 6.1.3 The Degrading Interstate Relations of Athens and Corinth

Early in the fifth century BC, about the time of the first Persian invasion, Corinth lent Athens twenty ships to help subdue the island of Aegina.<sup>549</sup> We may assume therefore, the century began peacefully between the two city-states. We learn from Thucydides that the bitter hatred between Athens and Corinth grew after the dispute over the city-state of Megara which lay between the two larger *poleis* around 460 BC:

The Athenians occupied Megara and Pegae, and built the Megarians their long walls from the city to Nisaea, in which they placed an Athenian garrison. This was the principal cause of the Corinthians conceiving such a deadly hatred against Athens.<sup>550</sup>

It should be noted that the following series of events which outlines the demise of relations between Athens and Corinth is taken mainly from the evidence presented to

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<sup>549</sup> Hdts. 6.89.

<sup>550</sup> Thuc. 1.103.

us by Thucydides, who was an Athenian.<sup>551</sup> By about 460 BC, some twenty years after the Persians had been repulsed from Greece, Sparta was contending with natural disasters and a helot revolt and was in no position to police the ambitions of Corinth, the second most powerful member of the Peloponnesian League.<sup>552</sup> Corinth seized the opportunity to exercise her power against Megara. Megara, in turn, sought help from Athens who responded positively with the aim to expand their sphere of control closer to home. Athens assisted Megara in constructing walls from the city to its port of Nisaea in much the same vein as the walls which linked Athens to the Piraeus. However, a bitter conflict ensued between Corinth and Athens over control of this small *polis*, a conflict which expanded and would come to be known as the 'First Peloponnesian War'.

Around 458 BC an inconclusive battle took place in the vicinity of Corinth between the Athenians and the Corinthians.<sup>553</sup> To clearly illustrate the reversal in interstate relations between these two *poleis* the Corinthians chose this particular period to march into the Megarid as they believed Athens would be unable to come to Megara's aid without lifting their current, and ongoing, siege of Aegina.<sup>554</sup> The Athenians managed to raise an army from the surplus manpower not engaged in the siege and, although the initial clash was indecisive, immediately raised a trophy on the battlefield. A few days later the Corinthians returned only to be defeated while attempting to erect a trophy of their own. It is, possibly, the manner in which the pursuing Athenian

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<sup>551</sup> For the reliability of Thucydides, see Duff 1999.

<sup>552</sup> Natural disasters: Plut. *Kimon* 16.5; helot revolt: Hdts. 9.64.2.

<sup>553</sup> Thuc. 1.105.2-106; Diod 11.79.1-4; Montagu 2000: 60.

<sup>554</sup> Thuc. 1.105.3.

forces dealt with a division of Corinthian soldiers who strayed in their retreat that goes some way to explaining the bitter animosity felt by Corinth towards Athens, and vice versa. This Corinthian division were surrounded in a ditched field with no means of escape and stoned to a man.<sup>555</sup>

#### **6.1.4 Attic Ceramics and Corinth**

There is no comprehensive collection of numerical data referring to ceramic material found in the Corinthia and so the figures and tables presented in this section rely on data collected from a number of sources.

##### **6.1.4.1 General Distribution of Attic Wares in Corinthian Graves**

Table 6.1.1 presents a generalised view of the vessels found in Corinthian graves throughout the sixth and into the fifth centuries BC. According to this data, originally presented by Pemberton, the percentage of Attic vessels found in Corinthian graves, in contrast to Corinthian vessels, rises sharply towards the end of the sixth century BC.<sup>556</sup>

There are no data presented in Pemberton's article for the first decade of the fifth century BC but the percentage of Attic vessels in Corinthian graves continued to rise into the second quarter of the fifth century BC. Only in the third quarter of the fifth century BC is there a sharp fall in the percentage of Attic vessels found in Corinthian graves; according to the data tabulated in table 6.1.1 and presented graphically in

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<sup>555</sup> Thuc. 1.106.

<sup>556</sup> See Pemberton 2003: 170.



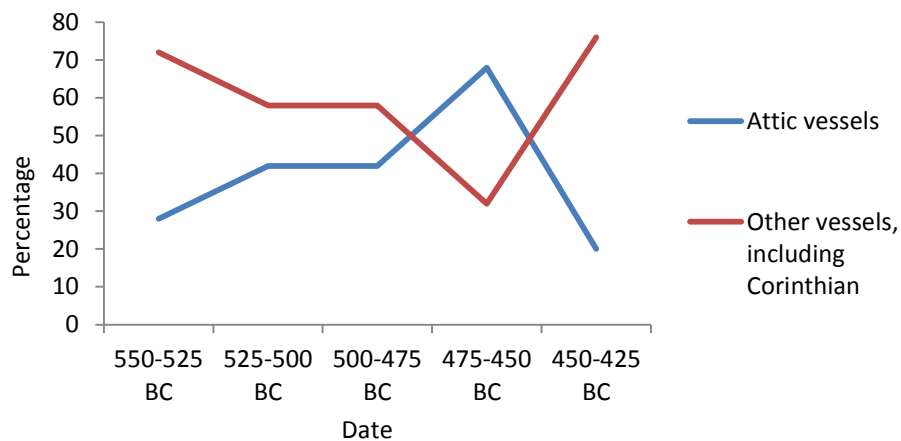
figure 6.1.1, there is a reversal in preference between Attic and Corinthian vessels to be used in a grave context. Corinthian vessels rise to their highest percentage between 450 and 425 BC while Attic vessels sink to their lowest percentage.

Table 6.1.1 *Vessels found in Corinthian Graves*

| Date (B.C.) | Number of graves | Number of Attic vessels | Number of Corinthian vessels | Percentage of vessels being Attic |
|-------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 575-550     | 17               | 5                       | Unstated                     | –                                 |
| 550-525     | 14               | 11                      | 28                           | 28%                               |
| 525-500     | 2                | 5                       | 7                            | 42%                               |
| 500-475     | –                | –                       | –                            | –                                 |
| 475-450     | 13               | 49                      | 23                           | 68%                               |
| 450-425     | 25               | 20                      | 79                           | 20%                               |

*In accordance with data presented in Pemberton (2003: 170).*

Figure 6.1.1 *Percentages of Attic and Corinthian Vessels found in Corinthian Graves*



*In accordance with data presented in Pemberton (2003: 170).*

#### 6.1.4.2 Distribution of Attic Wares in the North Cemetery in Corinth

We will now turn our attention to a specific place to see if the general pattern of the Corinthian use of Attic material is evident. We will address material evidence from the North Cemetery at Corinth, which was used as a burial place from the Middle Bronze Age down to the Roman Period. Palmer's analysis of grave goods at the North Cemetery led to the conclusion that by the beginning of the 'Second' Peloponnesian War (that is 431 BC) all imports of Attic wares ceased and Corinthian potters were forced to attempt to produce imitations comparable to Attic ware.<sup>557</sup> Macdonald challenges Palmer's analysis of grave goods dating to the third quarter of the fifth century BC (450 - 425 BC) and states that three graves in particular may contain vessels which contest a cessation of Attic imports by 431 BC.<sup>558</sup> These graves contained vessels which could, arguably, be dated to nearer the end of the third quarter of the fifth century, which is nearer to 425 BC. If this is an accurate reading of the material, then for at least six years after the beginning of the Second Peloponnesian War, Attic material was being utilised in Corinthian burials.<sup>559</sup> When relations between the two cities briefly resumed, possibly in 421 BC, Corinthian potters were able to produce very accurate copies of contemporary Attic ware, specifically *lekythoi*.<sup>560</sup>

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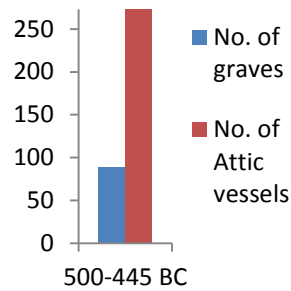
<sup>557</sup> Palmer 1964: 121.

<sup>558</sup> Macdonald 1982: 115-116; see Graves 362, 363 and 364 in Palmer 1964.

<sup>559</sup> The argument is understood here as speculative as the dating of the pottery is offered here in quarter centuries.

<sup>560</sup> Palmer 1964: 121; see also Macdonald 1982: 113. The Peace of Nicias was instigated in 421 BC; however, Corinth, among others, openly disapproved of the proceedings between Athens and Sparta. See Thuc. 5.17.2.

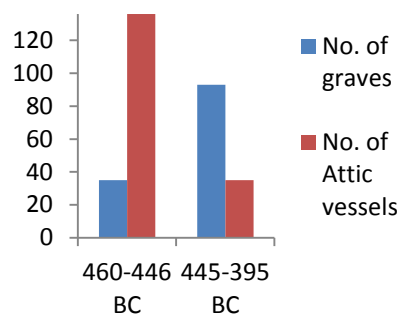
Figure 6.1.2 *Number of Attic Vessels per Corinthian Grave 500 – 445 BC in the North Cemetery*



*In accordance with data presented in Macdonald (1982: 114).*<sup>561</sup>

As is visible from figure 6.1.2, from 89 graves with goods dating 500 - 445 BC (left bar), 273 Athenian vessels were found (right bar). These 273 vessels have been said to account for over three quarters the total number of Attic imports in the North Cemetery.<sup>562</sup> This point illustrates the disproportionate popularity of Attic ware in the North Cemetery during the first half of the fifth century BC.

Figure 6.1.3 *Number of Attic Vessels per Corinthian Grave 460 – 395 BC in the North Cemetery*



*In accordance with data presented in Macdonald (1982: 114).*<sup>563</sup>

<sup>561</sup> See Macdonald 1982: 114, n.8 for specific grave numbers.

<sup>562</sup> Macdonald 1982: 114; it is also added by Macdonald (although no specific numbers are mentioned) that toward the middle of the fifth century BC 'Attic pottery easily outnumbered local ware'.

<sup>563</sup> See Macdonald 1982: 114, n.10 for specific grave numbers dated to 460-446 BC; see Macdonald 1982: 114, n.11 for specific grave numbers dated to 445-395 BC.

As is illustrated in figure 6.1.3, between 460 – 446 BC, specifically, (note the discussion on the First Peloponnesian War above in section 6.1.3) 136 Attic vessels have been excavated from 35 graves. However, in between the ‘First’ and ‘Second’ Peloponnesian Wars (that is c.445 - c.431 BC) the high numbers of Attic vessels in the North Cemetery tails off; in the 93 graves dated to between 445 and 395 BC only 35 Attic pots are identified. However, due to the latest grave date of 395 BC we cannot be certain that the decline did not start later.

The decline in Attic vessels being used in the North Cemetery as illustrated in figure 6.1.3 (between 445 and 395 BC) appears to become detectable in the archaeological record at a time which has been identified as a period of neutrality between Athens and Corinth.<sup>564</sup> With Megara realigning with the Peloponnesian League, the cause of the troubles is removed. In 446 BC a truce was signed between Sparta and Athens which was intended to end conflict between the Athenians and their allies and the Peloponnesian League (which included Corinth), although the conflict resumed in 431 BC. Thus, the material evidence does not exactly reflect the political situation.<sup>565</sup> However, the ramifications of a change in trading practices instigated by the First Peloponnesian War (460 – 445 BC) may not have been immediately visible and have taken some time to appear in the archaeological record.

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<sup>564</sup> de Ste Croix 1972: 213; although as noted above, given the latest grave date of 395 BC the decline in Attic vessels may have started later.

<sup>565</sup> Macdonald 1982: 114.

It has also been suggested that termination of black figure pottery production in Athens during the early fifth century BC, which was a popular choice for Corinthian grave offerings, can explain the reduction in Attic ware in the North Cemetery at this time. Attic red figure was never as popular with the Corinthians and it may be their conservatism that prevented red figure from reaching the same levels of use as black figure in funerary offerings.<sup>566</sup>

Attic vessels were seemingly imported and found in graves within the Corinthia throughout the fifth century BC, albeit in ever decreasing volumes.<sup>567</sup> According to figure 6.1.3, Attic ceramics were found dating from c.445 BC but the evidence suggests that the import of Attic pottery had begun to decline before the outbreak of the Second Peloponnesian War (in 431 BC).<sup>568</sup> The general pattern revealed by this discussion (and particularly figure 6.1.3) is that a sharp decline of Attic material is found in a Corinthian grave context around the middle of the fifth century BC. However it should be noted that with the represented graves dating to as late as 395 BC, the change may have been more gradual.

#### 6.1.4.2 Attic Ceramics at Isthmia

Isthmia is situated on the Isthmus itself and would have been visible to traffic both entering and exiting the Peloponnese. This site therefore would have understandably

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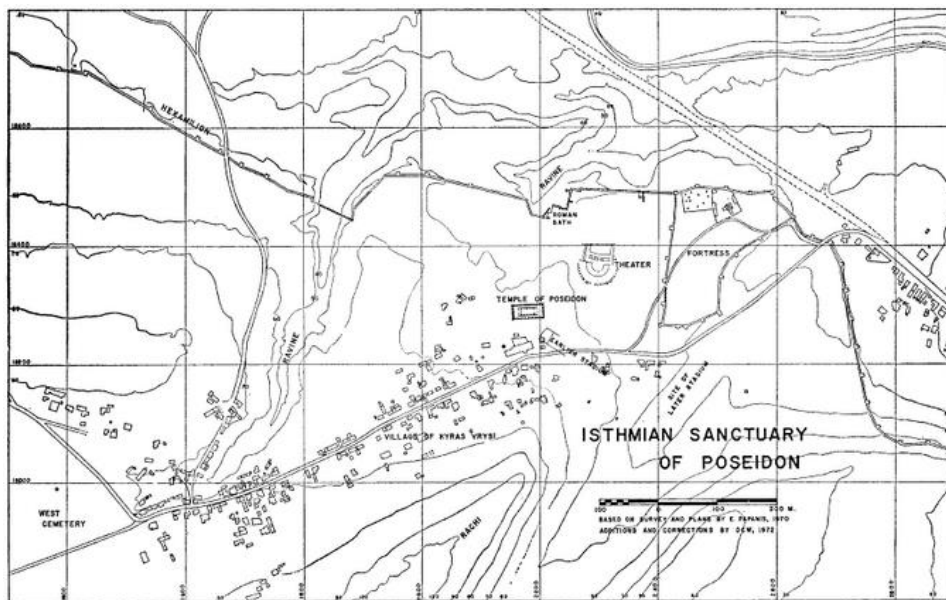
<sup>566</sup> Palmer 1964: 152.

<sup>567</sup> Macdonald 1982: 115-116.

<sup>568</sup> Macdonald 1982: 115.

been attractive to people to display their wealth and power. For example from the Late Protogeometric period (c.900 BC), an increase of elaborate Attic vessels has been observed. Particular examples are thought to have come via Corinth as, in Attica at least, they are reserved for burial only and to dedicate them in a religious sanctuary has been identified as a Corinthian practice using Attic wares.<sup>569</sup> However, the plainer vessels provide a more complex problem.<sup>570</sup> These less ornate Attic vessels would be less likely to travel solely for trade purposes and it is therefore unlikely that Corinthians would import such vessels which were so similar to their own.<sup>571</sup> I will now present the distribution of this less ornate ceramic material at Isthmia and the surrounding area.

Figure 6.1.4 *The Sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus*



*After Clement & MacVeagh Thorne (1974).*

<sup>569</sup> Late Geometric (c.700 BC) prothesis scene on a vessel and a Middle Geometric II (800-780 BC) horse *pyxis*; for early activity at Isthmia see Morgan 1994: 113-124.

<sup>570</sup> For example undecorated vessels as presented by Gebhard 1998.

<sup>571</sup> Morgan 1994: 118.

The temple of Poseidon and the archaeological site of ancient Isthmia are situated at the eastern end of the modern village Kiras Vrisi. It is at the western end of this same village, in an area known as the West Cemetery that a group of vases were discovered which reveal the earliest Attic black figure ware found in the proximity of the sanctuary. Figure 6.1.4 is a map of the general area of Isthmia and illustrates the distance between the sanctuary (centre) and the West Cemetery (bottom left). These vessels have been identified as connected with Grave I-37, which has been dated to the second quarter of the sixth century BC (see table 6.1.2).<sup>572</sup> Two of the four Attic black figure *Kylikes* were found inside the sarcophagus of Grave I-37.<sup>573</sup> The remaining two Attic vessels were discovered beside the sarcophagus and have been identified along with the other vessels discovered outside of the sarcophagus as offerings placed at the tomb.<sup>574</sup>

Table 6.1.2 *Vessels Discovered at Grave I-37 at the West Cemetery, Isthmia (575 - 550 BC)*

|            | <i>Skyphoi</i> | <i>Pyxides</i> | <i>Kylikes</i> | Broad bottomed<br>Trefoil <i>Oinochoi</i> | <i>Kothoi</i> | Percentage |
|------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---|---------------|------------|
| Attic      |                |                | 4              |   |               | 20         |
| Corinthian | 6              | 6              |                | 3   | 1             | 80         |
|            |                |                |                |   |               | 100        |

*In accordance with material presented in Clement & MacVeagh Thorne (1974).*

<sup>572</sup> Clement & MacVeagh Thorne 1974: 401.

<sup>573</sup> Numbers 13 and 14 in Clement & MacVeagh Thorne 1974: 408.

<sup>574</sup> Numbers 15 and 16 in Clement & MacVeagh Thorne 1974: 404.

Table 6.1.2 illustrates the type of vessel associated with Grave I-37 at the West Cemetery and the percentage of vessels attributed to Attic and Corinthian manufacture. If we compare the percentages of Attic ware recovered from Grave I-37, it correlates closely with the general picture of the Corinthian practice of using Attic ware in a grave context presented in table 6.1.1 and figure 6.1.1. Although, according to table 6.1.1, no percentage may be offered for the period 575 - 550 BC, the following quarter century (550 - 525 BC) reveals that 28% of vessels found in Corinthian graves are of Attic manufacture.

Concerning the sanctuary at Isthmia specifically, the archaic temple of Poseidon suffered a devastating fire which destroyed the structure sometime in the first half of the fifth century BC. Gebhard dates the fire to 470 - 450 BC while Bentz, in general agreement, dates the destruction of the archaic temple to 'after the beginning of the second quarter of the 5th century, but before mid-century.'<sup>575</sup> Throughout much of the fifth century BC a new, larger, classical temple was constructed on the same site. When the temple site was excavated four deposits were identified which were thought to have contained dedicatory material that had been placed in the original archaic temple before the fire.<sup>576</sup> It is, indeed, possible then that these small objects were the remains of a treasury deposit as the dating of the small objects range from the seventh

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<sup>575</sup> Gebhard 1998: 99; Bentz 'Appendix A' in Gebhard 1998: 110.

<sup>576</sup> Gebhard 1998: 95.



century BC to the time of the temple fire in the fifth century BC.<sup>577</sup> However, there is no guarantee that these objects were not moved to this place after the temple fire.<sup>578</sup>

It has been suggested that one of the bronze coins probably dates to the period of clearing up after the fire and, in addition, another of the coins, a silver *diobol*, may have been minted after the fire, between 450 and 430 BC.<sup>579</sup> Therefore, the closing of these deposits probably would have taken place only towards the end of the fifth century BC. However, as only the classical temple floor slabs covered these deposits it is possible that later material found its way inside; for example, tiny fragments of Roman plaster have been identified within these deposits that date to c.200 BC.<sup>580</sup>

Gebhard, in her brief analysis of the ceramic material that was found in the four deposits under the classical temple of Poseidon, only includes vessels which have a substantial portion of their profile preserved. This leaves a very small number of vessels, but from the 10 examples analysed by Gebhard two have been identified as Attic: one palmette *skyphos* dated to c.480 - 475 BC, and fragments of an Attic white-ground *lekythos* with figures of Athena and Hermes dated to c.500 - 475 BC were uncovered. Interestingly, also among the vessels listed by Gebhard is a Corinthian imitation of an Attic *saltcellar* belonging to the late sixth or early fifth century BC.<sup>581</sup> In addition to the ten vessels addressed by Gebhard, one large black-glazed, Attic mug is

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<sup>577</sup> Gebhard 1998: 91.

<sup>578</sup> Gebhard 1998: 109.

<sup>579</sup> Gebhard 1998: 98; if the deposit was made after the fire, this dateable object may provide a *terminus post quem* for the deposit. However, as the discussion illustrates, conclusions concerning the dating of the deposit remain speculative due to the lack of evidence.

<sup>580</sup> Gebhard 1998: 99.

<sup>581</sup> Gebhard 1998: 103.

decorated with red-figure warriors in combat and bears the inscription '*Hieros Poseid[onos]*'.<sup>582</sup> The mug is part of a cluster of single handed mugs which alongside *aryballoi* and small, undecorated jugs were particularly favoured at Isthmia.<sup>583</sup> Over fifty fragments of this same type of mug are found in the four deposits and are dated to the sixth and fifth centuries BC, most having been identified as Attic, although Corinthian and Laconian examples also occur.<sup>584</sup> It has been noted that about one third of the high footed cups found at Isthmia are considered to be of Attic production, or described more cautiously as made in a 'trans-Isthmian fabric'.<sup>585</sup>

#### 6.1.5 Collating the Evidence

It is clear from the archaeological evidence discussed above that Attic ceramic ware was utilised in a burial context throughout the Corinthia. The data presented in table 6.1.2, which illustrates finds from the West Cemetery at Isthmia, supports the material data from grave sites elsewhere in the Corinthia, in that Attic ware was being utilised as least as early as the second quarter of the sixth century BC in a burial context. Table 6.1.1 presents a more generalised view of Attic material being utilised in Corinthian graves and a decline in the usage of Attic ceramic ware is visible at the beginning of the second half of the fifth century BC. According to table 6.1.1, Corinthian usage of Attic ware declined from 68% in the second quarter of the century to 24% in the third

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<sup>582</sup> See Broneer 1955: 133, no.19, pl.52a.

<sup>583</sup> Gebhard 1998: 103.

<sup>584</sup> Gebhard 1998: see n.58 and n.60.

<sup>585</sup> Morgan 1994: 117. At Isthmia, due to the types of vessels having been found there, such as open necked vessels, behavioural emphasis appears to have been on communal dining opposed to gratuitous, aristocratic displays of wealth, see Morgan 1994: 113.

quarter. This percentage, in the quarter centuries which have provided data, is the lowest percentage of Attic ware found in Corinthian graves in one hundred years. A steep decline in Attic ceramic ware is also evident in the data presented in figure 6.1.3, which represents the North Cemetery throughout the fifth century BC. Therefore the decline in the use of Attic ceramic ware throughout the fifth century BC is clear. However, whether this decline is due to fractious relations between the two *poleis* throughout the century, or some other factor (or a combination of multiple factors) is unclear. For the purpose of this current discussion, if we accept that relations between Athens and Corinth may be detected in the archaeological record, the lack of Athenian monuments at Isthmia may be a result of these degrading interstate relations throughout the fifth century BC.

When looking specifically at the pan-Hellenic site of Isthmia, Attic productions can be detected in the archaeological record from c.900 BC which could arguably be suggestive of Attic activity at the site from an early date.<sup>586</sup> The deposits recovered from beneath the temple floor at Isthmia, discussed above, include Attic products; the few examples that are well preserved have been dated to the first quarter of the fifth century BC while multiple fragments have been dated more loosely to the sixth and fifth centuries BC. In addition, within these temple deposits it is possible to discern Corinthian imitations of Attic ceramic ware. Not only was Attic ceramic ware widely used as probable dedicatory material but Corinthian artisans were purposefully

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<sup>586</sup> However in the early period of the formation of the sanctuary at least there is no need to assume, solely based on the supposedly Attic production of wares discovered at Isthmia, that Athens took a particular interest in this place. See Morgan 1994: 117.

imitating Attic styles. Objects dedicated at sanctuaries were not selected at random but were selected specially to carry certain messages.<sup>587</sup> For example, Attic material is completely absent from Perakhora, a sanctuary also under the control of Corinth. Perakhora was a sanctuary to Hera on the Corinthian gulf side of the Isthmus and the differences in dedication type with Isthmia are rather telling. While Isthmia, a sanctuary to Poseidon, seemed to attract dedications of arms, armour and tripods, at Perakhora we see dedications which represent links to female adornment. Thus, it would seem that different sanctuaries performed different functions within the local community or the wider Greek world.<sup>588</sup> Consequently, specific choices were made with regards to the type of object selected for dedication, and the location.

As is demonstrated in chapter 5 and illustrated specifically in figure 5.7, Athens did not dedicate any public monuments at Isthmia while they dedicated heavily at both Delphi and Olympia. As presented above, the decline but not the cessation in the usage of Attic ware takes place around the middle of the fifth century BC, but it is before this decline that we might expect to see the construction, if there was to be one, of an Athenian monument at Isthmia. According to the data set (see figure 6.1.5), at least for the monuments for which we have dates, all monuments constructed at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries were thought to have been erected within the decade following the

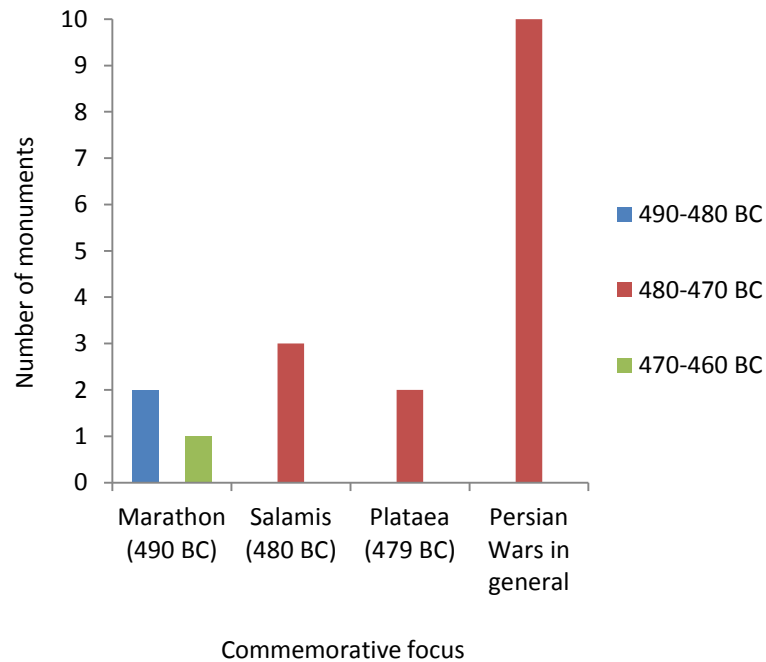
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<sup>587</sup> Osborne 1996: 85.

<sup>588</sup> Osborne 1996: 100.

culmination of the relevant conflict except for one Athenian monument for Marathon (the statue group containing gods, heroes and Miltiades).<sup>589</sup>

Figure 6.1.5 *Dates of Monuments Constructed at Pan-Hellenic Sanctuaries*<sup>590</sup>



Furthermore, the material analysed by Gebhard discovered in the deposits under the temple floor are dated to the first quarter of the fifth century BC, coinciding with when we might expect to see an Athenian commemorative monument constructed at

<sup>589</sup> For references for the dating of this monument see Scott 2010: Appendix C, no.142. Scott dates this monument to this decade by literary evidence, archaeological interpretation, and due to the 'historical' event.

<sup>590</sup> Only those monuments which can be dated with, at least some, confidence are included here; Marathon (490-480 BC): App. no.8 (Treasury), no.9 (Thank Offering); Marathon (470-460 BC): App. no.15 (Statue Group); Salamis (480-470 BC): App. no.39 (Thank-Offering of a Trireme), no.42 (Statue of Apollo Holding the Beak of a Ship), no.47 (Bronze Mast with Three Gold Stars); Plataea (480-470 BC): App. no.74 (Shields Hung on Temple Architraves), no.78 (Statue of an Ox); General (480-470 BC): App. no.80 (Serpent Column), no.81 (Bronze Statue of Zeus), no.82 (Bronze Statue of Poseidon), no.98 (Statue of Apollo), no.99 (Bronze Statue of an Ox), no.100 (Statue Group), no.101 (Gilded statue of Alexander I), no.102 (Bronze Apollo), no.104 (Bronze Bull), no.105 (Inscribed Persian Helmet).

Isthmia.<sup>591</sup> As has been outlined above, this period (500 – 475 BC) was prior to the deterioration of interstate relations between Corinth and Athens which apparently began around 460 BC. The evidence presented and discussed here suggests, then, that it was a conscious choice for Athens to avoid commemorating at Isthmia. Despite the distribution of ceramics coinciding with the decline in relations, an Athenian monument at Isthmia would be expected to have been constructed by c.470 BC. It should be noted however that only half the monuments dedicated at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries are dated in our data set and many are of unspecified date (see figure 6.1.5). As a result, although it is highly probable that we may expect to see monuments erected at pan-Hellenic sites within the decade following the culmination of the conflict, anomalies may have occurred.

An answer to the question of whether the lack of Athenian monuments at Isthmia could be due to current conflict in the fifth century BC is further complicated by the date at which an Athenian monument might be expected to have been constructed at Isthmia. However, what is clear is that certain choices were made by commemorative groups about where to commemorate the Persian Wars.

#### **6.1.6 Invented Traditions and Conflicting Memories**

The above discussion concerning Athenian and Corinthian relations suggests that disunity may be visible in the archaeological record. Whether or not this is actually the

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<sup>591</sup> Gebhard 1998: 103.

case the deteriorating relations may be interpreted as having provided the ideal climate for contentious narratives about the past to emerge. Institutions of *active* memory preserve the past as present. Conversely, institutions of *passive* memory preserve the past as the past. Active memory has been described as the canon, whereas passive memory has been described as the archive.<sup>592</sup> The canon can be seen as independent of historical change and is not subject to changeable social influences, in that it is engrained. Furthermore, the canon has the longevity to outlast generations who encounter these memories and (re)interpret them. In order for canonisation to occur, collective memories are subjected to a thorough process of selection by which an invariable narrative is ensured. By a narrative being transformed into a canon the selection is consolidated, thus preventing further additions or alterations.<sup>593</sup>

The archive can be said to exist between the canon and forgetting. These 'stores' of memory data can be accessed and used by certain groups for specific causes. For example, these archives may be utilised by political powers as tools. Without these archives there would be no data to organise the future and no control over the past. These archives when used politically, then, are an important utility in exercising power. The archives, historically speaking, are stores of information that are of no immediate use but may be accessed when (wished to be made) relevant. These stored memories are given the chance of a second (possibly indefinite) life after having originally fallen

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<sup>592</sup> Assmann, A. 2010: 100-103, discusses cultural working memory: the canon; and cultural reference memory: the archive.

<sup>593</sup> Assmann, J. 2006: 19.

out of relevance.<sup>594</sup> Thus, the archive is stored but accessible cultural mnemonic material.

It is possible to interpret commemorative material evidence from this project's data set in relation to this theoretical framework. As was customary in the fifth century BC, the Corinthians erected an epitaph in commemoration for their dead on Salamis (see App. no.36, see chapter section 6.4 for expansion). This monument may be understood as an effort to consolidate a collective memory of Corinthian participation in this particular conflict; the epitaph positively recalls the Corinthian soldiers' sacrifice for their city. Carving words on stone which place a Corinthian force at Salamis fighting bravely may have been intended to place the 'facts' beyond invented variations. Furthermore, the particular site selected at which to construct this monument and project this message is also understood to be significant (see further discussion on this point in chapter section 6.4). In fact we hear from Herodotus, writing in the second half of the fifth century BC and who relied heavily on Athenian informants, that the Corinthians apparently fled at Salamis when confronted by the enemy navy.<sup>595</sup> This version of events may have been an example of the type of narrative variation that Corinth was striving to contest.

This Athenian account may well have been a dormant (albeit vindictive) narrative that was deliberately revived in the latter part of the fifth century BC when relations between the two cities had soured: as discussed above by 430 BC Athens and Corinth

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<sup>594</sup> See Thompson 1979: 9-10, and further discussion on fluctuating values in chapter 6.2.

<sup>595</sup> Hdts. 8.94.1.



had become the bitterest of enemies.<sup>596</sup> The Corinthians were permitted by the Athenians, who controlled Salamis during this period, to both bury their dead in the communal grave on Salamis island and erect a memorial to their dead; thus the evidence suggests the narrative was purposefully used to slander a city-state who had become an enemy. In addition, while other Greek city-states apparently refuted this Athenian claim,<sup>597</sup> Corinth's name is included in the joint commemorative monuments at Delphi and Olympia and they apparently performed well in the battle with a Corinthian captain named Diodorus capturing enemy arms.<sup>598</sup> This Corinthian example would suggest, then, that the pan-Hellenic 'imagined community' exerted little or no significant pressure on the memories of the Persian War.<sup>599</sup> Conflictual memories could be archived and re-emerge to suit the needs of the present.

### 6.1.7 Conclusion

The decline in Attic ware utilised in the Corinthian grave context throughout the fifth century BC may, arguably, have been related to the ill feeling between Athens and Corinth which developed over the century. Whether this ill feeling permeates the dedicatory practice at Isthmia, that is the usage of Attic ware as dedicatory objects throughout the fifth century BC, is unclear. What we may state categorically is that in the early fifth century BC Attic ware was utilised as a dedicatory material at Isthmia.

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<sup>596</sup> The first Peloponnesian War, especially the battles of: Halieis 459 BC (Thuc. 1.105.1; Diod. 11.78.1-2) Megara 458 BC (Thuc. 1.105.2-106; Diod. 11.79.1-4) and Sicyon 453 BC (Thuc. 1.108.5 & 111.2; Diod. 11.88.1-2). The Corcyraean War, particularly the naval battle by Sybota Island 433 BC (Thuc. 1.45-55; Diod. 12.33) and the Revolt of Potidaea 432 BC (Thuc. 1.56-63; Diod. 12.34).

<sup>597</sup> Hdts. 8.94.4.

<sup>598</sup> See Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 39, for numerous examples of Corinth being present at Salamis.

<sup>599</sup> See Duffy 2013.

The material evidence from Isthmia, however, suggests that communal dining was undertaken at this site and monumental commemorative efforts were not the norm. Given that only half our public monuments erected at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries are dated, it is probable but not certain that Athens would have constructed a commemorative monument at Isthmia prior to the deterioration of interstate relations. However as this immediate construction did not take place, it seems unlikely that Athens would have been afforded the opportunity later in the fifth century BC to commemorate at Isthmia due to the degrading interstate relationship with Corinth. It appears Athens purposefully selected Isthmia as a place at which not to publicly commemorate the Persian Wars.

Within the fifth century BC, Herodotus voices a narrative of Corinth's participation in the naval battle of Salamis; as interstate relations declined, the past became increasingly contentious in the present. The Corinthian commemoration at the Salamis site of conflict may be interpreted as public commemorations being constructed at sites of memory by a group in contestation of their challenged status as brave defenders of Greece.<sup>600</sup> This challenge to Corinthian status was instigated by the Athenian assertion that Corinth behaved in a cowardly manner at the battle. In response the Corinthians identified a public place at which to materially assert their own heroic narrative and contest the Athenian narratological domination. The present will always be connected to the past, however remotely, as we are handing ourselves

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<sup>600</sup> See Winter 2010: 64 for contestation of status.

down to ourselves constantly.<sup>601</sup> Memories, whether active or archived and awaiting revival, are not merely projections from the present back in time. Efforts of recollection, such as the pros and cons of the Corinthian conduct at Salamis can be seen as 'potential for creative collaboration between present consciousness and the experience or expression of the past'.<sup>602</sup>

Chapter section 6.2 will continue discussing the theme of place preference but explore this theme over time. In order to further explore preferences of place, commemoration on the fields of conflict will be addressed over time, which will include behavioural commemorations.

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<sup>601</sup> Thomas 1996: 61.

<sup>602</sup> Boyarin 1994: 22.

## **6.2: Behavioural Commemoration**

### **6.2.1 Introduction**

The aim of this discussion is to emphasise the importance of behavioural commemoration. I will demonstrate that analysing a site of memory solely by quantitatively assessing tangible monuments (as presented in chapter 5, see figure 5.12) is to omit a central aspect of the commemorative process: that is behavioural commemoration. To do this the behavioural commemoration undertaken at the Plataean battlefield will be discussed. The date of the initiation of these commemorations is unclear and so the extent to which the archaeological evidence for commemorative games held at the Plataean battlefield relates to the literary evidence is presented here. Therefore it will be necessary, initially, to outline the literary evidence concerning behavioural commemoration at Plataea, followed by the archaeological evidence. This chapter section continues with a discussion on values of place and I utilise a modern example to illustrate that the decline in value endowed on place, when measured materially from the archaeological record, may be interpreted as a universal phenomenon over time. However, this discussion will begin with an outline of the social situation in which behavioural commemoration would have taken place upon the Plataean battlefield: the festival.

### 6.2.2 The Greek Festival and Ritual Behaviour

Festivals were at the core of Greek society and its social and political organisation. Social and political processes were sanctioned, formed and maintained through religious celebrations.<sup>603</sup> Material evidence, such as buildings, votive dedications, depictions, and floral and faunal remains, suggests that sacred rites were held in high regard and divine consultation was central to festival practice.<sup>604</sup> A relationship between the content and form of religious festivals can be seen; the content (meaning) is expressed through one or more myths and manifests itself through various forms (ritual processes). Within these various ritual processes, spectators and performers are involved in a dialogue of communication.<sup>605</sup> The content of a festival preserved the memory of a festival.<sup>606</sup> Memory, as discussed in chapter 2, can operate on both individual and collective levels and through the enactment of communal activity aids the creation of identity. Memory and identity, in relation to religious festivals at least, are strongly connected to a place but a place is not exclusive to one particular deity,<sup>607</sup> or a particular ethnic group.<sup>608</sup> Particular identities were related to particular types of festivals and the context in which they were carried out. In addition, the (communal) identity of a festival varied in accordance to the level in which the

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<sup>603</sup> Brandt and Iddeng 2012: 1.

<sup>604</sup> Brandt 2012.

<sup>605</sup> Brandt and Iddeng 2012: 3-4.

<sup>606</sup> Brandt and Iddeng 2012: 6.

<sup>607</sup> Scheid 2012.

<sup>608</sup> Burkert 2012.

festival was celebrated: a local level, regional level or an inter-regional level. Each level would have its own geographical impact area.<sup>609</sup>

The parameters of what constitutes an ancient festival are necessarily loose and definitions of communal practice, which develop with the community as current needs are identified and met, must be flexible. Iddeng provides a set of characteristics which constitute a Greco-Roman festival and are to be taken as common festival features:<sup>610</sup>

a celebration which takes place in accordance with a time measurement of some sort; a connection to a specific place; festivity on a public level, although some parts of the ritual may be performed in secrecy; a celebration with a ritual program including celebrants, sacrifice, prayer, banquet, cult objects, procession, and pageantry or games; and an event which centres on pagan worship and cult acts which focusses on maintaining a relationship of some kind with divine powers. These vague boundaries may be taken as an encompassing description of an ancient festival which would necessarily bolster communal identity and reaffirm social order.

Renfrew questions the connection between ritual behaviour and religion and states that while more or less all religion employs ritual behaviour, not all ritual behaviour is religious.<sup>611</sup> While Iddeng's proposed characteristics regarding time measurement and congregation at a specific place are generally agreed with by Renfrew, it is the material evidence for ritual behaviour which is discovered that need not, in all circumstances,

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<sup>609</sup> Brandt and Iddeng 2012: 6-7.

<sup>610</sup> Iddeng 2012: 30.

<sup>611</sup> Renfrew 2007: 120.

be interpreted as evidence of a religious belief system.<sup>612</sup> Repetitive ritualistic behaviour is a common feature throughout the world at places of, particularly communal, burial. For example outside of ancient Greece, assemblages of ceramic vessels have been found at Megalithic tombs in Denmark. These vessels have been interpreted by excavators as evidence of feasting in connection with the burial of the dead; while material evidence relating to death and the afterlife are often linked to religious belief systems. According to Renfrew, it is not necessary for us to always consider them as such.<sup>613</sup>

## **6.2.3 Evidence of Behavioural Commemoration at Plataea**

### **6.2.3.1 Literary evidence**

The Greek casualties at Plataea, as outlined in chapter 4, were buried on the battlefield (see App. no.2), and according to Herodotus each city buried their dead separately.<sup>614</sup> At these graves, we learn from Thucydides, the Plataeans assumed the responsibility of annually honouring the dead with a variety of offerings (see App. no.68).<sup>615</sup> Thucydides is the only fifth century BC source who references behavioural commemoration at the Plataean site of conflict. However Isocrates, in his *Plataicus* written after 373 BC,<sup>616</sup>

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<sup>612</sup> For time-structured ritual and places of assembly: Renfrew 2007: 116.

<sup>613</sup> Renfrew 2007: 118-119.

<sup>614</sup> Hdts. 9.85.

<sup>615</sup> Thuc. 3.58.4.

<sup>616</sup> Steinbock 2013: 157.

states that the Plataeans mention the reinstitution of this tomb cult when requesting Athens to restore their city after the Theban destruction in 373 BC.

that we, who fought at your side for freedom, alone  
of the Greeks, have been driven from our homes,  
and that the graves of their companions in peril do  
not receive the customary funereal offerings  
through the lack of those to bring them<sup>617</sup>

The implication here is that no other city-state would have taken over the commemorative activity at the site of the tombs on the Plataean battlefield in the interim period while the city of Plataea was uninhabited. Taking into consideration Herodotus', Thucydides' and Isocrates' accounts it would be unwise to infer a festival of pan-Hellenic status being enacted at the site during the fifth and early fourth centuries BC.<sup>618</sup> During this period the only behavioural commemoration undertaken at the battlefield, as depicted by the literary evidence, are rites being enacted on a local level by a particular group (Plataeans), perhaps on behalf of a wider collective.

It is not until the early third century BC that a reference to the freedom festival at Plataea emerges; the comic poet Poseidippos describes Plataea, and thus provides the earliest literary evidence of the foundation for the *Eleutheria* festival on a pan-Hellenic scale:

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<sup>617</sup> Isoc. *Plataicus* 61.

<sup>618</sup> Schachter 1994: 127.



It has two temples, a stoa, and its name,  
a bath and the fame of Serambos.  
Most of the time it is fallow,  
and only at the festival of the Eleutheria  
does it become a city.<sup>619</sup>

This illustrates the obscurity of Plataea when celebrations are not recalling the prominent (physical) position of the city during the final land battle of the Persian War on mainland Greece. Schachter believes the fragment by Poseidippos implies the existence of an official cult,<sup>620</sup> and we may therefore infer that the cult and competitive competitions were instigated between the Theban destruction of Plataea in 373 BC (see Isocrates' excerpt above) and Poseidippos' time around the early third century BC.<sup>621</sup>

It should be noted that Philip II of Macedon is said to have vowed to restore Plataea after the battle of Chaironeia in 338 BC.<sup>622</sup> In addition Alexander the Great, after he was proclaimed King of Asia, also made special mention of plans to restore Plataea 'because their ancestors had furnished their territory to the Greeks for the struggle in behalf of their freedom'.<sup>623</sup> It has been suggested, based on Plutarch's texts, that the site of Plataea and the restoration of the city would have provided an ideal pretext for

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<sup>619</sup> Edmonds 1961: Fragment 29.

<sup>620</sup> Schachter does not immediately justify why this fragment implies 'an official cult with all the administrative trappings'. However, the fragment states the name of the festival as the *Eleutheria* which is attested as an organised event until the third century AD (see Schachter 1994: 139, n.6 where a roughly chronological list of inscriptions relating to the *Eleutheria* is presented dating from the late third century BC to the third century AD). The fragment by Poseidippos, dated to the early third century BC, is therefore understood here to be the earliest reference to this festival.

<sup>621</sup> Schachter 1994: 130.

<sup>622</sup> Paus. 4.27.10; 9.1.8.

<sup>623</sup> Plut. *Alexander* 34.1; cf. Plut. *Aristides* 11.9.

an increase in the grandeur of the celebrations of the Greek triumphs over the barbarian.<sup>624</sup>

Commemorative activity at the Plataean site of conflict is also mentioned by later sources, for example Plutarch, writing in the first and second centuries AD:

there was a general assembly of the Hellenes, at which Aristides proposed a decree to the effect that deputies and delegates from all Hellas convene at Plataea every year, and that every fourth year festival games of deliverance be celebrated—the Eleutheria.<sup>625</sup>

Plutarch informs us that the games would have taken place every fourth year but the initiative to instigate these games was taken by the Athenian Aristides soon after the battle. Following how Plutarch describes the activities at Plataea, it would be prudent for the four yearly celebrations to be approached separately from the annual sacrifices carried out at the tombs of the fallen, initially mentioned by Thucydides (referenced above). Thucydides describes how in addition to garments, ‘the first fruits of all that our land produced in their season’ were used in the rites at the tombs of the fallen;<sup>626</sup> this may imply that the activities were undertaken at the culmination of the harvest. In contrast, Plutarch dates the activities as having taken place in the month of

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<sup>624</sup> Schachter 1994: 130.

<sup>625</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 21.1.

<sup>626</sup> Thuc. 3.58.4.

Maimacterion, which would have been the beginning of winter.<sup>627</sup> As a result of these varying annual periods of celebration, Schachter postulates a revision of the rites.<sup>628</sup> It is argued then that these rites would have been shifted in date, by Plutarch's period at least, from autumn to the middle of the last month in the Boeotian calendar in winter.

Therefore, the history of cultic activity at the Plataea battlefield may have been carried out as follows:<sup>629</sup> a sacrifice was made to Zeus after the battle of Plataea in 479 BC; tombs were raised to the dead shortly afterwards; regular activities were carried out at the tombs by Plataeans on a regular basis throughout the fifth century BC and were suspended around the city's destruction in 427 BC; late in the fourth century BC full scale cultic activity was established by the Greeks under the direction of a Macedonian hegemony which included the athletic competition known as the *Eleutheria* instituted by the collective Greek states, possibly in substitution of the rites carried out by Plataea in the fifth century BC. The battlefield in this case ceases to be space only relevant to the population of Plataea. The battlefield becomes more widely accessible; the meaning of the place transcends the individual, or the immediate group, and through communal experience becomes relevant to a larger cultural group.

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<sup>627</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 21.2; cf. Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 42 [872E].

<sup>628</sup> Schachter 1994: 129.

<sup>629</sup> See Schachter 1994: 131-132.

#### 6.2.3.2 Material evidence

We will now look at the archaeological evidence in an effort to ascertain how it relates to the literary tradition. As will become apparent, the material evidence for a fifth century BC pan-Hellenic festival taking place at the battle site of Plataea is slim. The earliest material evidence clearly signifying pan-Hellenic celebrations at Plataea emerges only from the middle of the third century BC: the evidence in question is an inscription put up in honour of Glaucon the Athenian. This famous decree mentions games of a pan-Hellenic nature being held at Plataea.

[Glaucon] has enriched the sanctuary with dedications and with revenues which must be safeguarded for Zeus Eleutherios and the Concord of the Greeks; and he has contributed to making more lavish the sacrifice in honour of Zeus Eleutherios and Concord and the contest which the Greeks celebrate at the tomb of the heroes who fought against the barbarians for the liberty of the Greeks; therefore all may know that the federal assembly of the Greeks repays thanks worthy of their benefactions...<sup>630</sup>

This inscription, then, presents the most definitive references to competitive games, the *Koinon* (collective group of Greek cities regularly meeting at Plataea), the sanctuary of Zeus *Eleutheria*, the joint worship of Zeus and *Homonoia* (goddess representing

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<sup>630</sup> SEG 40.412, trans. Austin 2006: no.63; see also Etienne and Piérart 1975.

unanimity and collectively being of one mind) with accompanying joint altar and sacrifices.<sup>631</sup>

Material evidence has been found which may suggest a fifth century BC instigation of competitive games in commemoration of the Persian Wars. Three vessels discovered in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were first interpreted as a group by Eugene Vanderpool.<sup>632</sup> The first vase (figures 6.2.1 and 6.2.2), namely the Kanellopoulos *lebes*, was found in the Marathon plain a short distance inland from the burial mound (*soros*). It was thought to have been used as a burial urn as it was discovered with charred bones inside. An inscription is visible along the rim of the vessel: 'The Athenians [gave these] prizes for those [who died] in the war' (see figure 6.2.2). The text has been identified as an early form of Attic and so the pot has been dated, by Vanderpool, to around 480 BC or shortly after.

Figure 6.2.1 *The Kanellopoulos Lebes*



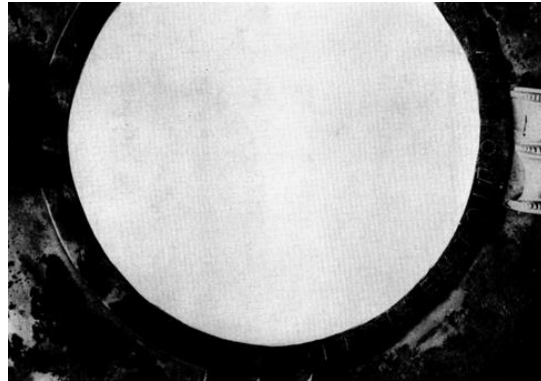
*After Amandry (1971: 603).*

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<sup>631</sup> For discussion on the Glaukon Decree, see Etienne & Piérart 1975: 51-75.

<sup>632</sup> Vanderpool 1969: 1-5.

Figure 6.2.2 *The Rim of the Kanellopoulos Lebes*



*After Amandry (1971: 604).*

Figure 6.2.3 *Lebes found at Ambelokipi*



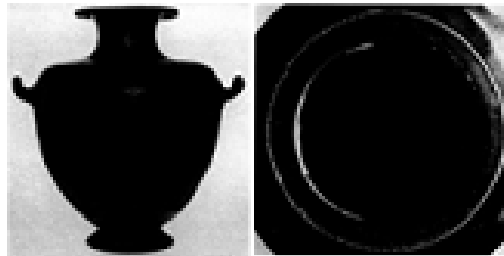
*After Amandry (1971: 606).*

The second pot (figure 6.2.3) was found closer to Athens in an area called Ambelokipi in 1875. Like the previous example (figures 6.2.1 and 6.2.2) this vessel is a *lebes* which bears an almost identical inscription in the same position on the object and it too is said to have contained charred bones. The meaning of the inscription is the same but

the text here is written in archaic Attic script and so there are subtle differences outlined by Vanderpool. However, again due to the style of the lettering this vessel has been dated to the early / mid fifth century BC.

The third vessel (figure 6.2.4) is a *hydra*. This vessel was recovered during some construction work which was being undertaken to the south east of the city of Thessalonika in northern Greece. This vessel also bears the same inscription and has been dated, again due to letter form, to the second half of the fifth century BC. It was recovered from an area where an ancient settlement and cemetery are known to have existed.

Figure 6.2.4 Hydra found near Thessalonika



*After Amandry (1971: 607).*

These three vessels (figures 6.2.1 – 6.2.4) were either probably buried with their owners or contained their ashes after cremation. The uniformity of the inscriptions, and thus the approximate dating this allows, led Vanderpool to the assumption that these vessels were related in some way to commemorative activity of the Persian Wars in the fifth century BC. More specifically, Vanderpool believes the three vessels were

prizes awarded at the official funeral games for those who died in the Persian Wars which were conducted at Athens, initiated soon after the battle of Plataea:<sup>633</sup>

The people of Athens adorned the tombs of those who had perished in the Persian War, held the Funeral Games then for the first time and passed a law that chosen orators should make speeches in praise of those who were given public burial.<sup>634</sup>

Amandry has also studied these inscribed objects and, on comparing all inscriptions on prize vessels, asserts that in no other example does the prize-giver's name appear in the nominative. The inscription 'the Athenians [gave these] prizes...' therefore leads Amandry to believe the vessels were not awarded for games held in Athens itself. Furthermore, Amandry proposes these vessels may be taken as evidence for a fifth century BC *Eleutheria* at Plataea or, possibly, for an expanded pan-Hellenic version of the *Herakleia* at Marathon.<sup>635</sup>

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<sup>633</sup> Vanderpool 1969: 4-5; accepted by Pritchett 1985: 4.107-108; see also Boedeker 2001: 151-152 for a summary of the material evidence.

<sup>634</sup> Diod. 11.33.3.

<sup>635</sup> Amandry 1971:620-625; this idea of a more pan-Hellenic emphasis contrasts with the idea the vases were awarded for Panathenaic commemorations suggested by Vanderpool (above). Amandry's argument has been summarised by Loraux: 'the formula *Athenaioi athla* differs from similar formulae (on Panathenaic amphoras and other valuable vases) in that (1) the third person replaces the first; (2) the nominative *Athenaioi* is substituted for the name of city in the locative, preceded by *ek* or in the adverbial form *-then*; and (3) the people offering the prize openly boasts of its generosity: "*Athenaioi athla* sounds like a city's dedication of booty in a panhellenic sanctuary.'" (1986: 357-358, n.96, see also 60-61); for the *Herakleia* festival see App. no.5.



The general lack of archaeological material complements the literary tradition that activity on a pan-Hellenic scale was not taking place at the Plataean site of conflict during the fifth century BC. However, the discovery of the three vessels bearing an inscription mentioning 'the war' implies that activities containing an agonistic element under Athenian organisation were nonetheless underway during this century. That one vessel was found as far north as Thessalonika may indicate the breadth of influence this particular competitive event would have enjoyed. Whether these vessels can be linked to activities at Plataea, or indeed Marathon, is unfortunately not beyond doubt.

#### **6.2.4 Value and Place**

This discussion illustrates how the attribution of meaning onto place is an ongoing process which necessarily incorporates the importance of time. Value attributed to place will be shown to fluctuate over time and this theory is applied to the value attributed to the battlefield of Plataea over time (as interpreted from the evidence concerning the intensity, and inclusiveness, of Greek behavioural commemorations enacted at the place).

##### **6.2.4.1 Differentiating 'Space' and 'Place'**

'Space' is transformed into 'place' when the space is imbued with meaning. Space has no inherent 'essence' and the essence of a place is endowed by people who relate to

the space in particular ways.<sup>636</sup> For instance, if a place is inscribed with a monument the surrounding area will be valued as somehow special, having been elevated above the category of inert space. The monument therefore assists in the transformation of the space into a meaningful place by providing the context in which the site will be valued.<sup>637</sup> However, the transformation from space into place is not simply achieved by the erection of a monument, places emerge through collective understanding.<sup>638</sup> For example, the space in which the battle of Plataea was fought in was no different to the space a few miles away; it is how the space is perceived that makes it a meaningful place.

As illustrated by the presentation of the literary and material evidence, the meaningfulness of the place (the battlefield at Plataea) throughout fifth century and into the fourth century BC was maintained, revived and possibly reinvented through human activity at the physical location. Interaction with the landscape by the group who are creating meaning and memory can take two forms; 'inscribing' which is the physical reworking of a landscape, and 'incorporating', which is to endow meaning upon the physical landscape through ritual behaviour.<sup>639</sup> The specific place, which sits within a landscape, constitutes multiple layers of meaning and groups create and recreate their identities by engaging with specific layers of these meanings.<sup>640</sup> The place is a place-of-change, but not so much dislocation as re-allocation of meaning.

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<sup>636</sup> Tilley 1994: 11.

<sup>637</sup> See Young 1993: 7.

<sup>638</sup> Thomas 1996: 83.

<sup>639</sup> Levy 2010: 128-9.

<sup>640</sup> Bender 1998: 25.

All places have value. Indeed, to become a place it is necessary to be valued. To look at how a place is marked in order to assess the social value endowed on a place, an aspect such as 'place attachment' becomes relevant.<sup>641</sup> However, place attachment does not necessarily indicate a physical attachment to place. The value of a site of conflict could be expressed (for example over a period of time beyond the human life span) by those who did not take part in the conflict but were none the less affected. Places therefore can become independent of the people who first imbue it with meaning and may be appropriated by different people for differing purposes; this is exemplified by the Macedonian appropriation of the Plataean battlefield. In this sense, then, places are public.<sup>642</sup>

#### 6.2.4.2 Varying Values

The value of sites necessarily fluctuates according to the current needs and interests of the collective. Schofield discusses the loss of historical monuments in England, reporting that 16% of all recorded monuments in England no longer exist. In addition, in terms of losses to land area with recorded archaeological deposits, by 1995 about 44% of land known to contain archaeological deposits had been re-appropriated for other use.<sup>643</sup> The Monuments at Risk Survey (MARS) alongside a study carried out by

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<sup>641</sup> Schofield 2005: 91.

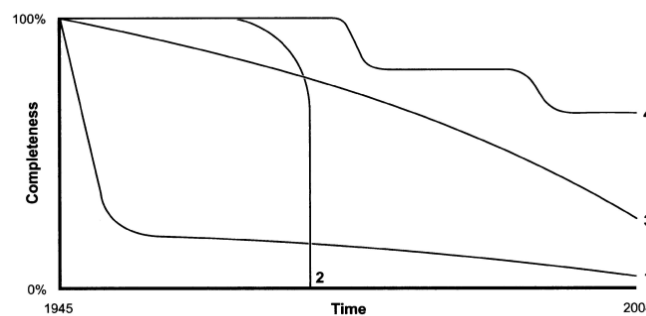
<sup>642</sup> Dreyfus 1991: 130.

<sup>643</sup> See Schofield 2005: 82 for further references.

Schofield has mapped what has been dubbed the 'decay curve' of military sites.<sup>644</sup>

These sites include what one might assume as robust monuments such as anti-aircraft gunsites. The studies carried out by MARS and Schofield illustrates that although the monuments are relatively modern and even physically robust they are still being lost or destroyed. The life cycle of a monument class has been mapped (figure 6.2.5) and is displayed as a decay curve along an x axis representing time as calculable from the time of construction.

Figure 6.2.5 *Decay Curve of Wartime Airfields*



*After Schofield (2005: 85).*

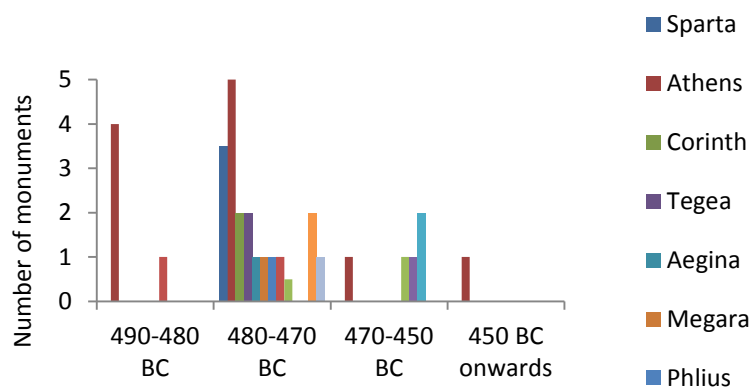
The decay curve typically begins steeply but shallows out after a time.<sup>645</sup> Figure 6.2.5 displays a variety of decay curves with differing causes; 1. sites largely being cleared immediately after a conflict; 2. sites remaining operational only to be cleared after perhaps a second conflict is resolved; 3. sites being abandoned and utilised for agriculture or storage thereafter; and 4. sites remaining in constant use but twice

<sup>644</sup> Schofield 2002.

<sup>645</sup> Schofield 2005: 86, and 85 for graph.

having been adapted for new uses, possibly due to technological development. It is necessary to clarify here that Schofield is discussing the physical decay of twentieth century 'sites' whereas, with regard to ancient places, I am concerned with the apparent ideological decay of meaning attributed to place represented quantitatively by the dedication of monuments. Although physical and conceptual decay are not the same thing, similarities can be seen in the patterns of the decay curves presented in figures 6.2.5 and 5.12. Considering commemoration at ancient sites of conflict, figure 5.12 illustrates that, generally, commemoration at the battlefield tails off within 60 years of the culmination of the battle. I present figure 5.12 again below for ease of comparison.

Figure 5.12 *Construction of Monuments on the Battlefield over Time*



The time frame which is depicted in figure 6.2.5 is much the same as that depicted in figure 5.12. I draw attention here, then, to the similarities in patterns of decay, that is the decline in commemorative focus of both ancient and modern places. With regard to the study of modern sites, a very small number of airfields survive but Schofield

acknowledges that memory can attach itself to a site even if the physical structure has gone.<sup>646</sup> The implication here is that tangible commemoration is not necessarily paramount in the formation of memory, or even a site of memory. With regard to figure 5.12, this graph focusses solely on tangible monuments, physical structures that were constructed on the battlefield, while intangible commemoration is not accounted for. In order to ascertain a more comprehensive assessment of the value of the battlefield, it is necessary to acknowledge behavioural practice in relation to the place.

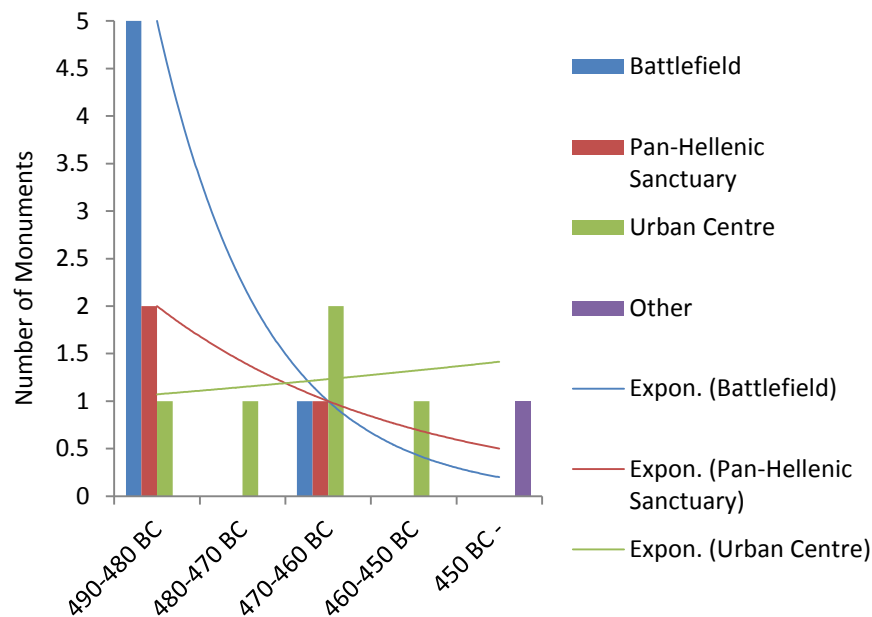
Developing meaning for a place is a process, and this process is visible over time;<sup>647</sup> both the place chosen to project a specific meaning or message may vary over time and the chosen method of transmission may also be seen to be in a process. Figure 5.11 illustrates how over time, in relation to the battle of Marathon specifically, commemoration alternates between preferred site types. I present figure 5.11 here again for ease of reference.

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<sup>646</sup> Schofield 2005: 86.

<sup>647</sup> Sack 2004: 248.

Figure 5.11 *Commemorative Trends of Marathon over Time*



For example immediately after the battle, commemoration at the site of conflict is preferred whereas approaching the middle of the fifth century BC the favoured commemorative site becomes the urban centre. While the battlefield experiences a sharp loss of material commemorative interest, pan-Hellenic sanctuaries experience a gentler decline in new commemorations (see chapter 5).

The preferred places of commemoration therefore can be seen to alter over time. In addition, the specific forms of commemoration also differ as the fifth century BC progressed. Particularly at the sites of conflict, the form of chosen commemoration developed from a material and tangible monument to a repetitive, behavioural activity.

#### 6.2.4.3 Memory, Monuments and Time

The relationship between memory and time has been highlighted by the work of several theorists.<sup>648</sup> As will be outlined below, the time frames highlighted for the lifespan of certain memories may be comparable to the limited time period in which physical monuments were constructed in memory of the Persian Wars (see figure 5.12). To illustrate the varied ways in which memory is transmitted over time we will focus here primarily on Jan Assmann's model. Assmann has defined memory by distinguishing two types on a collective scale: 'cultural' and 'communicative' memory, which are considered to fit under the umbrella term of 'collective memory'.<sup>649</sup>

These definitions of memory are distinguishable on a number of levels. Cultural memory is based on fixed points in the past but the exact point in time cannot be defined, or, it could be argued, no longer has relevance; the distinction between myth and history vanishes.<sup>650</sup> Also, cultural memory is a construction; it is made and (re)defined by a group over generational periods and exists only in 'disembodied form'. That is, it requires specialists in preservation and promulgation to re-embody them in the social framework. Furthermore, cultural memory is transferrable across generations and is not constrained by time. In comparison to cultural memory, the method of transmitting communicative memory is less formal and the methods of

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<sup>648</sup> For example: Assmann, J. 2006, 2010; Assmann, A. 2001; Vansina 1985.

<sup>649</sup> Assmann, J. 2010:110.

<sup>650</sup> Assmann, J. 2010:113.



remembering are more diffuse (see table 3.1).<sup>651</sup> Communicative memory is a non-institutional form of memory; it is not cultivated by specialists. This form of memory is thought to be disseminated through everyday interaction and therefore is limited in time of survival and depth of social penetration.<sup>652</sup>

Assmann, in an attempt to define the time frames of the different modes of memory, calls upon the work of the anthropologist Jan Vansina.<sup>653</sup> Bearing in mind that Vansina's work is based on oral communities in Africa, two levels of historical consciousness are outlined: the time of origins and the recent past. On the one hand, the time of origins can stretch far beyond the life span of an individual and concerns a past that encompasses the entire group.<sup>654</sup> The recent past, on the other hand, does not stretch beyond three generations. In relation to table 3.1, this differentiation between modes of memory relating to time can be seen as similar to the differentiation between communicative memory and cultural memory.

The time span of c.80 years or three generations,<sup>655</sup> Schofield's table of material deterioration of wartime airfields (figure 6.2.5), and the ideological decay of importance of Persian War battlefields interpreted by a decline in monuments being erected at the site (figure 5.12) appears to be a recurring theme. As the literary and archaeological evidence (discussed above) illustrates, only in the fourth century BC

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<sup>651</sup> Assmann, J. 2010: 117.

<sup>652</sup> Assmann, J. 2010:111.

<sup>653</sup> Assmann, J. 2010: 112-113; see Vansina 1985.

<sup>654</sup> See Vansina 1985: 23 for 'floating gap' theory.

<sup>655</sup> Thompson 1979: 65-67.

does the memory of Plataea become appropriated on a 'cultural' level.<sup>656</sup> With this appropriation of meaning at Plataea and the later establishment of the *Eleutheria*, a more formalised ritual behaviour and ceremonial communication is established which again falls in line with Assmann's definition of the development of cultural memory.

#### 6.2.3.4 Durability of Value

Places are interpreted here as being endowed with value and this value is measured by commemorative activity at the place, either inscribed or incorporated. The discussion to this point has demonstrated that value is not static and therefore is susceptible to change over time. In accordance with this, value has been divided into two distinct categories: 'transient', which describes objects with a constantly declining value, and 'durable' which describes objects which gain in value over time and have an (ideally) infinite life span.<sup>657</sup> According to figure 5.12, which depicts battlefield monuments erected over time, sites of conflict appear to have a transient relevance with a declining value. However, as stated above it is the repeated acts of behavioural commemoration that enables the place to retain its relevance over time, albeit in different guises with different meanings for different peoples; behavioural commemoration ensures the battlefield obtains 'durable' status. Viewing objects of the past as transient, with the possibility of redefining how they are valued and interpreted, has similarities with Thomas' idea of the archaeological imagination, in the

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<sup>656</sup> A term taken from Assmann, J. 2010.

<sup>657</sup> By Thompson 1979: 6. The material dealt with in Thompson's book is generic 'objects'.

way that the object in its life can move between contexts.<sup>658</sup> These contexts are the static natural context where the object begins as un-manipulated raw material and the dynamic cultural context where it gains meaning.

Thompson discusses the possibility of flexibility within categories of value and it is possible to exemplify this theory by applying it to our current discussion.<sup>659</sup> It is possible for an object to move from the 'transient' category to the 'durable' category as mentioned above. However according to Thompson, for this transferal of categories to occur the object must initially fall into a third category, namely 'rubbish'. It is within this third category that the object does not cease to be but continues to exist in a valueless state. Only after it is re-discovered may the object be removed from the 'rubbish' category and be reinstated with value, and possibly becoming 'durable'. The literary and archaeological evidence discussed above illustrate that throughout the fifth century BC only local (that is primarily Plataean) activities were taking place at the site of conflict. In addition, as with the other battlefields represented in our data set no new memorials were erected at this place resulting in, according to an interpretation of the analysis of the material evidence at least, a steady decline in value over time. The transferal to the 'rubbish' category can be interpreted as the period spanning the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC when Plataea was sacked on multiple occasions. Only when the place and the meaning attributed to it become relevant and useful again is the place transferred from this 'rubbish' category and revived as a 'durable' place of commemoration.

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<sup>658</sup> Thomas 1996: 57.

<sup>659</sup> See Thompson 1979: 9-10.

#### 6.2.4 Conclusion

Figure 5.12 presents a picture of sites of conflict diminishing in relevance over time. However, in contrast to the significance of the place diminishing over time, it appears through either the initial inscribing of the place or subsequent establishment of commemorative festivals on the sites of conflict (or a combination of the two) that the place may retain its relevance, albeit for varying purposes. With specific relevance to the battlefield of Plataea, Greeks in the fourth century BC under a Macedonian hegemony and beyond would have had their own reasons for revamping and celebrating the *Eleutheria*. Thus, places are a necessary component in the act of conjuring an essence of the past. Here we see an inextricable link between place and time. Places, therefore, are tools that can be used to draw together separate threads of reality; the attribution of meaning onto place is an ongoing process.<sup>660</sup> All landscapes are constructions of interpretations and reinterpretations layered upon one another, or scaffolded, to create an ever shifting perspectival place, a 'living site'.<sup>661</sup> The decline in value followed by the resurgence in relevance depicts a place with a multiplicity of meanings and uses.

Location cannot alone make a place; the human component in the process is vital: meaning is influenced by human action. In relation to time only the individual lives and dies; the group, through which the survival of meaning of place is made possible, is

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<sup>660</sup> Sack 2004: 244.

<sup>661</sup> For the concept of the 'living site', see Bender 1998: 9.

immortal.<sup>662</sup> A commemorative place, acknowledged by a group, such as Plataea (and Marathon) plays a large part in the sense of identity held by the group over a considerable period of time. The stability of the place and the necessity of its survival would be vital to the group's sense of self. Place, if endowed with a certain meaning, may come to stand outside the realm of time. This phenomenon is apparent in the example of the battlefield of Plataea; according to figure 5.12 the site of conflict appears to lose commemorative focus throughout the fifth century BC. As the assessment of both literary and archaeological material pertaining to behavioural commemoration attests, a commemorative resurgence reinvigorates the mnemonic power relating to the place. By physically commemorating at the battlefield, either by inscribing or incorporating meaning, a commemorative group ensures the place retains its relevance over time, but the particular meaning which dictates relevance is variable.

Chapter section 6.3 will discuss the theme of commemorative monopolies. In order to highlight the commemorative monopolies apparent in the Persian War commemorative tradition this chapter section will focus on the narratives concerning which city-states were present at the battle of Marathon. In addition the subsequent Athenian commemorative monopoly over the battle of Marathon will be discussed.

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<sup>662</sup> Tuan 2004: 53.

## 6.3: Fighting Alone?

### 6.3.1 Introduction

We learn from Herodotus that Athens was joined by Plataea in defence against Darius' invasion at the battle of Marathon.<sup>663</sup> In accordance to Herodotus' account, Plataea was active in commemorating this battle; constructing a burial mound on the field of conflict; paying for a statue of the Plataean commander at Marathon, erected in Plataea; and the dedication of a statue of Athena, also in Plataea.<sup>664</sup> Athens, too, commemorated the battle of Marathon but there is a large discrepancy between Athenian and Plataean commemorative efforts; according to the data analysed in chapter 5, Athens can be seen to monopolise the commemoration of Marathon (see figure 5.5). This chapter section will explore narratives about the battle of Marathon, and who was present, to see how they relate to the mnemonic assertions visible in the commemorative record. It will be necessary, then, to explore evidence outside our data set and include literary evidence from the fifth and fourth centuries BC in the discussion; we will specifically examine the Athenian tradition that no other Greek city took part in the battle of Marathon.

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<sup>663</sup> Hdts. 6.108.1; cf. Thuc. 1.18.

<sup>664</sup> Burial mound: Paus. 1.32.3; Statue of Plataean commander at Marathon: Paus. 9.4.2; statue of Athena: Paus. 9.4.1.

### 6.3.2 Evidence Including Plataeans at Marathon

Within the fifth century BC, material evidence illustrates a mnemonic narrative including the Plataeans within the Marathon tradition; Plataean soldiers were included in the painting of the battle in the Stoa *Poikile* in the Athenian agora. This painting clearly depicted the Plataeans fighting alongside Athenian hoplites against the Persians and was probably painted in the second quarter of the fifth century BC.<sup>665</sup> In addition, behavioural commemorative traditions also included the Plataeans in the Marathon tradition.

Ever since [Marathon], when the Athenians are conducting sacrifices at the festivals every fourth year, the Athenian herald prays for good things for the Athenians and Plataeans together.<sup>666</sup>

This excerpt is taken from Herodotus' narrative on the battle of Marathon and references the Great *Panathenaia*. This joint proclamation may be interpreted as an acknowledgement of a combined endeavour. In addition for those who had visited the Marathon battlefield, perhaps as an attendee of the *Herakleia*, the separate burial mounds would indicate casualties from outside Athens. However, the burial mounds are about 2.5km distance from each other so it is possible that the Plataean burial mound was not 'advertised' in the same way as that of the Athenian dead. Finally, after Plataea was sacked by Sparta and Thebes the Athenians granted the Plataeans

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<sup>665</sup> Castriota 2005: 90-91; see also App. no.12.

<sup>666</sup> Hdts. 6.111.2.

'*isopoliteia*', that is equal civic rights, at Athens.<sup>667</sup> This was a rare honour; for example the orator Lysias, as a sole individual, was denied Athenian citizenship after the Peloponnesian War despite his services to the city.<sup>668</sup> It has been suggested that Plataean aid at Marathon may have been a contributing factor for the population of Plataea to receive such honours.<sup>669</sup>

The following excerpt is taken from a passage in the pseudo-Demosthenic tirade against the alleged prostitute Neaera, by which her usurped Athenian citizenship is contrasted with the well-earned citizenship granted to the Plataeans.

The Plataeans, men of Athens, alone among the Greeks came to your aid at Marathon when Datis, the general of King Darius, on his return from Eretria after subjugating Euboea, landed on our coast with a large force and proceeded to ravage the country.<sup>670</sup>

The pseudo Demosthenic speech *Against Neaera*, arguably authored by Apollodorus,<sup>671</sup> is the only instance where an Attic orator explicitly mentions the Plataeans being present at the battle of Marathon. Furthermore Apollodorus, in support of the statement about Marathon, mentions the painting of Marathon in the Stoa *Poikile*:

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<sup>667</sup> Thuc. 3.551; 3.63.2; Isoc. *Panegyricus* 109. For *isopoliteia* see Ehrenberg: 1969: 106ff.

<sup>668</sup> Plut. *Moralia* (*Lysias*) 835c-836a.

<sup>669</sup> Walters 1981: 208.

<sup>670</sup> [Dem.] *Against Neaera* 94.

<sup>671</sup> See *OCD*: 119 'Apollodorus'.



And even to this day the picture in the Painted Stoa  
exhibits the memorial of their valour; for each man  
is portrayed hastening to your aid with all speed—  
they are the band wearing Boeotian caps.<sup>672</sup>

This specific mention of a physical monument, in order to prompt a collective memory about Marathon, highlights the relevance which contemporary, commemorative, material culture enjoyed. Apollodorus mentions the painting in the stoa with the apparent confidence of the audience understanding, which leads us to suspect he assumed his audience would know the painting he was referring to, or at least its location. However, Apollodorus does make the point to distinguish the Plataean contingent by the type of hat they are wearing. Steinbock interprets this as meaning the audience, despite having been familiar with the painting, might not have been able to distinguish between the protagonists.<sup>673</sup> It is difficult to believe that if the painting was as well-known as is assumed that the action and the protagonists would not also be familiar to the audience. In fact Pausanias, writing in the second century AD some four hundred and fifty years later than Apollodorus' speech, points out the Plataeans in the painting.<sup>674</sup> If the knowledge about the identity of the Boeotian cap wearers had faded in about the one hundred years between the painting of the memorial and Apollodorus' speech, it is unlikely that Pausanias would describe the scene with such nonchalance.

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<sup>672</sup> [Dem.] *Against Neaera* 94.

<sup>673</sup> Steinbock 2013: 138.

<sup>674</sup> Paus. 1.1.3.

### 6.3.3 Evidence excluding Plataeans at Marathon

At some point in the fifth century BC however, possibly between 460 BC and 440 BC,<sup>675</sup> the narrative that Athens fought alone at Marathon emerged:

we nevertheless deserve to have this honour and more beside because of the role we played at Marathon, seeing that alone of all Greeks we met the Persian singlehandedly and did not fail in that enterprise, but overcame forty-six nations.<sup>676</sup>

Herodotus places this statement within the context of a debate over the justification of holding the second wing at the battle of Plataea between Athens and the Tegeans. The narrative of facing the Persians single-handedly is utilised here by the Athenians to further their own cause and is continuously utilised throughout the fifth and into the fourth centuries BC.<sup>677</sup>

The funeral orations played an important role in the obliteration of the memory of the Plataean contingent at Marathon. Within this especially patriotic arena the funeral oration would reinforce a repetitive trope: Athens, outnumbered, trusted in their

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<sup>675</sup> Walters 1981: 209.

<sup>676</sup> Hdts. 9.27.5.

<sup>677</sup> The narrative is raised in a dispute with Sparta to justify Athenian rule over her former allies. See Thuc. 1.73.4. See Andoc. *On the Mysteries* 107 and Isoc. *Panegyricus* 86 for fourth century BC examples.

valour and defeated the invading barbarian horde securing freedom for all Greece.<sup>678</sup>

In the case of such patriotic expression the Plataean presence would not necessarily be purposefully forgotten but suppressed to suit the needs of the current situation (the malleability of the past in relation to the needs of the present is discussed in chapter section 6.1). Events were ‘stripped of their historical context, much simplified, and turned into symbols of the character of the community.’<sup>679</sup> Athenians presented a version of the past, through the medium of the funeral orations, which they saw as ‘true’ because it conformed to an idea they wished to have of themselves.<sup>680</sup>

We will now look at two occasions from the literary evidence in which Plataean merits are listed in order to praise the Plataeans in which we might expect Plataea’s presence at Marathon to be recounted; these are in Thucydides and Isocrates’ *Plataicus*.<sup>681</sup>

Table 6.3.1 *Literary Excerpts Failing to include a Plataean Contingent at Marathon*

| Author                 | Date                                  | Excerpt  |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Thucydides<br>3.54.3-4 | Late 5 <sup>th</sup><br>Century<br>BC | During the peace, and against the Mede, we acted well: we have not now been the first to break the peace, and we were the only Boeotians who then joined in defending against the Mede the liberty of Hellas. Although an inland people, we were present at the action at Artemisium; in the battle that took place in our territory we fought by the side of yourselves |

<sup>678</sup> Lys. *Funeral Oration* 20-26; Dem. *Funeral Speech* 10.

<sup>679</sup> Steinbock 2013: 131.

<sup>680</sup> Loraux 2006: 171.

<sup>681</sup> As collected in Steinbock 2013: 135.

|                                     |          |  |
|-------------------------------------|----------|--|
|                                     |          | and Pausanias; and in all the other Hellenic exploits of the time we took a part quite out of proportion to our strength.  |
| Isocrates<br><i>Plataicus</i><br>57 | c.373 BC | Alone of the Greeks you Athenians owe us this service in return, to rescue us now that we have been driven from our homes. It is a just request, for our ancestors, we are told, when in the Persian War your fathers had abandoned this land, alone of those who lived outside of the Peloponnese shared in their perils and thus helped them to save their city. It is but just, therefore, that we should receive in return the same benefaction which we first conferred upon you. |

At the debate at Plataea in 427 BC, according to Thucydides' account, the Plataeans spoke in defence of their lives after surrendering their city to the Spartans and the Thebans.<sup>682</sup> The driving force behind the Plataean speech was a plea for mercy while relying on their performance in the Persian Wars.<sup>683</sup> The Plataeans claimed to be the only Boeotian state to join in the defence of Greece; obviously this was a thinly veiled pointed reference to the Theban Medising. The battles of Artemisium and Plataea are specifically mentioned in Thucydides' account to demonstrate the Plataean efforts in the conflict. However, despite the Plataeans emphasising their merits in regards to the Persian Wars, their presence at the battle of Marathon is omitted here; this is probably due to their anti-Athenian audience. The Plataeans, with their lives in the balance,

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<sup>682</sup> Thuc. 3.53-67.

<sup>683</sup> Thuc. 3.54, 56-59.

would take any opportunity to avoid further angering the Spartans by omitting voluntary Atticising.<sup>684</sup>

In our second excerpt, from Isocrates' works, the audience which the Plataeans address is Athenian. Thus we would expect the Plataean orator would want to remind the Athenians of the Plataean contingent present at the battle of Marathon. This Plataean plea (set between 373 – 371 BC) was presented to the Athenians for assistance against the Thebans and for aid in the restoration of their town, for in 373 BC the Thebans destroyed Plataea for a second time. We will focus on Steinbock's interpretation of this excerpt because his critique on earlier interpretations of this particular passage challenges some previously held assumptions.

Firstly, Steinbock challenges the assumption that the Plataean aid at Marathon was deeply rooted in Isocrates' and his audience's consciousness.<sup>685</sup> Steinbock refers to the extant funeral speeches to illustrate that Marathon was a conflict that Athens thought of as a solely Athenian victory and states, correctly, that the audience would probably obtain their information from these public commemorations rather than from sources such as Herodotus and Thucydides. Therefore Isocrates, who was an Athenian, had his Plataeans formulate an argument that would resonate with the audience within the context that they were accustomed to absorbing versions of their past: the assembly. Secondly, the opening phrase of our excerpt 'alone of the Greeks you owe us' has been

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<sup>684</sup> Alternatively, as noted in chapter 1, Thucydides' conception of the Persian Wars did not encompass Marathon which may have had a bearing on the absence of this battle in this fabricated speech.

<sup>685</sup> See Steinbock 2013: 136-137; for previous assumptions challenged here, see Nouhand 1982: 153-154.

interpreted by Nouhand as a reference to Marathon. However, as the passage continues the orator mentions that the help for which the Athenians now owe recompense relates to a time in the Persian Wars when they had abandoned their city and were assisted in winning it back. The event being referenced is clearly the invasion of Xerxes' forces in 480 - 479 BC rather than the invasion of Darius in 490 BC. Steinbock goes on to point out that the phrase 'our ancestors alone of those who lived outside the Peloponnese' is strikingly similar to the phrase 'the Plataeans alone of the Boeotians' which is frequently used in reference to Xerxes' invasion.<sup>686</sup> While the connection between Plataean memorialisation and Xerxes' invasion specifically will be expanded upon below, it is clear that, in the above excerpt, Marathon is not the subject alluded to; Isocrates' Plataeans have opted for emphasising their conduct during Xerxes' invasion.

#### **6.3.4 Concurrent Narratives?**

The fabricated debate presented in Herodotus concerning who would hold each wing at Plataea, discussed above, is set in 479 BC while Herodotus was writing some forty years later, perhaps around 440 BC. It is at about this time or shortly before that material mnemonic structures and behavioural practices (such as the Stoa *Poikile*, and the prayers for the Plataeans at the Great *Panathenaia*) are constructed and enacted expressing the narrative that Plataeans were present at Plataea. It is apparent, then, that conflicting narratives are being voiced concurrently. The mnemonic archive, which

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<sup>686</sup> Isoc. *Panathenaicus* 93; [Dem.] *Against Neaera* 95.

is discussed in more detail elsewhere (see chapter section 6.1) is a store of archived but accessible mnemonic material.<sup>687</sup> This mnemonic store is without boundaries and without thematic restrictions which enables conflicting memories to co-exist within a collective's archive. Also, the ability for two conflicting narratives to exist concurrently is revealing as to how Greeks of the fifth century BC viewed what was thought of as historical 'fact'.<sup>688</sup>

With such clear evidence that material culture was readily displayed and known, it is possible that two concurrent conflicting narratives of the same event could coexist meaningfully. Also, it is not necessary to assume that, when two contradictory versions of past events run concurrently within a single society, groups are unaware of the discrepancy.<sup>689</sup> It is possible, then, for concurrent versions of the past to be utilised in separate arenas for separate purposes with parties being fully aware of the existence of alternative narratives. Furthermore, memories within Athens appear to co-exist concurrently without causing obvious internal social disunity.

### **6.3.5 Plataea, the Second Persian Invasion, and the Theban Dichotomy**

In contrast to Plataea's role at the battle of Marathon, Plataea's role in the second Persian invasion becomes a recurrent topic in Athenian political discourse.<sup>690</sup>

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<sup>687</sup> See Assmann, A. 2010.

<sup>688</sup> Walters 1981: 211.

<sup>689</sup> Cf. Thomas 1989: 250; Steinbock 2013: 139.

<sup>690</sup> Steinbock 2013: 139; cf. Isoc. *Panathenaicus* 93; Xen. *Hellenica* 6.3.1.

And again, when Xerxes came against Greece and the Thebans went over to the side of the Medes, the Plataeans refused to withdraw from their alliance with us, but, unsupported by any others of the Boeotians, half of them arrayed themselves in Thermopylae against the advancing barbarian together with the Lacedaemonians and Leonidas, and perished with them; and the remainder embarked on your triremes, since they had no ships of their own, and fought along with you in the naval battles at Artemisium and at Salamis. And they fought together with you and the others who were seeking to save the freedom of Greece in the final battle at Plataea against Mardonius, the King's general, and deposited the liberty thus secured as a common prize for all the Greeks.<sup>691</sup>

Here we see the tradition that states Plataeans were present at all the battles of Xerxes' invasion; that is Thermopylae, Artemisium, Salamis and Plataea. According to Herodotus, however, the Plataeans were not present at Thermopylae and it was only the Thespians and Thebans who stayed with the Spartan forces for varying reasons.<sup>692</sup> In addition, although Herodotus and Thucydides agree that Plataeans served on Athenian ships at Artemisium,<sup>693</sup> they were not present at the battle of Salamis.<sup>694</sup>

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<sup>691</sup> [Dem.] *Against Neaera* 95-96.

<sup>692</sup> Hdts. 7.202, 222.

<sup>693</sup> Hdts. 8.1.1; Thuc. 3.54.

<sup>694</sup> Hdts. 8.44.



Steinbock stresses the dichotomy drawn, in Athenian political discourse, between Theban Medism and Plataean patriotism.<sup>695</sup> Thebes remained neutral during the first invasion in which Athens and Plataea fought at Marathon and even suffered a Persian raid at Delium.<sup>696</sup> During the second invasion, however, Thebes Medised and the decisive battle took place outside the city of Plataea. This dichotomy then is understood here to influence the mnemonic narratives, created and circulated by the Athenians, about Plataean conduct during specifically the second Persian invasion under Xerxes.

This Plataean / Theban dichotomy can be detected in Thucydides' debate over the fate of Plataea (a fragment of which is presented as excerpt 1 in table 6.3.1).<sup>697</sup> However, Thucydides presents the contrasting of the two *poleis* from the Theban perspective. The term 'Medising' is left out of the entire Plataean speech. Interestingly, in the Theban response we witness the first mention of the term 'Atticise'. Atticism has been interpreted as a concept invented here to be used as a new form of inter-*polis* behaviour that can be likened, in its level of baseness, to Medism.<sup>698</sup> This concept tapped directly into the Spartan fear of the possible boundedness of Athenian expansion; the idea that the Athenian threat was no longer solely tangible but had become an ideology.<sup>699</sup> The Thebans mention the phrase 'Medising' a number of times in their speech, which is striking considering the Plataeans refrained from using the

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<sup>695</sup> See Steinbock 2013: 119-127.

<sup>696</sup> Hdts. 6.118.

<sup>697</sup> Thuc. 3.54.3 - 3.67.7.

<sup>698</sup> Cogan 1981: 69-73.

<sup>699</sup> See Cogan 1981: 72.

term directly. In reference to themselves, Thebans utilise the verb ‘Medise’ (which a state would, one might expect, avoid at all costs) in contrast to Plataean Atticising: ‘our unwilling Medism and your will-full Atticising’.<sup>700</sup> It seems the term was specifically used in order for the Thebans to coin their own damning and, as it proved, fatal phrase.

In relation to the dichotomy drawn between Theban Medism and Plataean patriotism which in turn became a paradigm by which to again reinforce the association between Plataea and Xerxes’ invasion we are informed by Aeschines and Pausanias of Athenian material commemorations put up at Delphi.<sup>701</sup> Soon after the culmination of the Persian Wars enemy shields taken from the battlefields were hung on the architraves of the temple of Apollo at Delphi.<sup>702</sup> However, early in the fourth century BC the temple was destroyed by either fire or an earthquake. During the rebuilding, gilded shields of Persian type replaced the previous dedications and a related inscription was inscribed nearby, which stated the shields had been taken from the Persians and the Thebans. The inscription has been suggested to have been a copy of an earlier example.<sup>703</sup> The inscription read:

The Athenians, from the Medes and Thebans when  
they fought against Hellas.<sup>704</sup>

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<sup>700</sup> Thuc. 3.64.5.

<sup>701</sup> Aesch. *Against Ctesiphon* 116, Paus. 10.19.4.

<sup>702</sup> See Parke 1939.

<sup>703</sup> See West 1965: 158.

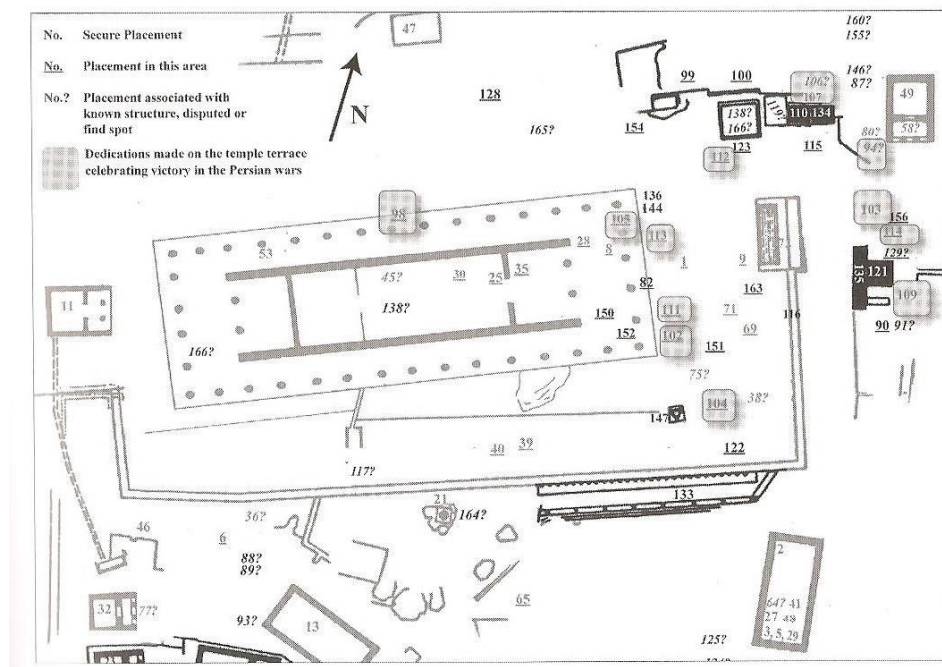
<sup>704</sup> Aesch. *Against Ctesiphon* 116.

Pausanias notes that this dedication commemorated the battle of Marathon.<sup>705</sup>

However, Thebans were not present at Marathon and had not yet Medised, and fought alongside Persia only at Plataea.<sup>706</sup> Therefore, this dedication must commemorate the battle of Plataea. The sole Athenian monument at Delphi relating to the battle of Plataea therefore, apparently, referenced Theban Medising.

Plataea (as a city-state) also commemorated the battle of Plataea at Delphi. This single Plataean monument was a statue of an ox and was constructed in the area of the east temple terrace. The Athenian monument of gilded shields hung on the temple architraves and the Plataean statue can be seen to have been placed close together.

Figure 6.3.1 *The Apollo Temple Terrace at Delphi*



After Scott (2010: 83).

<sup>705</sup> Paus. 10.19.4.

<sup>706</sup> Hdts. 9.67.

Figure 6.3.1 shows a plan of the east temple terrace at Delphi between 500 BC and 450 BC. According to Scott, the monument numbered 98 in figure 6.3.1, which is found on the north side of the temple of Apollo, is identified as the gilded shields. The Plataean monument of a statue of an ox has been located at number 112, which would have stood at the north-east corner of the temple. The spatial relationship between these two commemorative monuments may indicate that they were somehow related in meaning.<sup>707</sup> As a visitor entered the temple terrace from the sacred way they would initially encounter the Plataean ox statue. Having turned to face west, the gilded shields, which adorned the temple architraves, would have been directly in the line of sight. I suggest that the Athenian monument taken into consideration with the sole Plataean monument for the battle of Plataea at Delphi may, at least for Athenian audiences, have reinforced the tradition of dichotomising Plataean patriotism and Theban Medism.

### **6.3.6 Collating and Interpreting the Evidence**

We will now incorporate the material data to see whether there is a positive correlation between the constructed and enacted commemorations and literary depictions of contemporary narratives. We will deal first with the Athenian tradition that they fought alone at Marathon followed by the tendency to associate Plataean efforts in the Persian War with the second invasion under Xerxes particularly.

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<sup>707</sup> For further information on spatial politics on the east temple terrace see Scott 2010: 81-88.

#### 6.3.6.1 Athens Fighting Alone

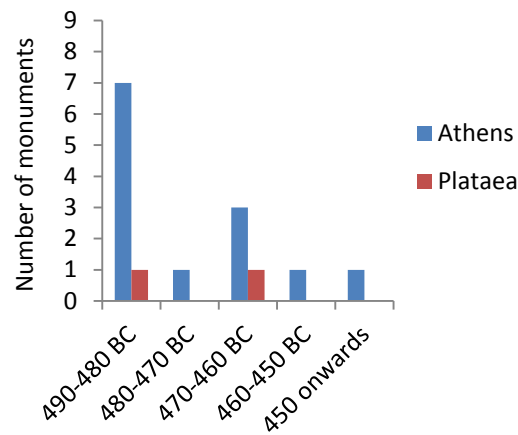
Herodotus' narrative on the battle of Marathon clearly includes a Plataean contingent, and the fact that the Plataeans actually came to the aid of the Athenians at Marathon is not doubted here. However, the fact remains that within Athens in the fifth century BC the narrative emerged that they fought alone at Marathon. The Athenian negation of the Plataean presence at Marathon has been argued as not a vindictive effort to belittle the loyal efforts of an allied *polis*, but a product of the characteristics of Athenian social memory.<sup>708</sup> This has been demonstrated above by illustrating the patriotic emphasis in the Athenian funeral orations, and the remembrance of Plataean Persian War involvement in connection with Xerxes' invasion specifically.

Narratives are successfully created and transmitted through the purposeful omission, and emphasis being placed, on certain aspects of the past. It is possible through the corroboration of the material commemorative evidence for Marathon with literary sources to map out the formation and development of the commemorative narrative that Athens fought alone at Marathon. The creation of the narrative was, indeed, a characteristic of the Athenian collective memory but the monopoly of the Marathon tradition was a required aspect of a heroic past which would have lost value if it was to be shared with another city-state. Therefore, it is argued here that these two aspects of the Marathon commemorative tradition are connected.

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<sup>708</sup> Steinbock 2013: 142.

Figure 6.3.2 *Commemoration of Marathon over Time*<sup>709</sup>



The maintenance of Athens' commemorative efforts regarding Marathon is clear from figure 6.3.2. The maintenance of Athens' commemorative tradition may be viewed in stark contrast to Plataea's more sporadic commemorations. Athens immediately commemorates Marathon heavily while Plataea erects a solitary monument, the burial mound on the field of battle. There is a lull in commemoration throughout the decade 480 - 470 BC but this can be explained by the commemorative focus having shifted temporarily to more recent conflicts, such as Salamis. There is, however, a slight resurgence in the decade 470 – 460 BC. It is during this commemorative period that it is thought the Athenians dedicated a statue group at Delphi, and in doing so perhaps asserted a claim over the battle to a pan-Hellenic audience. Plataeans in contrast,

<sup>709</sup> The levels of confidence placed on the dates for these monuments vary. See Appendix for further discussion on each monument; the monuments included in figure 5.10 are 490-480 BC: App. no.1 (Athenian Burial Mound), no.2 (Plataean Burial Mound), no.4 (Grave of Miltiades), no.5 (*Herakleia*), no.7 (Casualty List), no.8 (Treasury), no.9 (Statue Group), no.17 ('Old' Parthenon); 480-470 BC: App. no.11 (Engraved Marble Base); 470-460 BC: App. no.3 (Trophy), no.12 (Stoa *Poikile*), no.15 (Statue Group), no.20 (Statue of Arimnestos); 460-450 BC: App. no.16 (Bronze Statue of Athena); 450 BC onwards: App. no.19 (Temple and Statue of Nemesis).

although we witness a commemorative resurgence in the same decade, only commemorate within their city and thus fail to publicise their efforts to a broader audience. These early commemorative assertions, within about twenty or thirty years of the conflict correspond to the usual practice of heavy commemoration soon after the culmination of battle. However, as discussed above, as the middle of the fifth century BC approached the narrative of the Athenians fighting alone at Marathon emerges and Plataea apparently ceases to commemorate this battle.

With specific reference to the site of conflict, Plataea was not included in the commemoration of the *Herakleia*, enacted on the Marathon battlefield, which was repeatedly celebrated as an Athenian event, or at most a pan-Attic affair. As presented in chapter section 6.2, the development of commemorative festivals is an important aspect in the maintenance of a commemorative meaning being attributed to a place.

The Stoa *Poikile* can be counted among the three Athenian monuments included in the decade 470 – 460 BC in Figure 6.3.1. The inclusion of Plataeans in a painting depicting Marathon during this decade illustrates that Athens, at least approaching 460 BC, were not intent on forgetting Plataea's contribution, at least at this time. The Plataean presence at Marathon was never completely obliterated as the pseudo-Demosthenic excerpt mentioned above from the fourth century BC testifies, with particular reference to the painted stoa.<sup>710</sup> However, the dilution of factual knowledge about the past, especially in situations where there is no material evidence to contest or

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<sup>710</sup> [Dem.] *Against Neaera* 94.

corroborate a particular narrative, can be seen in Apollodorus' inclusion of Plataea in all Persian War conflicts. Although the fact that Plataeans served on Athenian ships at Artemisium may have been widely known and generally admired, it is not acknowledged in the commemorative evidence.<sup>711</sup> Only Athens commemorated the battle of Artemisium, both on the battlefield and within Athens with no particular reference to supporting contingents. Thus without the reliance on material evidence (such as the Stoa *Poikile*), as a point of reference regarding earlier mnemonic narratives, revised versions could be promulgated and were accepted, or at least went unchallenged.

We can see direct conflict of narratives in our commemorative material, although the dispute takes place in the literary references to the monument's attribution. The monument concerned is the temple of Athena *Areia* constructed at Plataea. Plutarch informs us that eighty talents were awarded to the Plataeans for distinction on the field at the battle of Plataea with which they built the temple to Athena.<sup>712</sup> Contrastingly we are informed by Pausanias that the temple of Athena *Areia* was built from spoils given to them by the Athenians after Marathon.<sup>713</sup> Despite the conflicting assertions in the literary record, this temple is generally thought to be constructed from spoils of the battle of Plataea (see App. no.70).<sup>714</sup> For example, the payment for numerous monuments are attributed to the 'spoils of Marathon'; the battlefield trophy, thank offering beside the Athenian treasury at Delphi, statue group again at

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<sup>711</sup> Hdts. 8.1.1; Thuc. 3.54; Paus. 9.1.3.

<sup>712</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 20.3.

<sup>713</sup> Paus. 9.4.1.

<sup>714</sup> Steinbock 2013: 111, Frazer 1965: 5.21, West 1965: 72.



Delphi and the bronze Athena erected on the Acropolis. This presents the question of how much booty could the battle of Marathon have yielded. It would be difficult to imagine that the booty from Marathon would actually stretch to cover the construction of the Athenian monuments listed above, and that is before Pausanias including the costs of Plataea's temple to Athena *Areia*.<sup>715</sup>

The frequency and dating of the construction of monuments by both Athens and Plataea correlate with the first literary references to the narrative that Athens fought alone at Marathon. Furthermore, the lack of Plataean inclusion in behavioural commemoration at the site of conflict would also assist the acceptance of the Athenian narrative. The commemorative trends, then, with as much certainty as our material data allows, broadly support the literary evidence that Athens asserted the narrative that they fought alone at Marathon.

#### 6.3.6.2 Plataea and Xerxes' invasion

As we can see through the commemorative patterns represented in chapter 5, the victory at Marathon came to dominate the projection of Athenian achievements in the Persian Wars. The sheer discrepancy in commemorative activity between Athens and Plataea is supportive of the fifth century BC emergence of a narrative asserting a solely Athenian defence at Marathon. According to our data, Athens accounts for just over 90% of the monuments relating to Marathon while Plataea can claim the remainder. In

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<sup>715</sup> Within this thesis the temple of Athena *Areia* is accounted for in the Plataean commemorations of the battle of Plataea. Therefore, Plutarch's attribution is followed.

addition, the spatial positioning of the monuments will be interpreted here as relevant.

Table 6.3.2 numerically compares the commemorative activity between Athens and Plataea for the battles of Marathon and Plataea by commemorative place. The battle of Plataea has been selected to contrast with Marathon as, apart from Artemisium where Plataeans fought on Athenian ships, this was the only other battle at which Plataea fielded troops.<sup>716</sup> In addition, while Marathon is representative of the first invasion, in table 6.3.2 Plataea can be seen as representative of the second invasion.

Table 6.3.2 *Athenian and Plataean Commemoration of Marathon and Plataea*

|                        | 1st Invasion       |         | 2nd Invasion      |         |
|------------------------|--------------------|---------|-------------------|---------|
|                        | Battle of Marathon |         | Battle of Plataea |         |
|                        | Athens             | Plataea | Athens            | Plataea |
| Battlefield            | 6                  | 1       | 3                 | 2       |
| Pan-Hellenic sanctuary | 3                  |         | 1                 | 1       |
| Urban                  | 8                  | 1       | 2                 | 2       |
| Other                  | 1                  |         |                   |         |
| Total                  | 18                 | 2       | 6                 | 5       |

With the data presented in table 6.3.2 the discrepancies between Athenian and Plataean commemorative productivity are clear. In commemoration of Marathon, Athens places three of the commemorative monuments at Delphi, which according to the analysis (see chapter 5) is a major place of commemoration. Plataea commemorated Marathon at the battlefield and within their own city and, as mentioned above, it may be that these commemorations were not as ‘public’ as those

<sup>716</sup> *Contra.* [Dem.] *Against Neaera* 95-96 who includes Plataea in all Persian War battles.

of the Athenians; that is, not seen or acknowledged by those outside Plataea. Plataea is clearly numerically outmatched in the commemoration of Marathon; however we see a slightly different picture emerging from the commemoration after the battle of Plataea.

We can see a large decrease in the commemorative efforts by Athens after Plataea: the number of commemorative monuments decreased by two thirds. Plataea, as a city-state, on the other hand has a slight increase in commemorative activity regarding the battle which took place outside their walls. The city-state of Plataea raised more monuments at the battlefield and within the urban centre for Plataea than for Marathon. However, Plataea also commemorated the battle of Plataea at Delphi, in the form of a statue of an ox. Although this monument has been identified as a monument to the Persian Wars in general,<sup>717</sup> Pausanias mentions that it has a connection with the battle of Plataea.<sup>718</sup> As a place of commemoration, Delphi would arguably provide the widest audience by which to project a narrative of one's conduct in the Persian War. The Plataean monument constructed at Delphi, which prompted an immediate reference to the battle of Plataea from Pausanias, may have had an effect on how their contributions to the invasions in general were received. One of the Plataean monuments raised on the Plataean battlefield, the supposed tomb of Mardonius, would also have had a much wider audience, due to the *Eleutheria* festival, than the Plataean burial mound at Marathon. As discussed in chapter section 6.2, the

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<sup>717</sup> West 1965: 189.

<sup>718</sup> Paus. 10.15.1; this monument is considered connected to the battle of Plataea within this project's data set, see App. no.78.

*Eleutheria* festival (as a pan-Hellenic festival) would have had a wider catchment than the *Herakleia* (as a pan-Attic festival).

It was a combination of factors, then, that loosened the Plataean association with the battle of Marathon, and these factors were not solely instigated by Athens. The Plataean commemorations for the battle of Plataea would have had a wider audience than those for Marathon, and the Plataean battle took place directly outside the Plataean city walls. These factors would have resulted in associations being made between this city-state and battle.

### **6.3.7 Conclusion**

Athens monopolised the commemorative tradition of the battle of Marathon. By assessing the Marathon battlefield as a place utilised for the presentation of meaning through the construction of monuments, we may interpret the Athenian efforts as a conscious choice to express their part in the battle. The battlefield serves this purpose well because it is the only site where both Plataea and Athens construct monuments outside of their respective *poleis*. Athens can be seen to construct six times as many monuments at the Marathon battlefield than Plataea (see table 6.3.2). This, perhaps overzealous, commemorative effort arguably played a large part in the obliteration of the memory of the Plataean contingent being present at the battle.

Once a battle is fought in a space, the space may become meaningful to a number of groups (see also chapter section 6.2). What the discussion on the narratives which emerged about Athenian and Plataean participation at Marathon illustrates is that these meaningful connections do not develop evenly. Put another way, monopolies of meaning can emerge over a place and the event which took place there, which result in the creation of dominant commemorative narratives. Space has the potential to be interacted with by different groups, for different reasons, and in different ways. For one group to manipulate what is, essentially, space-with-potential is to monopolise the meaning. As we can see from table 6.3.2, paying particular attention to the battlefield category, Athens imposes meaning on the Marathon battlefield while ensuring the place is relevant specifically to themselves. By monopolising the relevance of the place we can see that places of commemoration are not only creations but those created meanings are open to manipulation.

Often city-states would erect monuments in commemoration of a particular battle in more than one place. For example, Athens commemorated Marathon heavily on the battlefield and within the urban centre, but also commemorated the battle in a pan-Hellenic sanctuary. This maintenance of the commemorative tradition over time and the construction of monuments at a variety of places over a range of site types would form a system of meaning which was important for a certain narrative or memory to gain traction.<sup>719</sup> In contrast to the battle of Marathon, we can see in table 6.3.2 the city-state Plataea forms a more stable system of meaning in conjunction with the

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<sup>719</sup> See Thomas 1999: 42, who discusses the 'system of meaning' in conjunction with trading goods.

assertion of its inclusion in the second Persian invasion, particularly the battle of Plataea. As with any symbolic system, the nature of attributing meaning to place means that alternative meanings are always possible.<sup>720</sup> For example, the data illustrates the multiplicity of meanings attributed to place in the commemorative activity at Plataea (see chapter section 6.2 and figure 5.5) but also the emergence of the dominance of a singular meaning can be seen at the battlefield of Marathon. Therefore, some commemorative places are monopolised while others are more open to commemorative expressions from a more varied collection of commemorative groups.

Narratives are created for a particular purpose and the Athenian narrative of fighting alone was raised when intended to either further their own cause or to bolster morale; the past here can be seen to be re-worked and re-presented in the Athenian collective memory. This narrative was a fluid phenomenon which existed concurrently with narratives which accepted a Plataean presence at Marathon. However, a combination of multiple factors enabled both the fading of the narrative which included Plataean forces at Marathon, and the association with Plataean valour and the second Persian invasion. These factors were as follows: the outright Athenian dominance of Marathon commemoration, overshadowing that of Plataea; the final battle of the second invasion taking place outside the city of Plataea and the general acceptance of Plataea to preside over the recurrent commemorative activities; awarding Plataea with the prize for valour; Plataea raising a monument at Delphi immediately after the battle of

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<sup>720</sup> Thomas 1999: 60.

Plataea; and finally the dichotomising of Theban Medising and Plataean patriotism. For the most part, it is possible to see a positive correlation between narratives expressed in the literary evidence and the trends in commemorative activity.

Chapter section 6.4 will discuss the relationship between the commemorative monument and the commemorative place. This chapter section will focus on the relationship between collective burials and inscriptions raised at sites of conflict and statues constructed within urban centres and pan-Hellenic sanctuaries.

## 6.4: Commemoration and Place

### 6.4.1 Introduction

Tables 5.7 and 5.8 illustrate that collective burial, that is burial mounds which covered the remains of the battle dead, appear to be strictly reserved for the battlefield. In addition, either all burial mounds are accompanied by an epitaph or the battlefield is adorned with a single or multiple epigrams. Conversely, no statues in our data set appear to have been erected on battlefields. This form of commemoration is apparently reserved for urban and non-urban (both pan-Hellenic and less prestigious) sanctuaries. It has been noted in modern scholarship that the artistic aspects of monuments were never valued for their own sake, in that the sense of the place in which the monument stands is not a museum.<sup>721</sup> Monuments are erected where the meaning of the structure projects a relevant message. The structure gives significance to the 'social place' and is in turn made relevant by that place.<sup>722</sup>

This discussion will firstly address the communal burial mounds and contextualise the practice within the general ancient Greek practice of burial of the war dead. Having established the practice in the Persian Wars as part of a longer sequence of commemorative trends, collective burial is viewed as a cooperative method of commemoration, alongside inscriptions, for honouring the war dead specifically. Inscriptions are shown to be appropriate, and commonly selected, forms of

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<sup>721</sup> Hölscher 2006: 41.

<sup>722</sup> Hölscher 2006: 42.



commemoration to accompany collective burials of the war dead. Furthermore, inscriptions will be presented as more than inscribed stone and as objects which possessed a talismanic quality. Their relevance and potency for presenting a commemorative message will be discussed in relation to the commemorative tradition as a whole.

The discussion will then turn to examining the distribution of statues as a monument type, with particular reference to pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and urban centres. The analysis of statue distribution among places of commemoration in chapter 5 highlighted that specific places were chosen at which to erect statues. This discussion further investigates this phenomenon by examining the differing terminology chosen to describe statues in particular settings in an effort to see whether a correlation can be seen between specific places and specific statue types. The linguistic differentiation between statue types across places of commemoration will be brought together with the discussion concerning collective burials on the battlefield to illustrate how a reciprocal relationship exists between object and place.

#### **6.4.2 Collective Burial and the Battlefield**

Treatment of the war dead in the classical period was apparently governed by a set of unwritten and egalitarian rules. Euripides in his *Suppliants* referred to the practices as the 'customs of the gods' and the 'customs of all Greece'.<sup>723</sup> The dead for the Persian

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<sup>723</sup> Customs of the gods: Eurip. *Suppliants* 19; customs of all Greece: Eurip. *Suppliants* 311.

Wars from all participating city-states on the Greek side were buried on the battlefield. However, the literary sources assert that it was, at least the Athenian, ancestral custom (their *patrios nomos*) to return the dead to the city for burial in a public grave.<sup>724</sup> The practice of returning dead warriors, or at least their bones, to their home was known to Homer,<sup>725</sup> and mentioned by later poets: ‘instead of live men, their arms and ashes come home’.<sup>726</sup> In an attempt to clarify this phenomenon, it will be necessary to review the literary evidence pertaining to battlefield burial being carried out in the centuries leading up to the outbreak of the Persian Wars. The following collection of eight examples will illustrate that the construction of a common burial for the casualties of war on or near the battlefield was not a practice particular to the Persian Wars.

- We learn from Pausanias, among other sources, of a conflict between the twins Proitos and Akrisios for the throne of Argos.<sup>727</sup> This conflict is not precisely dated but is set in the time of heroes and is said to be the conflict in which shields were invented. Pausanias informs us that on the way to Epidauria from Argos stands a pyramidal structure adorned with shields of Argive type. The conflict subsequently resulted in a draw and the casualties of both sides, ‘as they were fellow citizens and kinsmen’, were buried in a common tomb.<sup>728</sup> The

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<sup>724</sup> Thuc. 2.34.1; Dem. 20.141.

<sup>725</sup> For example *Il.* 7.334.

<sup>726</sup> Aesch. *Agememnon* 434-436.

<sup>727</sup> Paus. 2.25.7; 2.16.2; see also Apoll. 2.2.1.

<sup>728</sup> Paus. 2.25.7.

location of this monument, which is situated far from any known archaeological remains, would support the identification of a battlefield burial.<sup>729</sup>

- During the first Messenian War (735 BC – 715 BC) Pausanias describes the action of an indecisive clash between the Messenians and the Lacadaemonians.<sup>730</sup> The following day neither side wished to resume the action and agreed to take up their dead and bury them. This description of post-battle practice has been interpreted as battlefield burial.<sup>731</sup>
- After the battle of Hysiai in 669 BC the Argives who fell while defeating the Spartan army were buried near ancient Cenchreae.<sup>732</sup> Pritchett has inferred that the dead were removed from the site of battle to the nearest town on the Argive border.<sup>733</sup>
- The battle for Thyrea (c. 550 BC) which supposedly comprised of three hundred Spartans and an equal number of Argives is referred to by a number of sources.<sup>734</sup> Pausanias clearly states that the casualties of the conflict were buried on the battlefield.<sup>735</sup>

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<sup>729</sup> Pritchett 1985: 4.159.

<sup>730</sup> Paus. 4.8.13.

<sup>731</sup> Pritchett 1985: 4.159.

<sup>732</sup> Paus. 2.24.7.

<sup>733</sup> Pritchett 1985: 4.160; for discussion on the collective burial and further bibliography, see Pritchett 1980: 3.67-74.

<sup>734</sup> Hdts. 1.82; Thuc. 5.41.2; Paus. 2.38.5.

<sup>735</sup> Paus. 2.38.5.

- Herodotus, while describing an interaction between Solon and Croesus, has Solon recount the Athenian Tellus' death at a battle between Athens and Eleusis.<sup>736</sup> Tellus is said to have been buried where he fell, although there is no mention of the other combatants in relation to burial. Pritchett adopts the view that the main body of casualties were also buried on the same spot as there would be no evidence to suggest otherwise.<sup>737</sup>
- We are informed by Herodotus that Anchimolius, in 512 BC, led a Spartan force which landed at Phaleron in Attica to expel Hippias from Athens.<sup>738</sup> The Athenians whose numbers were increased by one thousand Thessalian cavalry defeated the Spartans and drove them back to their ships. Herodotus only mentions the tomb of the Spartan leader which is said to have been erected in Attica.<sup>739</sup> It has been suggested that the other Spartan casualties were also buried in Attica as it is unlikely that the main force would be carried home for burial rites and the leader left in enemy territory.<sup>740</sup>
- A battle between Athens and Chalcidians which took place in 507/506 BC is recounted by Herodotus.<sup>741</sup> However, Herodotus does not mention the burial rites after the battle. Peek assigns an epigram, which refers to mount Dirphys and the Euripus, to the Athenian burial mound set up after the battle

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<sup>736</sup> Hdts. 1.30; see also Jacoby 1944: 44-45.

<sup>737</sup> Pritchett 1985: 4.161.

<sup>738</sup> Hdts. 5.63.

<sup>739</sup> Hdts. 5.63.4.

<sup>740</sup> Pritchett 1985: 4.164.

<sup>741</sup> Hdts. 5.77.

mentioned by Herodotus.<sup>742</sup> Mount Dirphys is the highest mountain on the island of Euboea while the Euripus is the strait of water which separates Euboea from mainland Greece. The identification of this monument is not beyond doubt but it may represent the first instance of a state erecting a stone monument over the burial mound in foreign territory.<sup>743</sup> Moreover, as stated by Clairmont, to challenge the identification of this epigram as an Athenian monument marking a grave it would be necessary to illustrate that Euboeans honoured their casualties by epigrams and that public honour was valued and emphasised at Chalcis.<sup>744</sup> Incidentally, no commemorative monuments of any type appear in this project's data set from Chalcis, who fought against Persia at Plataea;<sup>745</sup> Eretria is the only city from Euboea that is represented in our data set.

- Finally, the conquest of Lemnos by the Athenians under Miltiades is recorded by Herodotus.<sup>746</sup> An inscribed stele found at Hephaistaia, on the northern shore of Lemnos, has been identified as a casualty list of the Athenian force that perished in the conflict and were buried on the island.<sup>747</sup>

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<sup>742</sup> Peek 1988: no.1.

<sup>743</sup> Pritchett 1985: 4.165; for further information on this inscription see Jacoby 1944: 45.

<sup>744</sup> Clairmont 1983: 89.

<sup>745</sup> Hdts. 9.28.5.

<sup>746</sup> Hdts. 6.140.

<sup>747</sup> This is the only Athenian casualty list that may predate the Marathon lists. *IG* 12 suppl. 337; *LSAG* 299-300; cf. Picard & Reinach 1912: 329-338; Pritchett 1985: 4.165; Clairmont 1983: 89-90; see also Keesling 2012: 146 and n.30.

When the burial practices of the Persian Wars are seen in the context of burial practices from as early as the eighth century BC and possibly earlier, they appear less of an anomaly.<sup>748</sup> According to the eight examples above concerning battlefield burial, this method of burial appears may have been utilised among multiple *poleis* leading up to the beginning of the fifth century BC.<sup>749</sup>

### 6.4.3 Collective Burial and Cooperative Commemoration

Collective burial mounds were not solitary monuments constructed at sites of conflict; they were a part of a set of commemorative practices. To illustrate this, the following discussion will situate collective burial within the wider context of Persian War battlefield commemorations. The analysis in chapter 5 (particularly table 5.9) shows how for the majority of our battlefields, collective burial and inscriptions (epigrams or epitaphs) share commemorative space. Therefore, the following discussion will focus on the relationship between collective burial and the inscribed steles specifically. We will discuss each battle in turn and references will be made to the Appendix where further discussion may be found on each example.

#### 6.4.3.1 Marathon

The Athenians constructed a burial mound on the battlefield for their war dead after the battle of Marathon (App. no.1). Also, a separate mound was constructed over the

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<sup>748</sup> As Thucydides would have us believe, with particular reference to Athenian practices: Thuc. 2.34.5.

<sup>749</sup> West 1965: xxxii; see below for a discussion of the formation of the *demosion sema* in Athens.

Plataean dead and the slaves (App. no.2). We learn from Lycurgus that an epigram was raised as a testimony to the courage of the war dead (App. no.6).<sup>750</sup> In addition, Pausanias informs us of a casualty list adorning the grave on the Marathon battlefield (App. no.7).<sup>751</sup> The casualty list is inscribed with an epitaph which reveres the valour of the Marathon war dead. I would like to draw attention to the proximity of these commemorations in order to stress their co-dependency to project a particular message. Lycurgus' statement reveals that an epigram was erected directly over, or at least directly beside, the burial. Furthermore, Pausanias' statement also makes it clear that the casualty list he observed was upon the burial mound. It is probable the burial mound would have been constructed first, almost immediately following the battle, and drawn further commemorations to it which directly related to honouring the war dead.<sup>752</sup> This specific area of the battlefield, therefore, would have become a place of commemoration with a particular focus on honouring the war dead.

A particular combination of monuments (the collective burial, casualty list, epigram, and / or epitaph) was central in the honours paid to those who died in battle. To have constructed this combination on the battlefield illustrates how this particular place

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<sup>750</sup> Lyc. *Against Leocrates* 109; it should be noted that the placement of this monument is not secure, see App. no.6 for further discussion.

<sup>751</sup> Paus. 1.32.3.

<sup>752</sup> There are no exact dates for these monuments. However, the burial mound has been dated to the early fifth century BC on archaeological grounds (see App. no.1), the casualty list has also been dated to the early fifth century BC on epigraphical grounds (see App. no.7), while the epigram is noted by Lycurgus in the fourth century BC but attributed to Simonides in the fifth century BC (see App. no.6). Furthermore, Lycurgus (*Against Leocrates* 109) implies that the epigram stood 'over' their grave and Pausanias (1.32.3) states the casualty list, at least in his time, was 'upon' the burial mound. If these statements are understood literally then the mound may be understood to have been constructed first and later adorned with the epigram and casualty list. Both Lycurgus and Pausanias use the Greek preposition 'epi'.

was consciously chosen at which to honour the war dead. The relationship between these commemorative monuments and the site of conflict, from an Athenian perspective, can be seen to develop over time; these specific commemorative practices which took place at the Marathon battlefield can be seen to bleed into the Athenian urban sphere.

At some point between the late sixth and early fifth century BC, burial of the war dead, and adorning these structures with casualty lists, was introduced as a practice in the place which was to become the *demosion sema* (Athenian public cemetery) at Athens.<sup>753</sup> It has been argued that the Athenian trend of burying the war dead in the *demosion sema* was a gradual process of change in commemorative practice.<sup>754</sup> For instance, the archaic period was a time of individual and familial funerary grandeur when funerary art flourished with elaborate statuary, gravestones and offerings. Before the end of the sixth century BC, however, this grandeur appears to have declined.<sup>755</sup> Cicero, writing in the first century BC, mentions funerary regulation concerning Athenian practice.

But somewhat later [after Solon] on account of the enormous size of the tombs which we now see in the Kerameikos, it was provided by law that no one should build one which required more than three days' work for ten men. Nor was it permitted to

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<sup>753</sup> Paus. 1.29.4.

<sup>754</sup> Arrington 2010: 504-506.

<sup>755</sup> See Kurtz & Boardman 1971: 89, for statuary 88-89, for gravestones 84-88, for offerings 76-79.



adorn a tomb with stucco-work nor to place upon it  
the Hermes-pillars.<sup>756</sup>

Cicero's passage, although enlightening to the possibility of organised Athenian funerary practices, is altogether unhelpful. The chronology is vague and the description of the law itself is indistinct. However, I agree with Kurtz and Boardman that the temptation to match this passage in Cicero with the pattern of the decline in elaborate funerary practices in the archaic period is great.<sup>757</sup> In the area of the *Kerameikos* (where the *demosion sema* was to become situated), the earth mound seemed to be most popular before c.600 BC, with the majority of mounds dating to before this date. However, the largest mound known from this site dates to c. 550 BC but was soon covered by subsequent monuments. According to Kurtz and Boardman, the practice may have continued for some time in the Attic countryside where space was less restricted.<sup>758</sup> Space would be vital for the construction of a burial mound as they would range from four metres up to thirty metres in diameter. This area continued to be an important individual and familial burial ground into the classical period and the practice of constructing burial mounds persisted, resembling their archaic predecessors.<sup>759</sup>

The origin of the Athenian public cemetery is difficult to pinpoint and multiple theories have been put forward. Gomme suggests a date around the time of Solon, stating that

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<sup>756</sup> Cic. *On the Laws* 2.26.64, trans. Keyes.

<sup>757</sup> Kurtz & Boardman 1971: 90.

<sup>758</sup> Kurtz & Boardman 1971: 80.

<sup>759</sup> Arrington 2010: 506; Kurtz & Boardman 1971: 105.

the practice of state burial in the *demosion sema* was introduced a long time before the Persian Wars.<sup>760</sup> Alternatively the practice of state burial in the *demosion sema* has been suggested to have begun in the 470's BC due to the emergence of casualty lists utilised as a commemorative monument in Athens during this time.<sup>761</sup> This suggested period of instigation of public burial coincides with the repatriation of Theseus' bones by Kimon. The repatriation of the bones of the Athenian hero has been interpreted as a 'mythic prototype' which prompted Athenians of the fifth century BC to repatriate their war dead.<sup>762</sup> Furthermore, it has been stated that no epigraphic evidence suggests that Athenian casualties were buried in the *demosion sema* before 470's BC.<sup>763</sup> The association of the state burial ground with Kimon has been refuted by Jacoby, who claims there should be no connection between the repatriation of Theseus' bones (buried in the agora) and the formation of the public cemetery (in the *Kerameikos*).<sup>764</sup> Pausanias states, in his description of the public cemetery, that the first who were buried were casualties from the battle of Drabeskos in 465/464 BC.<sup>765</sup> Jacoby interprets Pausanias' assertion to mean that state burials were instigated in the *Kerameikos* in 464 BC.<sup>766</sup>

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<sup>760</sup> Gomme (1952: 94) suggests the practice was instigated around the time of Solon on the strength of Thucydides' comment on the custom being ancestral (for the statement on the *patrios nomos* see Thuc. 2.34.1); see also Gomme 1952: 94-103 for further discussion and bibliography.

<sup>761</sup> Clairmont 1983: 13.

<sup>762</sup> Clairmont 1983: quote from 13, see also 2-3.

<sup>763</sup> Hornblower 1991: 292; see also Clairmont 1983: 12-13.

<sup>764</sup> Jacoby 1944: 46.

<sup>765</sup> Paus. 1.29.4.

<sup>766</sup> See Jacoby 1944: 46-50; it should be noted, however, (and it is mentioned by Jacoby) that Pausanias cites two public burials from before 464 BC. These are the grave of Athenians who fought against the Aiginetans before the Persian invasion (1.29.7) and the grave for those who fought alongside Kimon, possibly at Eurymedon (1.29.14). Jacoby is followed, for the most part, by Pritchett (1985: 4.123); see Pritchett 1985:112-123 for a summary of the various arguments.

In contrast to the proposed theories outlined above, it has been suggested that the Athenian public cemetery was formed in Athens after Kleisthenes' reforms in the late sixth century BC.<sup>767</sup> The earliest *polyandrion* for military casualties mentioned by Pausanias is for those who fell in the conflict with the Aeginetans, between around 505 and 481 BC.<sup>768</sup> Pausanias contradicts himself by describing this pre-Persian War *polyandrion* and soon after stating the first buried in the cemetery were the dead of Drabeskos (mentioned above). To reconcile Pausanias' comments it has been suggested that Pausanias' comment on the 'first' is a topographical indicator, and is the first *polyandrion* Pausanias encounters.<sup>769</sup> It has been noted that the organisation of coffins by tribe, mentioned by Thucydides in his description of the *patrios nomos*, presuppose the tribal system devised by Kleisthenes, which therefore provides a *terminus post quem* for the public burial of the war dead to the date of Kleisthenes' reforms (508/507 BC).<sup>770</sup> The fact that the war dead from the Persian Wars were buried on the battlefields need not hinder the acceptance of the theory that the public cemetery at Athens was established in the late sixth century BC. It has been argued that more flexibility should be afforded to the development of Athenian public burial

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<sup>767</sup> Arrington 2010: 503-506; Keesling 2012: n.30.

<sup>768</sup> Paus. 1.29.7; see also Arrington 2014: 40; Clairmont (1983: 12) discounts this *polyandrion* as evidence for the instigation of public burial and states it was 'an obvious solution in view of both the location of Aegina and the political tension between Aegina and Athens.'

<sup>769</sup> Arrington 2014: 40-41; Gomme 1952: 97; see Clairmont (1983: 251, n.23) for bibliography on opposing views; contra. Jacoby 1944: 53-54.

<sup>770</sup> Thuc. 2.34.1-3; see Clairmont 1983: 12; Stupperich 1977: 206; Arrington 2010: 504; Arrington 2014: 40; to further support an earlier date for the formation of state commemoration for Athenian war dead, the seventh example discussed above in chapter section 6.4.2 addresses the earliest attestation for an Athenian public burial. This grave monument (*sema*) is associated with the Athenian conflict against Chalkis and other forces around 506 BC, immediately after Kleisthenes' reforms (Stupperich 1994: 93); for the epigram on the fallen against Chalkis see *Pal. Anth.* 16.26, and Stupperich 1994: n.6 for further references; the epigram on the monument declares it was erected at public expense (*demosiai*), see Arrington 2014: 42.

during this period and, opposed to a sudden change, the process may have been more gradual.<sup>771</sup>

At the beginning of the fifth century BC it is quite possible a famous monument was constructed at the site which was to become known as the *demosion sema* and other similar monuments followed. Each successive monument would further transform the meaning of the Athenian public cemetery into a place of commemoration, specifically focussing on honouring the war dead. It is suggested by Matthaïou that this initial monument, the catalyst for the development in meaning of the place, was the cenotaph for the Marathon war dead which has been shown to have stood in the public cemetery (see discussion on App. no.11).<sup>772</sup> It would be unlikely, however, that a cenotaph would be raised as the first monument to honour the Athenian war dead in this place; 'a cenotaph in a cemetery would be a strange way to honor the dead, unless the practice of actually burying the war dead in that cemetery already existed.'<sup>773</sup> The monument raised to commemorate the Athenian casualties from Marathon, then, provides a *terminus ante quem* for the institution of public burial.<sup>774</sup>

The Marathon battlefield was a place of multiple commemorative forms.<sup>775</sup> In the immediate area surrounding the Athenian mass grave, commemorations focussed

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<sup>771</sup> Arrington 2010: 504; for example even late in the Peloponnesian War, Athenian casualties from the battle at Ephesus in 409 BC were buried at Notion (Xen. *Hellenica* 1.2.11).

<sup>772</sup> Matthaïou 2003: 197-200; Arrington 2010: 505.

<sup>773</sup> Arrington 2014: 47.

<sup>774</sup> Arrington (2014: 47) suggests, as one option, that the monument may be dated to 490/489 BC; for discussion on the complex chronology of this monument see App. no.11.

<sup>775</sup> In addition to those discussed here, a trophy and commander burial were constructed, and behavioural commemorations were performed, see App no's.1-7.

specifically on honouring the Athenian war dead. The construction of the particular forms of commemoration which were accepted as appropriate to honour the war dead were constructed at the site of conflict because, according to the practices in the preceding centuries, it was understood as the appropriate place at which to do so. However, at some point between the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC these particular forms of commemoration began to be utilised outside of the battlefield area and in the Athenian public cemetery. As a result, the appropriate place at which to honour the war dead began to shift to a more urban setting. The relationship between object and place therefore began to alter around 500 BC.

#### 6.4.3.2 Artemisium

No conclusive information has survived about the treatment of the dead after the battle of Artemisium. However, we learn from Plutarch that a spot on the beach with evidence of dark ash at its base was where it was thought the dead from the battle were buried.<sup>776</sup> The monument that was raised at Artemisium, which has been curiously referred to as a 'trophy' although neither side was victorious, was a series of steles with one bearing an inscription (App. no.21).<sup>777</sup> The inscription was not intended to have stood directly over the grave site and therefore was an epigram rather than an epitaph.<sup>778</sup>

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<sup>776</sup> Plut. *Themistocles* 8.3.

<sup>777</sup> Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 34. Plutarch (*Themistocles* 8.2) states that the steles were constructed around the temple of Artemis *Proseoa*, for the location of the temple see Pritchett 1969: 2.13-18.

<sup>778</sup> Wade-Gery 1933: 73.

#### 6.4.3.3 Thermopylae

The battlefield of Thermopylae was adorned with multiple monuments to commemorate the conflict. The Greek forces that remained in the pass and were ultimately defeated were buried where they lay in a communal grave (App. no.28). Herodotus states that two steles were raised by the Amphictyons, one solely for the Spartans (App. no.23) and one for the Peloponnesians in general (App. no.24).<sup>779</sup> Strabo informs us of a stele for the Opuntian Locrians (App. no.25),<sup>780</sup> while Stephanus of Byzantium reports a stele for the Thespians (App. no.26).<sup>781</sup> Each of these steles was inscribed with an epigram.<sup>782</sup> Strabo and Stephanus are late sources for the steles, which are not mentioned by the near contemporary sources, but that is not to say that these examples are a purely literary invention. For example, these monuments may have been later additions to the place of commemoration. Herodotus states that the inscription raised for the Peloponnesians was 'written over these men' and as he moves directly from mentioning the war dead to describing the inscription we may assume it is positioned nearby, possibly also over the grave.<sup>783</sup> Lycurgus, in referring to the Spartan inscription specifically states that the monument was raised 'over their graves'.<sup>784</sup> The five examples mentioned, although not fully described, by Strabo are

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<sup>779</sup> Spartans: Hdts. 7.228.2; Peloponnesians: Hdts. 7.228.1.

<sup>780</sup> Strabo 9.4.2.

<sup>781</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. *Thespeia*; see Wade-Gery 1933: 76.

<sup>782</sup> It can be assumed that the steles were raised after the Greek forces regained control of the pass at Thermopylae.

<sup>783</sup> Hdts. 7.228.1-2

<sup>784</sup> Lyc. *Against Leocrates* 109.

described as 'near the *polyandrion*'.<sup>785</sup> In a similar way to the Athenian practice at Marathon, the precise area surrounding the burials at Thermopylae appears to be intended as a commemorative place at which to specifically honour the war dead.

Herodotus provides us with a list of Greek forces that were present at Thermopylae:

The Hellenes who awaited the Persians in that place were these: three hundred Spartan armed men; one thousand from Tegea and Mantinea, half from each place; one hundred and twenty from Orchomenus in Arcadia and one thousand from the rest of Arcadia; that many Arcadians, four hundred from Corinth, two hundred from Phlius, and eighty Mycenaeans. These were the Peloponnesians present; from Boeotia there were seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans. In addition, the Opuntian Locrians in full force and one thousand Phocians came at the summons.<sup>786</sup>

Herodotus singles out the Spartan contingent before listing what can be assumed to be the city-states representing the Peloponnesian League. Following these *poleis* are what may be assumed to be those representing the Boeotian League consisting of Thespieae and Thebes, and Herodotus concludes with mentioning the Opuntian Locrians provided their full force. The Thespian contingent was, apart from Thebes who apparently were made to stay under duress, the only Greek force to stay with the

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<sup>785</sup> Strabo 9.4.2.

<sup>786</sup> Hdts. 7.202-203.1.

Spartans when defeat became certain and their conduct is recalled by Herodotus.<sup>787</sup>

The Thespians, however, were not mentioned in the Amphictyonic epigrams and so may have raised their own epigram also soon after Plataea in an attempt to commemorate their efforts in the conflict. The Opuntian Locrians were also omitted from the Amphictyonic epigrams alongside the Thespians. This, however, is less surprising as soon after the battle of Thermopylae they were forced to surrender to the Persians and were compelled to fight against the Greek forces at Salamis and Plataea.<sup>788</sup> This late change of sides may have overshadowed their initial contribution at Thermopylae.<sup>789</sup> In raising their epigram the Opuntian Locrians may have wanted to emphasise the positive pro-Hellenic stance they took at the beginning of the invasion and obliterate the memory of Medising.

In contrast to the communal burials of the 'common' soldiers, it has been argued that it was the Spartan custom in the classical period to return the bodies of their kings who died in battle back to Sparta for burial.<sup>790</sup> For example King Agesipolis was embalmed in honey and brought back to Sparta from Chalcidice,<sup>791</sup> while King Agesilaus was preserved in wax when returned from North Africa.<sup>792</sup> This tradition complements the removal of Leonidas' body from the Thermopylae battlefield, albeit according to

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<sup>787</sup> Hdts. 7.226-227.

<sup>788</sup> Hdts. 7.132, 8.66, 9.31.

<sup>789</sup> West 1965: xxxvi.

<sup>790</sup> Plut. *Agesilaus* 40.3; Pritchett 1985: 4.241. *Contra* sixth century BC practices: a mid-sixth century BC cup attributed to the Hunt Painter depicts Spartans returning home bearing the bodies of their dead, for an image see Kurtz & Boardman 1971: 157. *Contra* Cartledge 2007: 162-163, who states that Spartan leaders were probably buried with ordinary soldiers on the battlefield.

<sup>791</sup> Xen. *Hellenica* 5.3.19.

<sup>792</sup> Plut. *Agesilaus* 40.3.



Pausanias, some forty years after the conflict (see discussion on App. no.29).<sup>793</sup>

Incidentally, Pausanias, the commander at Plataea, was also buried at Sparta.

Commemoration, with specific reference to the collective war dead from the battle of Thermopylae can also be seen to have been expressed within the Spartan urban centre. A casualty list, listing the names of the three hundred who fell at Thermopylae is reported to have stood near to Leonidas' and Pausanias' graves.<sup>794</sup> It has been suggested that the casualty list naming the three hundred Spartan dead from Thermopylae may have been the source of Herodotus' claim that he had discovered each of their names.<sup>795</sup> This monument has been interpreted as an effort to remember all the war dead on a more individual level and not just the leading citizens.<sup>796</sup> Furthermore, a poem that is only attested in Diodorus has been questionably identified as the work of the fifth century BC poet Simonides; however, the purpose of this poem is unclear.<sup>797</sup> It has been suggested it was not performed on the battlefield but, due to the language used, was reserved for use within Sparta perhaps in the vicinity of the tomb of Leonidas and the cenotaph for the fallen.<sup>798</sup> If this was indeed the case, this system of commemorations would have emphasised the roles of the individual soldier to the inhabitants of the city. The soldiers, whose bodies were buried

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<sup>793</sup> Paus. 3.14.1; Frazer (1965: 1.576) suggests the body was moved after only 4 years.

<sup>794</sup> Paus. 3.14.1. The actual stele that Pausanias saw may well have been a monument dating to the Roman period. See further discussion of this point in App. no.30.

<sup>795</sup> Low 2011: 3-4; Hdts. 7.224.1.

<sup>796</sup> Ball 1976; see also Low 2011: 4.

<sup>797</sup> Diod. 11.11.6; Bowra 1933: 277-281; for further bibliography on the poem's identification see West 1965: 121.

<sup>798</sup> West 1965: 123; see also Low 2011: 4-5 for further references.

on the battlefield, would have been revered opposed to lamented.<sup>799</sup> Honouring the war dead within Sparta as a distinguished group, and individually (being named), was a novel commemorative practice among Spartan monuments to the Persian Wars.

#### 6.4.3.4 Salamis

No contemporary evidence has survived which firmly places Greek communal burials on the island of Salamis although a mound has been identified as the probable burial site (see App. no.37). In addition, a Corinthian epitaph has been discovered which Plutarch asserts was raised over the burial mound (App. no.36).<sup>800</sup> Again, no evidence remains of further activities (dating to the classical period) taking place at the site of burial or, indeed, other cities erecting cenotaphs, epigrams, or epitaphs on the island. However, there are decrees dating to the Hellenistic period which state that young Athenians as part of their training would be required to row to the trophy at Salamis and sacrifice to Zeus *Tropaeus*.<sup>801</sup> These practices, revolving around the trophy which stood on the island, would have centred on the idea of victory over the barbarian rather than specifically honouring the war dead.<sup>802</sup>

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<sup>799</sup> Low 2011: 17.

<sup>800</sup> Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 39.

<sup>801</sup> West 1969: 16; *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1006, 28-29; *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1008, 17-18; *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1028, 24-28; *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1030, 24-25; *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1032, 8; cf. *SEG* 14.77; *SEG* 15.104; *SEG* 16.101; *SEG* 17.33; *SEG* 19.108; *SEG* 21.470, 474, 480, 492.

<sup>802</sup> See Xen. *Anabasis* 3.2.13; Lyc. *Against Leocrates* 73.

#### 6.4.3.5 Plataea

Over a long period of time the battlefield of Plataea became an important site in the expression of Greek freedom (see chapter 6.2). However, more immediately after the battle the place became important in funerary honours paid to the war dead.<sup>803</sup> The war dead were buried in mass graves upon the field of battle (App. no's.56-62) and epigrams for a selection of the burial mounds are attested in the literary sources (App. no's.52-55). Three of the four inscriptions, raised for the Athenians, the Spartans, and the Tegeans, attested at the battlefield of Plataea are found in the Palatine Anthology and it is through modern interpretations of the language that these examples are suggested as having been raised over the burial mounds (see App. no's.52, 53 and 55). The fourth example, raised for the Corinthian dead, is mentioned by Plutarch.<sup>804</sup> Plutarch does not categorically state that these verses were an inscription but it has been suggested, again based on the language used, that at least part of the poem may have stood as an epitaph over the Corinthian grave (see App. no.54).

According to Herodotus, the Megarians buried their war dead for the battle of Plataea on the battlefield.<sup>805</sup> In addition to this collective burial on the battlefield, Pausanias informs us that the Megarians have tombs 'within the city; one of them was made for the men who fell during the Persian invasion'.<sup>806</sup> If the Megarians abided by what appears to be the general Greek practice during the Persian Wars, of burying their

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<sup>803</sup> West 1965: xxxviii.

<sup>804</sup> Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 42.

<sup>805</sup> Hdts. 9.85.2.

<sup>806</sup> Paus. 1.43.3.

dead on the battlefield, these *τάφοι* (graves) within the urban centre presumably must have been a memorial. In addition, a fourth or fifth century AD copy of a, possibly, fifth century BC original poem inscribed on a cenotaph was placed in the Megarian agora to commemorate the valour of the *polis'* war dead in the Persian Wars.<sup>807</sup> We witness at Megara, however, a monument designed specifically to commemorate the war dead raised in the city while the dead were buried on the battlefield. The compatible practices of collective burial (albeit symbolic) and inscription can be seen to be utilised within the Megarian urban centre at some point after the conflict.

#### 6.4.3.6 Contextualising Battlefield Burials

It is clear that the practice of burying and further honouring the war dead was a complex practice which incorporated multiple forms of commemoration. In accordance with practices in preceding centuries, Greek communities purposefully selected the battlefields at which to bury their dead and honour them, although the details are generally not discussed in contemporary sources for the naval battles. The compatibility of honorific inscriptions and the collective burial can be seen by the frequency of their combined use and the physical proximity of the monuments. It has been argued that 'even a very simple inscription can provide a kind of script for performance spatially focussed on the grave-marker, and define the space around the

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<sup>807</sup> *IG* 7 53; *SEG* 31.384; see also Page 1981: XVI.

tomb as a place for enduring commemoration of the deceased'.<sup>808</sup> The burials and honorific inscriptions may therefore be interpreted as co-operative commemorations.

The part of the battlefield where the war dead were buried and the immediate surrounding area of these monuments, which were typically adorned with inscriptions venerating the dead, was a place purposefully designed to honour the war dead. This specific place within the wider battlefield may be contrasted in meaning to the area of the victory trophy, for example. As discussed above in relation to the commemoration of the battle of Salamis, young Athenians sacrificed at the trophy in remembrance of the victory itself. The battlefield, as a place of commemoration, contained different areas at which different meanings were projected. The varying meanings, such as specifically honouring the war dead or projecting the victorious image, would have been projected by different monument types; the object therefore provides meaning for the place. However according to long held customs the placement of monuments, such as the collective burial, would be dictated by the place. Persian War collective burials, then, were constructed where they were because the places were sites of conflict. A reciprocal relationship between the object and the place is therefore present at these battlefields. However this relationship has proven to be finite, and not exclusive to one specific site type.

The Athenian practice of honouring the war dead altered significantly in the fifth century BC. As discussed above, monuments pertaining to the battle of Marathon may

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<sup>808</sup> Livingstone & Nisbet 2010: 25.

have played a significant role in moving the place at which to honour the war dead to the public cemetery. Furthermore, honours to the war dead may be seen to have been carried out within urban centres such as Megara (for their war dead from the battle of Plataea) and Sparta (for their war dead from the battle of Thermopylae). In general, the patterns that emerge from the discussion above are the presence of, to some extent differing but, overlapping patterns of commemorative practices.<sup>809</sup> The symbolic language of monuments is important to project the desired version of self-representation. Every culture, or even ancient Greek city-state, creates a world of meaning through image and symbol which may complement or contradict (or indeed, both) those 'worlds of meaning' constructed by its neighbour.<sup>810</sup>

#### **6.4.4 Inscriptions as Monuments**

##### **6.4.4.1 Meaning beyond the Text**

Ancient Greek communities thought of inscriptions as potent forms of message transmission. For example, throughout the first half of the fifth century BC it appears restraints were made, in Athens, on commemorating the dead by erecting imposing funerary inscriptions unless they had died in war. In addition, Sparta prohibited inscribed tombstones again unless the dead had served the state and died in war (or

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<sup>809</sup> For further material evidence for the later fifth century BC which supports this point see Low: 2003.

<sup>810</sup> Cosgrove & Daniels 1988: 8.

childbirth).<sup>811</sup> Furthermore it has been suggested, due to these apparent restrictions and the supposed acknowledgement of their importance, in the classical period at least, that attempts were made to associate inscriptions with public activities of the state.<sup>812</sup>

In Athens, during the fifth century BC, non-verse inscriptions (such as decrees or tribute lists) were published on stone steles.<sup>813</sup> However in the late fifth century BC, possibly in the final decade of the century, the Metroon was established as the city's centralised, state archive.<sup>814</sup> Despite this building being intended to house written documents (decrees, for example), it has been argued that inscribed stones were still regarded as the authoritative texts.<sup>815</sup> For example, fourth century BC Athenian orators would refer to decrees in their stone form opposed to in an abstract sense. These orators referred to the stone as if it were actually the decree.<sup>816</sup>

Now those who seem to argue most fairly demand  
of the Megalopolitans that they shall destroy the  
pillars that record their treaty with the Thebans, if  
they are to be our trusted allies... I say that we must  
at the same time call upon them to destroy the  
pillars and upon the Lacedaemonians to keep the

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<sup>811</sup> For Athenian and Spartan examples see Thomas 1992: 88, and see n.39 for further references and examples.

<sup>812</sup> Thomas 1992: 88.

<sup>813</sup> This has been highlighted as one of the distinctive features of the Athenian democracy, see Sickinger 1999: 64.

<sup>814</sup> Sickinger 1999: 62; Thomas 1989: 38-45; Thomas 1992: 96-97.

<sup>815</sup> Sickinger 1999: 65, see also n's. 10 and 11 for further references on inscriptions viewed in symbolic terms and as authoritative documents.

<sup>816</sup> Thomas 1992: 84-85.

peace. If they refuse—whichever of the two it may  
be—then at once we side with those who  
consent.<sup>817</sup>

The segment taken from Demosthenes refers to a political situation in the mid fourth century BC and exemplifies how the inscription and its public presence ensure the continued enactment of what the inscription dictates.<sup>818</sup> It has been suggested that even if copies of an inscription are kept in the Metroon, ‘the public ones on stone are what matter.’<sup>819</sup>

Contemporary writers referenced these non-verse inscriptions not so much as inanimate objects but as symbolic monuments; in the fifth century BC, then, inscriptions were not necessarily set up specifically to be read, but stood as visible monuments whose physical presence had meaning in addition to the inscribed text.<sup>820</sup> The monument itself therefore can, sometimes, exist independently from the written text and the physicality of the monument can in itself be symbolically potent.<sup>821</sup> Alternatively, it could be argued that the visualness of the text was the important thing in the maintenance of the decree. For example, in reply to the statement that Pericles couldn’t revoke the Megarian decree because he was prevented by a certain law, the Spartan envoy Polyalces who sought peace quipped ‘[w]ell then, don’t take it down,

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<sup>817</sup> Dem. *For the Megalopolitans* 27; see also Dem. *Against Leptines* 36-37.

<sup>818</sup> Thomas 1992: 85.

<sup>819</sup> Thomas 1992: 85.

<sup>820</sup> See Thomas 1989: 51; for discussion of numerous examples see Steiner 1994: 64-71.

<sup>821</sup> Thomas 1989: 51.



but turn the tablet to the wall; surely there's no law preventing that.'<sup>822</sup> All the people who had knowledge of the decree would know it still stood, but by turning the writing to the wall the law would be upheld and the decree would somehow have lost its relevance.

#### 6.4.4.2 Verse Inscriptions, Power, and Place

For the purpose of this discussion 'verse inscriptions' include both the epigrams and epitaphs included within this project's data set and are treated here as one type of monument. For a differentiation in definition and for discussion on which inscriptions may be considered epigrams and which may be considered epitaphs see chapter 4. Therefore in the coming paragraphs, depending on the monument being discussed, I will use both the terms 'epitaph' and 'epigram' to denote marking the battlefield with a verse inscription.

Poets were hired to construct, through inscriptions, an 'intentional conception of the event'.<sup>823</sup> Public epigrams were not primarily constructed to relate an accurate version of past events. Public epigrams inform us today, and viewers in the ancient world, of uses of the past.<sup>824</sup> Epigrams and epitaphs are the most utilised monument type at sites of conflict (see tables 5.10 and 5.11); given the frequency of inscriptions raised on the battlefield they can be viewed as a particularly powerful choice of monument to

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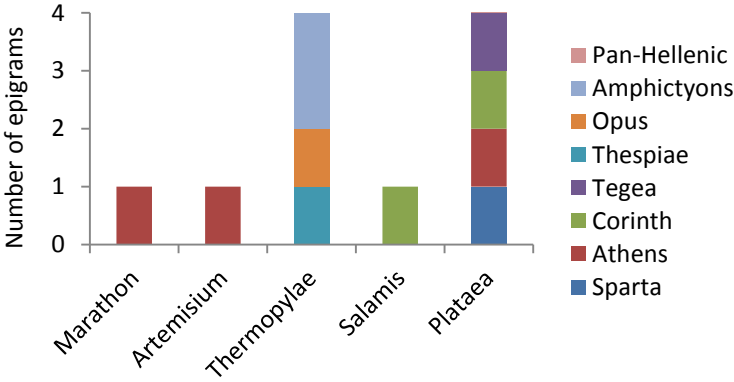
<sup>822</sup> Plut. *Pericles*. 30.1.

<sup>823</sup> Petrovic 2010: 214.

<sup>824</sup> Petrovic 2010: 215.

erect at the site of conflict. This discussion will assess whether inscriptions may be interpreted as an indicator of a group’s power over place. Figure 6.4.1 illustrates that all battlefields represented in our data set are marked with inscriptions. This is the only monument type that is represented at all sites of conflict (see tables 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11).

Figure 6.4.1 *Number of Epigrams and Epitaphs by Battlefield*<sup>825</sup>



As illustrated by figure 6.4.1, Athens is the sole city-state to place an inscription at the Marathon battlefield. As discussed in chapter section 6.3, Athens dominated the memory of Marathon and the commemorative tradition. Despite the correlation between inscriptions and communal burials depicted by the discussion above, two communal graves were erected at the site of battle (one for the Plataeans and slaves, and one for the Athenians) but, according to our data, only one Athenian epigram is known. The fact that Plataea, apparently, did not erect an epigram at the Marathon battlefield may bear some relevance to the strength of the Athenian narrative that

<sup>825</sup> It should be noted that each epigram is accepted on the strength of the available evidence, and so the confidence attributed to each example varies. Any conclusions drawn on the placement of inscriptions should be accepted in relation to the level confidence attributed. See Appendix for further discussion.

they fought alone at this battle. At Artemisium, an indecisive naval battle which was led by the Athenian Themistocles, the only commemorating group we know of for this conflict is Athens who constructed two monuments. One of the monuments, which was erected on the coast by the site of conflict, was an inscribed set of steles.

The distribution of inscriptions at Thermopylae, according to figure 6.4.1, are varied. As can be seen in figure 6.4.1, the Amphictyonic League constructed half of the inscriptions at Thermopylae. It has been suggested that the Amphictyony assumed control of the epigrams erected at Thermopylae because this place was within their controlled territory.<sup>826</sup> The Amphictyonic inscriptions include an epitaph to the Spartiates, and an epigram to the Peloponnesians generally. At this place, then, half the inscriptions were in reference to the Spartan and Peloponnesian efforts while Thespieae and Opus raised one inscription each. It may be worthy of note here that Herodotus, out of the collective inscriptions represented here, only notes the Spartan and Peloponnesian inscriptions. It may be inferred from this that the Thespian and Opuntian inscriptions were raised later.

Surprisingly at Salamis, a victorious naval battle commanded by the Athenian Themistocles, figure 6.4.1 depicts only a single epitaph. Given the Athenian commemorative efforts at the Marathon battlefield and the varied commemorative tradition of Salamis (for example see tables 4.18.1 and 4.18.2), one would expect an Athenian epigram at the site of conflict. Furthermore, Salamis was ranked (by

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<sup>826</sup> Petrovic 2010: 212.

Athenians) as one of Athens' greatest achievements.<sup>827</sup> As discussed in chapter 6.1, throughout the fifth century BC and mainly by Athens, divergent narratives of Corinthian conduct at Salamis were disseminated. The Corinthians, then, in order to commemorate their efforts at the battle, selected to directly mention the valour of the Corinthians at Salamis at the site of conflict (see App. no.36). Furthermore, the only other Corinthian monument raised in commemoration of Salamis was an inscribed cenotaph at the pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Isthmia (App. no.46). The combined potency of these two inscribed stones, at the site of conflict and Isthmia, may have gone some way to challenge the emerging negative narratives of their exploits at the battle.

According to figure 6.4.1, the pattern of inscriptions raised at the Plataean battlefield is the most varied. For the battle of Plataea five epigrams were raised at the site of conflict. Four of these epigrams were constructed by specific city-states: Sparta, Athens, Corinth and Tegea. In addition to these *polis* commemorations an altar to Zeus *Eluetherios* was constructed at the battlefield which bore an epigram and this altar was a pan-Hellenic monument. The varied tradition of commemorating using inscribed stones at Plataea may be interpreted as evidence for how this battlefield particularly, and the battle in general, was seen among the Greek city-states as a conflict to be shared (or vied over). No single *polis* effectively claimed dominance over this battle in the commemorative tradition.<sup>828</sup>

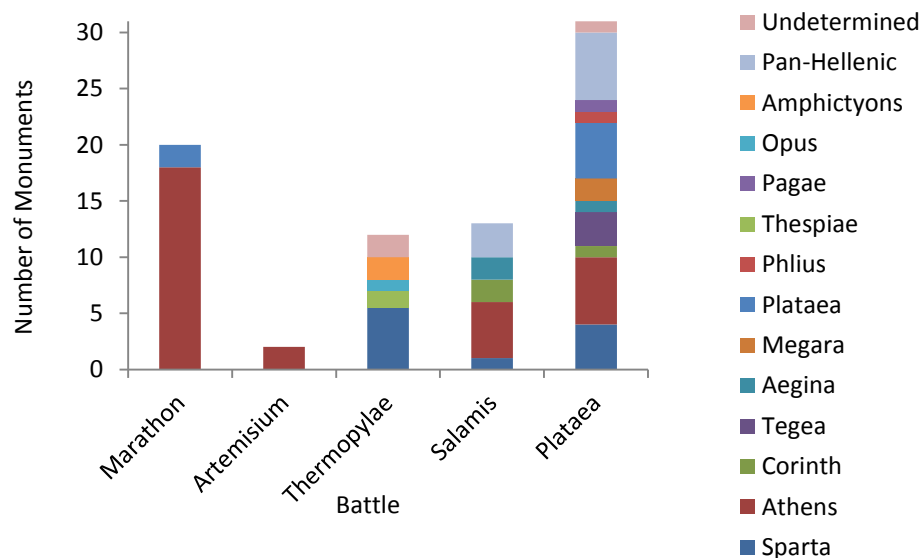
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<sup>827</sup> Steinbock 2013: 110.

<sup>828</sup> See Steinbock 2013: 110 for further references; e.g. Aeschylus in *The Persians* (815-820) refers to the battle of Plataea as a Doric victory while Athens viewed the battle as a great Athenian victory also, and gave the advent of Plataea a permanent place in their religious calendar (Plut. *Moralia* 349e-f).

To suggest the importance of battlefield inscriptions in the practice of asserting a particular city-state's contribution to a particular conflict, which may or may not result in the domination of the commemorative tradition, is not to detract from commemorative practices as a whole. Figure 6.4.2 illustrates the commemorations of all commemorative groups for each individual battle.

Figure 6.4.2 *Commemorations by Battle*



If figures 6.4.1 and 6.4.2 are compared, certain similarities become apparent. At Marathon, Athens is the only commemorative group to construct an inscription on the battlefield, they generally commemorate the victory more heavily than Plataea, and they go on to monopolise the commemorative tradition (as shown in chapter 6.3). Again at Artemisium, Athens is the only commemorating group to construct an inscription at the battlefield and, according to the data set, no other *polis* commemorates the battle at all. At Thermopylae half of the inscriptions raised at the battlefield reference either the Spartans specifically or the Peloponnesians more

generally. Sparta may claim half of the commemorations for the battle in total and go on to become central to the process of remembering Thermopylae.<sup>829</sup> The cases of Salamis and Plataea, however, present a more varied commemorative tradition according to figures 6.4.1 and 6.4.2. At Salamis, Corinth is the only *polis* to construct an inscription at the site of conflict, but the Athenians are the most frequent commemorating group which correlates with the importance they endowed on their role in the victory. As a result the lack of Athenian commemoration at the site of conflict is somewhat surprising. At Plataea, multiple cities raised inscriptions on the battlefield while the overall commemorative picture illustrated in figure 6.4.2 also shows a varied commemorative tradition.

Inscriptions raised as commemorative monuments on the battlefield, apart from the anomalous site of conflict at Salamis, may be seen to correlate with the general efforts made by certain city-states to commemorate certain conflicts. This discussion section so far illustrates that the place at which an inscription is constructed, the inscribed text, and the physicality of the stele itself contribute to the projected meaning and potency of the commemorative monument.<sup>830</sup>

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<sup>829</sup> E.g. see Isoc. *To Philip* 148, where the Spartans are singled out as being revered for the defeat at Thermopylae. Cf. Trundle 2013: 150, where only the Spartans are mentioned in the initial recounting of the events at Thermopylae.

<sup>830</sup> See Livingstone & Nisbet 2010: 23 who highlight the importance of the physicality of an inscribed epigram and its place within a landscape.

#### **6.4.5 Defining Statues by Terminology**

In order to move the discussion beyond the battlefield site type, I will present the distribution of statues constructed to commemorate the Persian Wars. As tables 5.7 and 5.8 illustrate, no statue was constructed on the battlefield but they are well represented within urban centres and pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. This monument type will serve as an example to incorporate these remaining two site types in the current discussion.

The analysis of the distribution of statues in chapter 5 illustrates that this form of commemoration was selected to commemorate the Persian Wars in general more often than specific battles (see table 5.12). In addition statues commemorating the Persian Wars in general were more likely to have been raised at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, whereas statues commemorating specific battles were more likely to have been raised within urban centres (see table 5.12). As table 5.13 illustrates, with reference to particular statue types, statues of mortals and deities could be constructed at both pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and within urban centres while animal statuary was constructed only at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. Figures 5.18, 5.19, and 5.20 further analyse the distribution of statue type by commemorative group and specific place. It becomes clear that, despite minimal anomalies, specific statue types are reserved for specific places. For example pan-Hellenic statuary is reserved for pan-

Hellenic sanctuaries and does not include statues of mortals; conversely, statues of mortals are primarily reserved for urban settings.<sup>831</sup>

#### 6.4.5.1 Statues and Terminology

In order to further explore the relationship between statue type and place, the language used to describe the type of statue in relation to commemorative place will be assessed.

According to table 6.4.1 there are four nouns which were utilised by ancient authors to identify a statue or statue group; these are:

- *eikōn* - likeness, image
- *agalma* - splendid work, ornament
- *andrias* - image of a man
- *bous* - ox

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<sup>831</sup> Discussion of the (sometimes scant and late) evidence for each example is presented in the Appendix. For discussion on the development of portrait statuary in Athenian public space particularly, see App. no's.88 and 89.



Table 6.4.1 *Statue Type Descriptions*

| Battle   | No. | Statue                     | Type                 | Place                     | Description                      | Reference       |
|----------|-----|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Marathon | 15  | Statue group               | Deity Hero<br>Mortal | Pan-Hellenic<br>sanctuary | <i>eikōn</i>                     | Paus. 10.10.1   |
|          | 16  | Bronze<br>Athena           | Deity                | Urban                     | <i>agalma</i>                    | Paus. 1.28.2    |
|          | 19  | Nemesis                    | Deity                | Other                     | <i>agalma</i>                    | Paus. 1.33.2-3  |
|          | 20  | Arimnestos                 | Mortal               | Urban                     | <i>eikōn</i>                     | Paus. 9.4.2     |
| Salamis  | 42  | Apollo                     | Deity                | Pan-Hellenic<br>sanctuary | <i>andrias</i>                   | Hdts. 8.121.2   |
| Plataea  | 70  | Athena                     | Deity                | Urban                     | <i>agalma</i>                    | Paus. 9.4.1     |
|          | 75  | Bronze<br>Artemis          | Deity                | Urban                     | <i>agalma</i>                    | Paus. 1.40.2    |
|          | 76  | Bronze<br>Artemis          | Deity                | Urban                     | <i>agalma</i>                    | Paus. 1.44.4    |
|          | 78  | Ox                         | Animal               | Pan-Hellenic<br>sanctuary | <i>bous</i>                      | Paus. 10.15.1   |
| General  | 81  | Bronze Zeus                | Deity                | Pan-Hellenic<br>sanctuary | <i>agalma</i>                    | Paus. 5.23.1    |
|          | 82  | Bronze<br>Poseidon         | Deity                | Pan-Hellenic<br>sanctuary | -                                | -               |
|          | 87  | Zeus<br><i>Eleutherios</i> | Deity                | Urban                     | <i>agalma</i>                    | Isoc. 9.57      |
|          | 88  | Miltiades                  | Mortal               | Urban                     | <i>eikōn</i>                     | Paus. 1.18.3    |
|          | 89  | Themistocles               | Mortal               | Urban                     | <i>eikōn</i>                     | Paus. 1.18.3    |
|          | 93  | Skyllis and<br>Hydna       | Mortal               | Pan-Hellenic<br>sanctuary | <i>andrias</i>                   | Paus. 10.19.2   |
|          | 95  | Women and<br>children      | Mortal               | Urban                     | <i>eikōn</i>                     | Paus. 2.31.7    |
|          | 98  | Apollo                     | Deity                | Pan-Hellenic<br>sanctuary | <i>agalma</i>                    | Paus. 10.15.1   |
|          | 99  | Bronze Ox                  | Animal               | Pan-Hellenic<br>sanctuary | <i>bous</i>                      | Paus. 10.16.6   |
|          | 100 | Statue group               | Deity                | Pan-Hellenic<br>sanctuary | Archaeological<br>interpretation | See App. no.100 |
|          | 101 | Gilded<br>Alexander I      | Mortal               | Pan-Hellenic<br>sanctuary | <i>andrias</i>                   | Dem. 12.21      |
|          | 102 | Bronze<br>Apollo           | Deity                | Pan-Hellenic<br>sanctuary | Archaeological<br>interpretation | See App. no.102 |
|          | 103 | Bronze<br>Apollo           | Deity                | Pan-Hellenic<br>sanctuary | Archaeological<br>interpretation | See App. no.103 |
|          | 104 | Bronze Bull                | Animal               | Pan-Hellenic<br>sanctuary | <i>bous</i>                      | Paus. 5.27.9    |

The statue of Poseidon (no.82 in table 6.4.1) which commemorated the Persian Wars in general has not been allocated one of the four descriptive nouns used for the other

examples. This particular statue is described by Herodotus as a ‘bronze Poseidon’.<sup>832</sup> In addition, the three examples which have been identified through archaeological interpretation (no’s. 100, 102 and 103) are not mentioned in literary sources and so cannot be attributed a descriptive noun. The archaeological evidence for each example is discussed in the Appendix.

The descriptions of the statues are provided by Herodotus (fifth century BC), Demosthenes, Isocrates (both fourth century BC), and Pausanias (second century AD). The vast majority of references are provided by Pausanias and so any conclusions drawn from the discussion below, based on the references provided in table 6.4.1, must acknowledge the reliance on this post-classical text. However, when comparing the usage of the descriptive nouns in the collected examples in table 6.4.1 (which are taken mostly from a second century AD source) with usage in a fifth century BC source specifically, similarities in usage are apparent (see tables 6.4.2 and 6.4.3 below).<sup>833</sup> Furthermore, any statistical conclusions drawn from so few examples should be understood as speculative.

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<sup>832</sup> Hdts. 9.81.

<sup>833</sup> The examples displayed in table 6.4.3 are taken from Herodotus and represent all usages of these terms in all forms, including references to example outside of this thesis’ data set. Multiple usages of each term for the same statue are counted as a single reference.

Table 6.4.2 *Nouns and Statue Type*

| Noun           | Deity | Hero | Mortal | Animal | Total |
|----------------|-------|------|--------|--------|-------|
| <i>eikōn</i>   | 1     | 1    | 5      |        | 7     |
| <i>agalma</i>  | 8     |      |        |        | 8     |
| <i>andrias</i> | 1     |      | 2      |        | 3     |
| <i>bous</i>    |       |      |        | 3      | 3     |
| Total          | 10    | 1    | 7      | 3      | 21    |

Table 6.4.3 *Nouns and Statue Type in Herodotus*<sup>834</sup>

| Noun           | Deity | Hero | Mortal | Animal | Unspecified | Total |
|----------------|-------|------|--------|--------|-------------|-------|
| <i>eikōn</i>   |       |      | 8      | 1      | 1           | 10    |
| <i>agalma</i>  | 31    | 3    |        |        | 7           | 41    |
| <i>andrias</i> | 2     |      | 3      |        | 5           | 10    |
| Total          | 33    | 3    | 11     | 1      | 13          | 61    |

On the three occasions ancient authors describe the commemorative statues of animals they use the word '*bous*'. This noun is accompanied by the material (bronze) in which the statue was constructed which indicates the subject is a statue. However, when authors are concerned with statues of either deities, heroes or mortals the pattern is more complex. These three statue types (deity, hero and mortal) would have taken an anthropomorphic form and so would need to be differentiated by how they are described.

The noun *eikōn* used by ancient authors, as displayed in table 6.4.2, refer to five of the seven examples of statues of mortals. Therefore, *eikōn* is seemingly reserved primarily

<sup>834</sup> Herodotus references, *eikōn*: Hdts. 1.31.5, 1.50.3, 1.51.5, 2.106.5, 2.110.1, 2.121, 2.130.2-131.2, 2.143.2-144.1, 2.176.1, 2.182.1; *agalma*: Hdts. 1.31.4, 1.69.4, 1.131.1, 1.164.3, 1.181.5, 1.183.1, 2.4.2, 2.41.2, 2.42.4-6, 2.42.6, 2.46.2, 2.48.2, 2.51.1-4, 2.63.1, 2.63.2, 2.91.2, 2.138.3, 2.141.3, 2.172.3-4, 2.181.4-5, 2.182.1, 2.182.1, 3.37.2, 3.37.3, 4.15.4, 4.59.2, 4.62.2, 4.76.4, 4.181.2, 4.189.1, 5.71.1, 5.82, 5.83-85 & 89.1, 6.61.3, 6.82.2, 6.118.1-2, 8.109.3, 8.129.3, 8.143.2, 8.144.2; *andrias*: Hdts. 1.183.2-3, 2.91.2, 2.110.1, 2.110.2, 2.121, 4.15.2-4, 6.118.3, 7.170.4, 8.27.5, 8.121.2.

for mortals. As displayed in table 6.4.3, Herodotus also reserves the term *eikōn* primarily for descriptions of statues of mortals. Mortals may also be referred to by the word *andrias*. Pausanias refers to *andriasin* as a collective term for statues which were removed from Delphi by the Roman Emperor Nero of which the statue of Hydna (a young girl) was a part, indicating that the term was not gender specific.<sup>835</sup> Furthermore, *andrias* is used to describe a statue of a deity, but only on one occasion (no.42 in table 6.4.1). The variable usage of the term is also represented in Herodotus who uses the term to describe statues of deities, mortals, and other statues of undefined type. According to table 6.4.2, *agalma* is utilised specifically with reference to statues of deities. Interestingly, when considering the first example listed in table 6.4.1 (no.15), that is the Athenian statue group at Delphi commemorating the battle of Marathon, the plural of the noun *eikōn* is used when the statue group contains statues of deities, heroes and only one mortal. Therefore, according to table 6.4.2 *agalma* is used as a term to refer to artistic depictions of deities, while *eikōn* (pl. *eikonas*) can be used to refer to a group of statues (including deity and hero depictions) which included at least one mortal depiction. The use of *agalma* in relation to statues of deities is again mirrored in Herodotean usage (see table 6.4.3); statues of deities are overwhelmingly referred to as *agalma*, while this term is also used to describe hero statues and some statues of undefined type.

A clear effort to differentiate between statues of mortals and statues of deities can be seen by the choice of terminology used to describe the monuments. For example, we

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<sup>835</sup> Paus. 10.19.2.

are informed by sources of the fourth century BC that Conon and Evagoras were honoured for freeing the Greeks from Spartan domination in a naval battle at Knidos in 349 BC by having statues of them erected in the Athenian agora.<sup>836</sup> In the same sentence the statues of the mortals are referred to as *eikonas* while the statue of Zeus (no.87 in table 6.4.1), situated nearby in the Athenian agora, is referred to as *agalma*.

Despite the general similarities in word usage over time, illustrated in tables 6.4.2 and 6.4.3, conclusions drawn about classical attitudes to statues from the data presented, and any further arguments constructed based on these conclusions, should be understood as speculative. This discussion concerning tables 6.4.2 and 6.4.3 serves to illustrate that statue types may have been linguistically, and therefore meaningfully, differentiated. It may be tentatively inferred then, considering purposeful differentiation between types, that to construct a particular type of commemorative monument over another was a conscious choice; statue type mattered.

#### 6.4.5.2 Statues, Place, and Meaning

Considering that statue type mattered in the commemorative process, we will now explore whether there was any preference to the place in which different types of statue were erected.

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<sup>836</sup> Isoc. *Evagoras* 56-57; Demosthenes (*Against Leptines* 70) also refers to Conon's statue as an *eikona*; for discussion on the development of portrait statuary in Athenian public space, see App. no's.88 and 89.

Table 6.4.4 *Nouns and Commemorative Place*

| Noun           | Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary | Urban Centre | Other | Total |
|----------------|------------------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| <i>eikōn</i>   | 1                      | 4            |       | 5     |
| <i>agalma</i>  | 2                      | 5            | 1     | 8     |
| <i>andrias</i> | 3                      |              |       | 3     |
| <i>bous</i>    | 3                      |              |       | 3     |
| Total          | 9                      | 9            | 1     | 19    |

The term *agalma* is used solely to describe statues of deities, irrespective of the place in which they are constructed; therefore, no pattern between descriptive terminology and preference of commemorative place may be seen. In addition, the term *bous* consistently refers to statues of oxen. Therefore, to draw any patterns out it will be necessary to compare the usage of the terms *eikōn* and *andrias*.

Table 6.4.5 Comparing *eikōn* and *andrias*

| Noun           | Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary |      |        | Urban Centre |      |        |
|----------------|------------------------|------|--------|--------------|------|--------|
|                | Deity                  | Hero | Mortal | Deity        | Hero | Mortal |
| <i>eikōn</i>   | 1                      | 1    | 1      |              |      | 4      |
| <i>andrias</i> | 1                      |      | 2      |              |      |        |
| Total          | 2                      | 1    | 3      |              |      | 4      |

As noted above, *eikōn* is used to refer to statues of mortals, or a statue group including at least one mortal, and *andrias* is used to describe both statues of mortals and deities (see tables 6.4.2 and 6.4.3). As illustrated in table 6.4.5, all four references to statues of mortals in an urban centre are referred to as *eikōn*. Within a pan-Hellenic setting the term *andrias* is used to describe two of the statues of mortals while *eikōn* is used to describe just one. Although we are dealing with a small number of monuments

here, correlations can be tentatively discerned between the descriptive terminologies used to identify these statues and the places selected for commemoration. Therefore, the data in table 6.4.5 illustrates a tendency to refer to a statue of a mortal as *eikōn* in an urban setting and a slight preference for the term *andrias* when describing statues of mortals in a pan-Hellenic sanctuary setting.

While the statue data presented in this discussion (particularly tables 6.4.2, 6.4.4, and 6.4.5) do reveal vague commemorative trends, it should be noted that the patterns are weak and statues of differing type appear to be constructed in a number of differing site types. We must therefore view trends with caution and accept the possibility of fluidity in practice. However the patterns, vague as they are, allow a tentative inference that statues are referred to differently when located in different places; therefore place, to some extent, matters.

#### **6.4.6 Conclusion**

According to the analysis of the data there are no methods for commemorating the Persian Wars which are strictly adhered to (see table 5.8). However, battlefields are shown to accommodate the least varied methods of commemoration. The communal burial and any epitaph or epigram, raised on the battlefield, specifically honoured the dead warriors. These cooperative forms of commemoration would act as a central feature of any commemorative activity regarding the war dead at the site of conflict. Furthermore, inscriptions have been shown to be potent symbols of expression at sites

of conflict; the place of construction, the inscription, and the physicality of the object itself contribute to the projected meaning of the monument. In addition, for many of the conflicts there appears to be a positive numerical correlation between the construction of inscriptions at the battlefield and the general commemorative efforts made by a specific commemorating group.

Specific object types were reserved for specific places. Statues of differing types (e.g. either mortals or deities) were generally described differently, therefore they were meaningfully differentiated. However, what this discussion shows is that statues of mortals are also described differently depending upon the context in which they were constructed. It is understood, then, that the place chosen at which to commemorate is significant in how a commemorative object is perceived; place, to some extent, matters.

The relationship between the commemorative monument and place of commemoration is presented here as reciprocal. The monument type is shown to give significance to the place; the collective burial and accompanying inscription cooperate to transform an area of the battlefield into a place to honour the war dead. Conversely, the object is made relevant by the place; the descriptive noun used to describe statues of mortals differs depending on the place at which it was constructed. The object therefore may transform the meaning of the place, while the place appears in turn to affect how a particular object is perceived.



The discussion within this chapter tentatively suggests commemorative patterns. However, few patterns discussed here are without anomalies. The commemorative traditions, then, are to be understood as a complex set of, at times, divergent practices between city-states. These varied commemorative practices illustrate that there are no fixed methods of marking a landscape, or modes of commemoration which in turn acts to (re)represent space in a symbolic form. These divergent, although at times overlapping, practices which assist in structuring the ancient Greek world are in accordance with specific cultural demands.<sup>837</sup>

Chapter 7 will present the conclusions drawn from this project. Each of the project aims will be addressed in turn and suggestions for future research, based on this project's findings, will be made.

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<sup>837</sup> Cosgrove & Daniels 1988: 3.

## Chapter 7: CONCLUSION

### 7.1 Introduction

This thesis has focussed on the public commemorations of the Persian Wars. What has emerged is a complex and varied tradition which varies over site type, monument type, commemorative group and time. In addition, the present is seen to play an active role in the collective remembrance of, and narrative constructions about, the past.

The purpose of this chapter is to draw together conclusions from the work presented in the preceding chapters. The chapter begins by addressing the project's aims which are initially presented in chapter 1, and each of the aims will be concluded in turn. Following this I will present what this project has achieved and how this project fills gaps in the modern scholarship. The project's aims are as follows:

- To bring the commemorative monuments together with the physical landscape and to re-join object and context.
- To reveal and analyse the methods, in their entirety, by which Greeks of the fifth century BC commemorated the Persian Wars.<sup>838</sup>

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<sup>838</sup> Connerton 1989; see also Levy 2010: 128-129.

- To ask if, and if so how, events in the present had any effect on the commemoration of the past.<sup>839</sup>

The conclusions drawn from answering these aims reveals how the results have wider ramifications in related fields of study; these broader inter-disciplinary implications are presented here. Within this chapter I will also present the project's limitations, which includes both restrictions imposed by the lack of extant material and the methodology, and I outline how, where possible, I compensated for these limitations. Drawing on this project's conclusions, I offer suggestions of areas for future research which includes expanding the current project's themes, the identification of additional themes, alternative approaches to the places of commemoration, and investigating how these places are valued today. This chapter closes with a final conclusion which highlights this thesis' original contributions to research.

## **7.2 Addressing the Aims**

This section of the chapter will assess whether the aims of the thesis, initially set out in chapter 1, have been met by bringing together and presenting the results obtained from the analysis of the data (chapter 5) and the discussion (in chapter 6).

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<sup>839</sup> Young 1993: 12-15 asks similar questions of holocaust memorials.

### 7.2.1 Bring the Commemorative Monuments Together with the Physical Landscape and Re-Join Object and Context

This thesis is concerned with constructed and enacted commemorative monuments at a variety of places. In the past, generalisations have been made about monuments and their meanings.<sup>840</sup> However, within this project wider generalisations have not been made; the results and conclusions outlined below may not be applicable to other geographical areas, historical periods, or even other ancient Greek conflicts. The physical and behavioural commemorative expressions with which this project is concerned are treated and presented as particular to the Persian Wars. The monuments, when analysed and discussed throughout this project, are treated in relation to the particular place, or general site type, in which they were constructed or enacted. The effort to relate the monuments in the data set to a particular location is illustrated in tables 4.18.1 and 4.18.2. These two tables present the full data set of monuments and illustrate the place at which it was constructed or enacted.

#### 7.2.1.1 The Method

Many of the monuments constructed within the fifth century BC are no longer in their original locations. This is exemplified in table 3.2 which shows the modern locations of the battlefield monuments of the Persian Wars. In response to many of the monuments having been removed from their original contexts I have devised a

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<sup>840</sup> Borg 1991: x.

quantitative methodology within this project to analyse the data, which is a novel approach to the material. This methodology goes some way to return the objects to their original context. Whether a monument has remained within its original context, been removed, placed within a different context such as a museum, or lost altogether this methodology ensures each monument is considered equally. When archaeological material was not available, I have relied heavily on references within literary sources to locate the specific area in which a monument stood or was enacted. Therefore, the methodology used within this thesis figuratively re-joins object and context.

It has been asserted that the meaning of monuments can only be truly understood with a study on a landscape scale.<sup>841</sup> However, studies on ancient Greek commemorative material either focus on specific site types,<sup>842</sup> or particular object types.<sup>843</sup> This project has highlighted the need for a more holistic approach to commemorative practices, and the data set incorporates all known commemorative monuments constructed or enacted at all known places of commemoration by all known commemorative groups. This inclusive method allows for a broader understanding of the relationship between commemorative object, commemorative place, and commemorating group over space and time. Furthermore, in contrast to dealing with multiple commemorations at a particular place or a particular monument

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<sup>841</sup> Schofield 2005: 58.

<sup>842</sup> Religious space: Scott 2010, Yates 2011; civic space: Shear 2011.

<sup>843</sup> Casualty lists: Bradeen 1969, Pritchett 1985: 4.139-144; burial customs: Clairmont 1983, Kurtz & Boardman 1971; funeral orations: Loraux 2006; votive offerings: Rouse 1902; spoils: Thompson 1956; trophies: Vanderpool 1966, West 1969; vows: Pritchett 1979: 3.230-239; cenotaphs: Pritchett 1985: 4.257-259.

type at a range of places, this thesis has incorporated all known commemorative material at all known commemorative places relating to a particular conflict.

The general analysis of monument distribution highlights how there is a large discrepancy in the placement of monuments (see chapter section 5.1). Many places have between one and eight monuments but only a select few contain up to eighteen. In fact, three specific places (the battlefield of Plataea, the sanctuary at Delphi and the Athenian urban centre) contain about 50% of the public monuments represented in this thesis' data set. The analysis of the general distribution of monuments by place allowed for the categorisation of sites as 'major', 'semi-major', 'semi-minor' and 'minor' places of commemoration. This provides a general basis by which to approach, compare and contrast specific conflicts and commemorative places. This methodology, by including all monuments and all places of commemoration, is designed to contest the over-representation of studies on Athenian material and therefore a singular state-dominated interpretation of the commemorative narrative.<sup>844</sup>

#### 7.2.1.2 Place Matters

Having set out a methodological approach to re-join commemorative monuments and their original contexts I illustrate in chapter sections 5.5 and 6.4 that the particular site type at which a particular form of monument is constructed is purposefully selected. To illustrate this point I use the numerous examples of statues in the data set. Table

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<sup>844</sup> As noted in Low 2003: 99.

6.4.1 illustrates how statues of differing types are referred to by different words; statue types were differentiated linguistically and therefore meaningfully. Furthermore, table 6.4.3 illustrates how the descriptive nouns alter in relation to the place in which the statue is constructed. The patterns are admittedly vague and, considering the small data set of statues with which this discussion section deals, the patterns should be viewed and interpreted with caution. However, as stated above, no statue is constructed at a site of conflict. In addition statues commemorating the Persian Wars in general tend to be raised within pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, while statues commemorating particular battles tend to be constructed within urban centres. These broad observations presented in chapter 5 and the more detailed analysis of the descriptive noun and place preferences dealt with in chapter section 6.4 highlight that the spatial context in which statues were constructed was relevant. Therefore, the discussion of statues as a monument type and the location at which they were constructed illustrates that place, to some extent, matters.

#### 7.2.1.3 Place Value

Landscape belongs to all people all of the time as it is part of people's surroundings, however, parts of the landscape can become secularised; these places may become more important than the surrounding area because of an event. Although a landscape cannot act by itself, it may be interacted with and offer, in return for attention, meaning that has previously been endowed upon it. The value of a place therefore fluctuates and is dependent on the needs and interests of the collective. The tendency

for the value of particular places to fluctuate shows how places and the values attributed to them are part of an ongoing process. This point is illustrated in chapter 6.2 with a discussion of behavioural commemoration at sites of conflict. The identification of behavioural commemoration in the archaeological record is difficult and the conclusions drawn are tentative. However it is possible to see, when taking both constructed and enacted commemorative monuments into account, a varied commemorative relationship with the place. The apparent decline in value and later resurgences illustrate that places have a multiplicity of meanings and uses.

### 7.3.2 Reveal and Analyse the Methods, in Their Entirety, by Which Greeks of the Fifth Century BC Commemorated the Persian Wars

The call has been made to think plurally about uses of memory by different social groups.<sup>845</sup> The conclusions outlined below (specifically 7.3.2.1 and 7.3.2.3) respond to this call and illustrate how the Persian Wars were remembered in a multiplicity of ways. Two trends have drawn attention away from studies in the variety of commemorative traditions: the categorisation of commemorations by battle,<sup>846</sup> and an overemphasis on Athenian commemorations.<sup>847</sup> This project works towards rectifying this issue by highlighting the variations in commemorative traditions.

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<sup>845</sup> Burke 1989: 107; see also Alcock 2002: 18.

<sup>846</sup> Marathon: Flashar 1995, Hölkeskamp 2001, Gehrke 2003 & 2007; Thermopylae: Albertz 2006; Marathon and Plataea: Jung 2006.

<sup>847</sup> Harrison 2000, Jung 2006, Loraux 2006, see Yates 2011: 4 for further references.



Each of the four themes discussed in chapter 6 will be addressed in turn and the conclusions reviewed in light of this current aim.

#### 7.3.2.1 Place Preferences over Space

Chapter 5 provides a quantitative overview of the numerical distribution of monuments over a range of places of commemoration. The classification of particular places as 'urban', 'battlefield', 'pan-Hellenic sanctuary' and 'other', within the analysis of the data, allowed for examination of the commemorative activity of particular groups at each of these site types, and more specifically particular locations within these site types. The calculation of the mean and median of the numbers of monuments constructed at each site type, and contrasting these results, reveals a stark misdistribution of monuments within particular site types; a large majority of monuments are constructed and enacted at very few places.

According to the analysis of the data set, conscious choices appear to be made by different parties to commemorate the conflict at different site types. With regards to the distribution of monuments over space, the commemoration of Thermopylae serves to illustrate how Sparta, particularly, commemorated the conflict more heavily within an urban context than on the battlefield itself. The data shows that the urban centre is Sparta's most popular commemorative site type, and it is also Athens'. Other city-states commemorate moderately within their, and occasionally within other, urban centres in comparison. Commemoration within a pan-Hellenic sanctuary setting

also provides patterns and anomalies; Athens dedicates heavily at both Delphi and Olympia while is not represented at Isthmia. This example of place preferences is discussed in detail in chapter section 6.1 and it is suggested that Corinthian tolerance of Athenian material (of varying types, including ceramics and physical commemorative monuments) wanes as interstate relations between Athens and Corinth deteriorate.

It is suggested here that particular commemorating groups selected particular places at which to construct and enact monuments. Certain anomalies can be seen in the commemorative record and may be explained as conscious choices in preference of commemorative place.

#### 7.3.2.2 Place Preferences over Time

To present the distribution of monuments over time is only possible with a select few monuments in the data set and is reliant on the reliability of the monument's dating. To analyse the distribution of monuments over time, the Athenian commemoration of Marathon is chosen specifically. This city-state and battle are selected because it is possible to date over 85% of the monuments. The Athenian commemorative pattern is illustrated by marking the locations of monument construction on a series of maps over time. Presenting the data in this way shows how the construction of monuments intensifies and wanes at different geographical places over time. The Athenian

commemoration of this particular battle, numerically speaking, appears to be undertaken in waves (see figure 5.10).

Commemorative patterns over time are also analysed within specific commemorative site types. Applying an exponential trend line to the Athenian commemoration within their urban centre (see figure 5.11) illustrates that, over time, the number of monuments that are raised within the city increases. Conversely, physical battlefield monuments of all Persian War conflicts appear to decrease in number over time (see figure 5.12). Furthermore, the pattern at Marathon is compared with other dateable monuments raised at other battlefields and the pattern is confirmed: a decreasing number of physical monuments are erected at sites of conflict over time. However, the practice of constructing physical monuments is complemented, and over time apparently supplemented, by behavioural commemorations at some of these places.

I illustrate how the incorporation of meaning onto a landscape, through enacting behavioural commemorative activities at particular places, was a central aspect of the commemorative process when remembering the Persian Wars. Much of the work concerning ritual practice and commemorating conflict has focussed on the Hellenistic period.<sup>848</sup> This project has addressed this point by incorporating behavioural commemoration as a form of monument in the classical period. To do this, in chapter section 6.2, behavioural commemoration which took place primarily on the sites of conflict is discussed. This discussion chapter section concludes that the site of conflict

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<sup>848</sup> E.g. Rice 1993; Chaniotis 2005.

at Plataea has a complex history and was endowed with multiple meanings by multiple groups over time. This conclusion is broadly in agreement with Carman and Carman who assert that re-usage of place gives an idea of its importance over time.<sup>849</sup>

Figure 5.12 illustrates the presentation of monument construction over time but does not account for intangible, behavioural commemoration. The discussion presented in chapter section 6.2 concludes that, specifically on the battlefield, the form of commemorations shift throughout the fifth century BC. At the beginning of the century immediately after the conflict tangible monuments were erected, while later in the century the commemorative pattern shifts to a more behavioural type. Therefore graphs which illustrate the value of place based on the declining number of tangible monuments, such as figures 5.11 and 5.12 (which are compared to a modern case in figure 6.2.5 in chapter section 6.2), are incomplete in representing the true value associated with a particular place. The repetitive, behavioural commemoration is an essential feature in the maintenance of place value in ancient Greece, particularly at sites of conflict.

The value attributed to place is presented, throughout this project, as susceptible to change over time. In addition the method of commemorative monument can be seen to alter over time, particularly on the battlefield, from a physical expression of commemoration to a behavioural form. While emphasising the importance of behavioural commemoration over time, the broad conclusion here is to emphasise the

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<sup>849</sup> Carman & Carman 2012: 103.

plurality in commemorative practice; certain places are preferred by certain dedicators to commemorate certain conflicts and different methods of commemoration are utilised over time.

### 7.3.2.3 Commemorative Monopolies

The memory of the Persian Wars was a multifaceted phenomenon; multiple groups were recalling the same conflict in many different ways and were expressing (through monument construction or enacting behavioural commemoration) their own recollections and advertising their own contributions. As a result, monopolisations of particular commemorative places and narratives occurred. To illustrate how commemorative monopolies may be seen in the commemorative tradition I focus on the commemoration of Marathon because Athens may claim 90% of the commemorative monuments relating to this conflict (see chapter section 5.4). Partly as a result of the Athenian monopolisation of the commemorative tradition, Plataean commemoration can account for 10% of the monuments raised and enacted in memory of this conflict. The narrative of Athens fighting alone at the battle of Marathon, and thus excluding the contributions of Plataea from the collective memory, emerges within the fifth century BC. The commemorative trends, having considered a quantitative analysis of the monuments constructed in remembrance of Marathon, generally support the tradition found in the literary sources that Athens fought alone at Marathon (see chapter section 6.3).

Monopolisation can also be seen at specific commemorative arenas and of particular commemorative groups at specific site types. At three of the sites of conflict at which Athens commemorates, other *poleis* appear to be under represented (Marathon, Artemisium and Salamis). Conversely at the battlefield of Plataea, Athens constructs the same number of monuments as at the Salamis site of conflict and many other city-states construct and enact monuments also. The Plataea battlefield, a place at which the broadest collection of commemorative groups constructs and enacts monuments, is the only battlefield at which pan-Hellenic monuments are constructed. With particular reference to sites of conflict, the commemorations at these site types are monopolised by a particular city-state except Plataea which, in addition to the pan-Hellenic monuments, receives the widest variety of groups constructing monuments here.

The conclusions drawn here illustrate that certain commemorative places were monopolised by certain commemorative groups (such as Marathon and Isthmia) while other places appear to have been more open to commemoration from multiple groups (such as Plataea and Delphi). Furthermore in addition to physical space being monopolised, narratives about the past may also be monopolised. These monopolisations, however, and the nature of their success may be deduced from the placement and frequency of commemorative monument construction and enactment.

#### 7.3.2.4 Relationship between Object and Place

The initial analysis of the relationship between the types of monument constructed at a particular site type reveals that battlefields have a more accepted range of monuments constructed or enacted at these places. In contrast, pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and urban centres have a less accepted form of commemorative monument (see chapter 5.5). I reach these broad conclusions because battlefields have a narrower range of monuments constructed and enacted there, while a wider selection of monument type can be seen at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and within urban centres.

I present the data in tables to illustrate patterns in the type of monument selected for construction at particular site types (see tables 5.7 and 5.8). These patterns include the practice of only burying the war dead on the battlefield and the absence of statues on the battlefield. In addition, the practice of commander burial varies over particular groups; for example, Athens favours burying commanders on the battlefield while Sparta returns the dead commander to the urban centre.<sup>850</sup> With particular reference to sites of conflict, similarities can be seen in the percentages of distribution of collective burials and epigrams.

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<sup>850</sup> As noted in chapter section 4.3.4.2, according to this data set the Spartans publicly commemorated three commanders with tombs in the urban centre whether they died in battle or not (Leonidas died in battle, whereas Eurybiades and Pausanias survived the Persian Wars). Athenians, on the other hand, favoured battlefield burial for their dead commanders (none of whom died in battle) in two of the three cases evident in this data set.

Work exploring the relationship between monument and place has been undertaken with focus on the prehistoric world and illustrates how monuments can transform the meaning of place.<sup>851</sup> This project takes this idea further and asserts that places of commemoration have a reciprocal relationship with monuments.<sup>852</sup> With reference to the fields of conflict, specific forms of commemoration were reserved for these places; therefore the space being a site of conflict would dictate the appropriate form of commemoration. For visitors with no autobiographical memory of the event the collective burial and the accompanying epitaph would, in turn, identify the space as a battlefield. In fact, an Attic inscription attests to processions taking place which lead young Athenians throughout the territory, incorporating the Marathon site of conflict and laying a wreath at the burial mound some three hundred and fifty years after the battle of Marathon.<sup>853</sup>

Within chapter 5 I provide an analysis of the distribution of statues specifically. This monument type is singled out for specific analysis because it is the most numerous (with twenty four examples) and is represented in all site types except for battlefields. The analysis shows that statues were used to commemorate the Persian Wars generally and this form of monument was less likely to be used to commemorate a particular battle. In addition, statues of varying type were most popularly constructed in pan-Hellenic sanctuaries although urban centres held the majority of, specifically, representations of mortals. The statues of mortals constructed within urban centres

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<sup>851</sup> Thomas 1999: 35.

<sup>852</sup> An idea expressed by Hölscher (2006: 42) in relation to the Roman world.

<sup>853</sup> *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1006, 65-71 dating to 119/118 BC.



are erected by specific groups while no pan-Hellenic statuary is constructed within urban centres. The analysis suggests that statues as pan-Hellenic monuments were constructed in the image of, and at places, that were deemed in some sense communal. Conversely, statues constructed within urban centres were of figures and in places that had particular ties to those groups. This analysis section illustrates that certain types of monument were reserved for specific places of commemoration.

This theme is expanded upon in chapter section 6.4 and demonstrates that there are no fixed methods, which are obediently adhered to, of marking a particular place for commemoration. The divergent, and at some points overlapping, commemorative practices are determined by specific cultural demands which vary from *polis* to *polis*. Differing ‘worlds of meaning’ are constructed by the particular modes of commemoration utilised by particular city-states.<sup>854</sup> These ‘worlds of meaning’ therefore have the potential to either complement or conflict with practices of other city-states.

The discussion on the site of conflict and the monument types constructed at this site type (chapter section 6.4) shows that inscriptions, either epigrams or epitaphs, were deemed appropriate monuments to accompany the collective burials. This form of commemorative monument appears to be mostly a cooperative form of commemoration, alongside the burial itself, of memorialising the dead warriors. In fact, according to the data (see table 5.9) the inscription is the only monument type

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<sup>854</sup> For ‘worlds of meaning’ see Cosgrove & Daniels 1988: 8.

represented at all the Persian War battlefields. With reference to specific types of monument the data analysed in chapter 5 is utilised to show that there is a positive correlation between the number of epigrams or epitaphs raised by a particular group at a battlefield and the domination of the mnemonic narrative about the conflict by the same group. The Persian War battlefields, which contained multiple epigrams and epitaphs, are therefore presented as places which play host, through a variety of monument types, to 'multi-vocal voices of remembrance'.<sup>855</sup>

Despite no rules being strictly adhered to regarding the method of commemoration and the choice of commemorative place, some positive correlations and patterns are clear to see in the collected data set, as laid out above. With some specific examples, such as statue types or commemorations on the battlefield, for the most part certain monument types are reserved for certain site types. However, the Persian War commemorative tradition was a multivalent phenomenon which varied from city-state to city-state and therefore had the potential to conflict across commemorative groups.

### 7.3.3 Did Events in the Present Have Any Effect on Commemorating the past, and if so How?

Recent work has been carried out on the cultural impact of the Persian Wars on the Greek world.<sup>856</sup> Furthermore, work has considered the power of the Hellenic past in

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<sup>855</sup> A term coined by Winter 2010: 64.

<sup>856</sup> Rhodes 2007.

the Roman period.<sup>857</sup> This project contributes to fulfilling the need for a study of the commemorations and cultural impact of the Persian Wars within the classical Greek period and concerning inter-*polis* relations.

The two following examples which demonstrate the fulfilment of this aim largely support the standpoint that each city-state would individually and independently remember the Persian Wars.<sup>858</sup> Therefore it is understood here that the imagined community of Greeks, in the classical period, did not exert enough power over the collective recollection of the Persian Wars to uphold a unified pan-Hellenic memory.<sup>859</sup> Multiple narratives at a *polis* level concerning a single event could develop over time and exist concurrently. Memories are presented within this project as susceptible to disruptions, revision and reproduction.<sup>860</sup> Furthermore (see specifically chapter section 7.3.3.2) contrasting memories of a single event are shown to exist within the imagined community of a single *polis*. Exemplifying this phenomenon is to support assertions that conflicting commemorative narratives can exist within a social group.<sup>861</sup> However, this idea that a social group, with a loose conception of the past, can maintain a stable social order conflicts with the idea that divergent memories of the past within a social group would instigate social disunity.<sup>862</sup>

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<sup>857</sup> Alcock 2002.

<sup>858</sup> Yates 2011: 230-231; *contra* Jung 2006: 297 who asserts that that a pan-Hellenic memory of the Persian War remained dominant in Greece until the bitter infighting of the Peloponnesian War tore it apart.

<sup>859</sup> For discussion on the 'imagined community' see chapter section 2.2.4.

<sup>860</sup> Prager 2001: 2224.

<sup>861</sup> Yates 2011: 23-24.

<sup>862</sup> Asserted in Connerton 1989: 3.

### 7.3.3.1 Place Preferences over Space

The relationship between events in the fifth century BC and commemorations of the Persian Wars is addressed in chapter section 6.1. The usage of Attic ware in various contexts within the Corinthia (including dedications at Isthmia) is interpreted as representing a certain level of symbiosis between the two city states in the first half of the fifth century BC.<sup>863</sup> However as the interstate relations degraded between the two city-states the usage of Attic ware within the Corinthia, according to the presented data, reduced drastically (see figures 6.1.1 and 6.1.3). The correlation between the changing presence of Attic ware in the Corinthia, for the most part, reflects the contemporary state of degrading interstate politics. It is suggested that this degrading relationship between Athens and Corinth would have provided the ideal climate for contentious narratives about the past to emerge (see chapter section 6.1.6).

The narratives discussed in chapter section 6.1.6 are particularly concerned with the Corinthian conduct at the battle of Salamis. The discussion relating to the effect of Athenian / Corinthian interstate relations on physical Persian War commemoration, with particular focus on how Corinthian monumental assertions contrasted with Athenian narratives, illustrates how disunity is omnipresent in the recollection of events. The discussion concerning the Corinthian monuments raised in memory of the battle of Salamis and the narratives, both pro and anti-Corinthian, suggest that the

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<sup>863</sup> The link between political entities and pottery distribution has recently received scholarly attention. E.g. Lund 2014.

imagined community of Greeks exerted little or no pressure on the memories formulated about the Persian War.

Changes in a community's ideological framework can affect the collective memory of earlier events.<sup>864</sup> It has been argued that the natural tendency of memory on a social level is 'to suppress what is not meaningful...in the collective memories of the past, and interpolate or substitute what seems more appropriate or more in keeping with [a group's] particular conception of the world.'<sup>865</sup> I demonstrate this phenomenon occurring within the late fifth century BC in chapter section 6.1.6, as conflicting narratives about Corinth's conduct at the battle of Salamis emerge. These conflicting narratives are discussed in light of modern theories of memory because existing memories on a collective scale have been said to be potentially effaced by more recent understandings of the past.<sup>866</sup> In both oral and literate societies, if the written records are not consulted, stories of the past are successfully altered and adapted in the process of transmission.<sup>867</sup> These revised versions of the past have been shown to be adapted to suit present needs.<sup>868</sup>

### 7.3.3.2 Commemorative Monopolies

Divergent narratives about the same event in the past may exist concurrently. This point is illustrated in chapter section 6.3; it is highlighted that monuments were raised

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<sup>864</sup> Steinbock 2013: 14.

<sup>865</sup> Fentress & Wickham 1992: 58-59; cf. Steinbock 2013: 14.

<sup>866</sup> Assmann, A. 2010; Assmann, J. 2006.

<sup>867</sup> Steinbock 2013: 15.

<sup>868</sup> Fentress & Wickham 1993: 39-40; Prager 2001: 2224.

within the city of Athens, such as the Stoa *Poikile*, which acknowledged that the Plataeans were present at the battle of Marathon, while at the same time Athenian narratives were being voiced by orators which excluded everyone but the Athenians. It is possible for these conflicting narratives to exist concurrently and for each to exist meaningfully without prompting social disunity.

Both Athens and Plataea, soon after the culmination of the battle of Marathon, commemorated the conflict by constructing monuments. However throughout the fifth century BC Athens, in comparison to Plataea, pursued a more aggressive commemorative strategy and this practice contributed to the formation of a commemorative monopoly. The maintenance of an Athenian commemorative tradition over an extended period of time, and at a range of site types, was more effective than the initial post-conflict commemorative efforts by Plataea.

A quantitative and comparative analysis of the number and distribution of monuments constructed by Athens and Plataea for the battles of Marathon and Plataea illustrate that the commemorative practices supported the narrative that the Plataean *polis*' efforts in the Persian Wars were associated with Xerxes' invasion of Greece particularly.<sup>869</sup> This further supports the initial point made in chapter section 6.3 that the material evidence generally supports the narrative promulgated by Athens that they fought alone at Marathon, thereby obliterating the Plataean memory of contributing to repulsion of Darius' invasion. The tabulated data in table 6.3.2

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<sup>869</sup> An idea voiced by Steinbock 2013: 139.

illustrates that Plataea commemorated the conflicts at Marathon and Plataea differently, both at different site types and at different intensities. Monuments erected at a number of places in commemoration of a particular battle would create a system of meaning. Table 6.3.2 illustrates that Plataea developed a more stable system of meaning for the battle of Plataea (and therefore Xerxes' invasion) than the battle of Marathon (and therefore Darius' invasion).

Chapter section 6.3 illustrates how the Medising of the Thebans became, throughout the fifth and into the fourth centuries BC, a popular narrative in Athenian political discourse. Furthermore, it is shown that, within literary accounts, Theban Medising was contrasted with Plataean patriotism. The compatibility of literary sources and the archaeological record is shown here by the presentation of the spatial politics of commemorative monuments raised at Delphi. The spatial relationship between the singular Athenian and Plataean monuments constructed at Delphi in commemoration of the battle of Plataea reveal the possibility of a shared purpose. The Athenian monument explicitly refers to Theban Medising and proximity of these monuments may have reinforced the dichotomy between Theban Medising and Plataean patriotism. It is concluded that these monuments furthered the association of Plataea with the second invasion thereby loosening the Plataean association with the battle of Marathon. The commemorations of the Persian War, therefore, can be seen to have had a reciprocal relationship with the present. The political climate of the classical period was arguably represented in commemorations constructed at Delphi while the memories of the battle of Marathon were directly moulded by interstate relations.

The maintenance of a commemorative tradition, as opposed to initial post conflict commemoration, is highlighted here as a more potent method of monopolising a commemorative narrative. It is suggested, in addition, that the Athenian commemorations of Plataea, in part, were intended to weaken the Plataean hold on their commemorative claim to Marathon. This effort in commemorative monopolies would also assist in attempts to remind the wider community of Thebes', a major rival, defection to the Persian side.

### **7.3 Wider Ramifications of This Study**

The methodology and results of this study have implications for research topics in a number of related fields, such as ancient history and classical civilisation, conflict archaeology, memory theory and its application, studies in the cultures of commemoration, the data as a body of evidence, and the application of theories of place. Each related field will be addressed in turn below.

#### **7.3.1 Ancient History**

The results of this project benefit the study of the ancient Greek world generally. With particular reference to the variety and fluidity of commemorative practices, the conclusions drawn above highlight the individuality and autonomy of the classical



Greek city-state.<sup>870</sup> On an inter-*polis* level, the fragile interstate relations of the turbulent fifth century BC play a large part in this project's discussion chapter sections. The implications of the wider interstate political landscape are shown to bleed into the realm of commemoration, and vice versa; commemorative practices are thus politicised. Furthermore on an intra-*polis* level, this project presents the ancient Greek *polis* as a social system able to sustain multiple concurrent but conflicting narratives about a single event in the past. This point contributes to our understanding of how inhabitants of a particular *polis* may have remembered, understood and expressed their own *polis*' history.<sup>871</sup>

The methodologies used within this project, namely utilising both archaeological material and textual accounts, show that these forms of evidence may be used successfully in tandem. With so few monuments available to study physically and so many of the extant monuments removed from their intended, original context, reliance on textual accounts was vital in constructing the data set. The compatibility of these two forms of evidence can benefit the study of ancient history more generally and each form of evidence, as shown within this project, may potentially be used in support of the other. This is exemplified with the example of Athens expressing the dichotomy between Plataean patriotism and Theban Medising, a dichotomy expressed

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<sup>870</sup> Thomas (2014: 164) also refers to the *polis* as 'a powerful and autonomous entity'.

<sup>871</sup> See Thomas 2014 for a study on '*polis* history', and for further bibliography; for memory as a constructed phenomenon within the (late classical) *polis* see Ma 2009: esp. 253-256.

in literary accounts,<sup>872</sup> and as suggested here in the physical commemorations at Delphi (discussed in chapter section 6.3).

### 7.3.2 Conflict Archaeology

The commemoration of warfare is a growing area of study within the broader research area of conflict archaeology. Although within this project I argue that generalisations cannot be made in commemorative processes across time periods and geographical areas, certain similarities can be seen in how places of commemoration are developed and used over time (see chapter section 6.2). Certain aspects of the methodological approaches within this project could be applied to other research projects. The quantitative analysis of the distribution of monuments across time and space was used within this project with particular reference to the Persian Wars and classical Greece. However, this method of analysis could be applicable to any period of (pre)history provided enough evidence is available (either literary or archaeological) to identify when and where the monument was constructed or enacted.

### 7.3.3 Memory

This project serves to strengthen the link between the two compatible fields of study that are memory studies and the ancient Greek world. The use of theories of memory throughout this project illustrate that ideas of collective remembering (initially

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<sup>872</sup> Thuc, 3.54.3-3.67.7.

constructed with reference to nineteenth century France, in the case of Halbwachs, or ancient Egypt, in the case of Jan Assmann) are flexible and enjoy a certain universality in application.

Through the application of memory theory, particularly with reference to the commemorations of the Persian Wars and the quantitative analysis conducted within chapter 5, various well attested ideas are exemplified; such as memory is not innocent and it may be constructed (see chapter section 6.1), the past is created, reworked and shaped by collective remembrance (see chapter 6.3), disunity may emerge in mnemonic assertions about the past (see chapter section 6.1), and changes in a community's ideological framework can affect the collective memory of earlier events (see chapters 6.1 and 6.3). The presentation here of the malleability of memory within ancient Greece illustrates the flexibility of this collective phenomenon and such an understanding would benefit any study of collective remembrance.

#### 7.3.4 Cultures of Commemoration

Cultures of commemoration are crafted.<sup>873</sup> The Persian Wars, as shown within this project, support and illustrate this point. The monument which commemorated the Persian Wars and the malleable narratives surrounding the conflict may be understood here as an example which contribute to the understanding of how these cultures of commemoration existed and were used. The multiplicity of commemorative traditions

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<sup>873</sup> Low & Oliver 2012: 2.

within the classical Greek world surrounding the Persian Wars illustrate the many ways that cultures of commemoration can form and exist, as it has been stated that they do not always develop from a central authority.<sup>874</sup>

### 7.3.5 The Data

The compilation of this project's data set (see App. 1) is a collection of all the known monuments commemorating the battles of Marathon, Salamis, Artemisium, Thermopylae and Plataea. This collection of monuments may be utilised for studying commemoration in the ancient Greek world. The collection of monuments may be used as a body of evidence by which to compare sets of commemorative monuments relating to other conflicts. This holistic approach to the data, which is inclusive in its remit of objects, commemorative places, and commemorative groups, allows for a more complete understanding of the commemorative tradition. The data set presented in Appendix 1 may be utilised as a tool for future study.

### 7.3.6 The Method

The methodology devised and applied to the data, undertaken in chapter 5, is a novel method by which to approach this set of archaeological evidence. The method allows for an equal representation of both extant and lost monuments. This methodology has the potential to be applied to other bodies of data. For example, the quantitative

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<sup>874</sup> Low & Oliver 2012: 3.

method could be applied to commemorative material from other periods where the physical material has been lost, destroyed, or incorporated into other structures. Furthermore, the themes which have arisen from the quantitative analysis, such as place preferences over space and time, commemorative monopolies, and relationships between object and place, may be applied to other bodies of commemorative material over space and time.

### 7.3.7 Studies of Place

Utilising and applying theories of place throughout this project has revealed several points which are applicable to the ancient Greek world and of universal use to studies of place. These points include: place is conflicted, complex and always in a process (see chapter section 6.2), places have multiple layers of meaning (see chapter section 6.2), landscape is in a reciprocal relationship with those who interact with it (see chapter section 6.4), and a relationship exists between object and place (see chapter section 6.4). These conclusions drawn from answering this particular project's aims could be used as a starting point for other investigations in studying meanings of place.

The emphasis that this project posits on the particular places of commemoration would also have relevance to modern understandings of place and its importance. For example, in 2001 debate and protest was instigated by proposals by the Greek government to construct a rowing centre at the site of the battle of Marathon. The public outcry, although the construction went ahead with the Schinias Olympic Rowing

Centre being built, reveals that a collective attachment to place exists in the modern world. This project provides an understanding for the beginning of this process when particular places were initially being attributed value through commemorations.

#### **7.4 Project Limitations**

As outlined in chapter 3, fieldwork was undertaken to attempt a phenomenological approach to the battlefields of the Persian Wars. The particular placements of monuments are difficult to identify and have been, and still are, the topics of much debate (see the discussion on each monument in the Appendix). The lack of extant monuments within this site type in or near their original location prevented me from undertaking a study on the spatial relationship between the monuments (or where they were originally located) and other monuments or natural and ancient man made features (see table 3.2). As a result, in response to this limitation of evidence, a range of site types were devised and the commemorative monuments were divided amongst them. This practice allowed for the inclusion of lost monuments, extant monuments and monuments which had been removed from their original placing.

Due to time and cost restraints, during my fieldwork I was unable to travel to all the places at which commemorative monuments were constructed. I was unable to explore the island of Euboea and therefore the coast nearest to the Artemisium conflict, which would have taken place off the northern coast of the island. No modern archaeological literature has claimed to have found evidence of the commemorative

monument, raised by Athens along the coast, but it would be necessary to visit if a phenomenological approach to this particular site of conflict was undertaken. Furthermore I could not gain access to the uninhabited island of Psyttaleia. This island houses a sewage treatment plant and neither boats from Piraeus nor Salamis were travelling there. As a result I rely on observations made by twentieth century archaeologists for the tentative identification of a trophy commemorating the battle of Salamis (see App. no.34).

Due to the lack of extant monuments a limitation of this thesis is the heavy reliance on, often late, literary evidence. I touch on the fallibility of over reliance on the literary sources throughout this project (see particularly chapter 3) but the major gaps in the material record make the literary source identifications necessary in carrying out this project's aims.

## **7.5 Further Research**

### **7.5.1 Thematic Extensions**

The division of site types used in this project is broad and allows for the presentation of comprehensive commemorative patterns. For example, one of the main three categories of sites is the 'urban centre'. This term is vague and, as outlined in the definition (see chapter 4), encompasses everything within the city's walls. As a result, this site type incorporates a number of other site types within it. For example, within

this broad place of commemoration are urban sanctuaries and civic spaces which are not separately represented in this project. Future research may benefit from separating various site types (for example distinguishing urban sanctuaries) within the urban centres to further reveal patterns of monument construction by type and particular group. How commemorative places within the urban centre may be segregated is demonstrated in figures 5.13 and 5.14. The benefits of this further division of particular places would reveal more detailed choices being made with reference to monument type. For example, comparisons could be drawn between monuments constructed in religious space within urban centres and outside of urban centres.

This thesis discussed the theme of preferences of commemorative place using two particular case studies. Firstly, to demonstrate preferences over space, the lack of Athenian monuments at the pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Isthmia and the interstate relations with Corinth were discussed (see chapter section 6.1). Secondly to demonstrate preferences over time, the relationship between place and people and how it manifests itself at sites of conflict throughout the fifth century BC and beyond was discussed (see chapter section 6.2). The analysis, however also illustrated that place preferences may be seen within an urban setting. From table 5.1, which displays the distribution of monuments over site type, we can see that there is a slight preference in commemorating within an urban setting. To look at two city-states individually, Athens according to figure 5.14 clearly prefers urban commemoration when taking into account the city's commemoration for all Persian War monuments



and Sparta also favours an urban setting for commemorations. In addition Sparta, as far as the data illustrates in figures 5.7 and 5.8, does not construct or enact any solely Spartan monuments at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. As illustrated in figure 5.6, Sparta specifically favours commemorating Thermopylae within an urban setting over that of the battlefield, even resorting to removing the body of their king from the site of conflict to rebury within the *polis*. It would be revealing to analyse these examples of place preference in relation to general military commemorative practice of the fifth century BC to see whether they are particular to this conflict or fit into a wider commemorative pattern.

#### 7.5.2 Additional Theme: Commemorative Anomalies

The presence of commemorative anomalies may be seen as a theme in the quantitative analysis (see especially chapter section 5.2). However, space and time restrictions prevented the inclusion and further discussion of this theme. While illustrating the commemorative practice over all our given commemorative places, table 5.4 clearly illustrates a gap in commemorative practice between eight and seventeen monuments per commemorative place. To explore this commemorative gap between eight and seventeen monuments could further reveal something of the patterns of place preference and the relationships between object and place.

In addition to the general observation that for one commemorative place to contain more than two monuments commemorating the Persian Wars was, in fact, an anomaly

(see figure 5.2), anomalies are also apparent in the commemorative patterns of particular conflicts. For example, figure 5.10.3 highlights a sharp increase in Athenian commemorative activity for the battle of Marathon within an urban setting in the decade 470-460 BC. Directly following this decade, in 460-450 BC, according to figure 5.10.4 we see a lack of commemorative activity. According to our data this is the only decade presented in figure 5.10 in which no commemorative activity takes place in any spatial sphere. To explore inter-*polis* interaction, particularly concerning Athens within and around these decades may provide relevant information to help explain these fluctuations in commemorative monument construction.

Commemorative practices varied between city-states in number, commemorative place and monument type. The inconclusive conflict at Artemisium was commemorated very lightly and according to our data received no commemoration by any other group than Athens. The commemoration of this battle stands in stark contrast to the other conflicts represented in this thesis. The Greek defeat at Thermopylae was, conversely, commemorated heavily. Neither Artemisium nor Thermopylae may be categorised as victories. Thus, to contrast Artemisium and Thermopylae, and their commemorative disparities, may reveal contrasting contemporary attitudes towards the two conflicts that the Greeks could not claim as victories.

### 7.5.3 Forgetting

This project is heavily focussed on the memories of the Persian Wars. However, societies also need to forget; 'forgetting prevents social paralysis'.<sup>875</sup> Forgetting can play important roles within a group. I believe there would be scope to examine the role of forgetting the Persian Wars and Medising from a Theban perspective. As Thebes grew in power throughout the fifth and into the fourth centuries BC the memory of Medising and the potential to 'forget' it would create an interesting juxtaposition with the elaborate efforts undertaken by other city-states to recall the Persian Wars.

### 7.5.4 Geographical Information Systems

The lack of available material data prevented a successful phenomenological approach to the commemorative places, specifically the battlefields. However, with the use of computer technology the original landscape could, theoretically, be recreated. With the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS), landscapes could be created and monuments placed within these landscapes. By recreating the ancient Greek landscape and specific commemorative places within it containing commemorative monuments, spatial patterns could be interpreted. It would be possible, with a high degree of speculation given the scant evidence, to highlight interactions between monuments, natural resources and population distribution, for example. In addition, multiple

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<sup>875</sup> Price 2012: 27.

versions of the same landscape could be created, placing monuments in different locations within commemorative places according to different theories.

#### 7.5.6 Place Value in Modern Greece

Many of the extant monuments within this data set have been removed from their original place of construction, either in recent years or in the past and many of these monuments have been relocated to new places, such as museums. Further research could be undertaken to investigate the centralising of place value, in museums for example, and analysing where these centralised institutions of meaning are situated in relation to the landscape whose story they tell.<sup>876</sup> This further research would illustrate the differences in the types of areas and environments selected to display Persian War commemorative monuments, either by comparing modern examples of site choice or contrasting examples across time.

When attempting a phenomenological approach to the battlefields I was struck by the lack of attention the battlefield of Plataea appeared to receive. According the quantitative analysis of monuments constructed and enacted at particular battlefields, the battlefield of Plataea was a major place of commemoration in the fifth century BC (see table 5.3 and figure 5.3). In addition, this place was the most celebrated battlefield (according to a quantitative analysis of the monument distribution). In recent years modern commemorative monuments have been constructed at certain

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<sup>876</sup> See Forbes 2007: 15-16.

Persian War battlefields such as Marathon, Salamis and Thermopylae, however Plataea appeared (at least in March 2013) neglected in comparison. A study on how the attachment to, and value of, sites of conflict has altered between the fifth century BC and the present day may prove useful and interesting. This study would be timely considering the two thousandth five hundred year anniversary of the battle of Plataea will be in 2021.

## **7.6 Conclusion: Original Contributions**

The methodology devised for this thesis was designed to include all Persian War commemorative monuments. The quantitative analysis allowed for a more holistic approach to commemorative patterns. As a result this thesis shows how a wide range of commemorative monument types were constructed and enacted at a wide range of site types for all the battles which took place on the Greek mainland or surrounding coastal waters in commemoration of the Persian Wars. The quantitative approach, figuratively, re-joins object and its original context. By analysing each individual monument quantitatively all monuments are treated equally, whether or not the archaeological material has remained within its original context.

This thesis contributes to the knowledge of how ancient Greeks collectively commemorated the Persian Wars. What emerges from this study is a varied commemorative tradition over site type, monument type and commemorative group; certain places are preferred by certain commemorative groups to commemorate

particular conflicts using differing commemorative methods. To think plurally about the ancient Greek commemorative tradition is to refocus attention on the whole, as opposed to studies on individual places of commemoration, particular battles, or singular monument types. Place, and value attached to it, has been demonstrated as being conflicted, complex and always in a process. The commemorative arenas discussed within this project have multiple layers of meaning and the landscape, within which these commemorative places are situated, is in a reciprocal relationship with those who interact with it. This relationship is materialised by constructing and enacting public monuments, and this thesis proves there is a reciprocal relationship between object and place.

Furthermore this thesis demonstrates that the past and its recollection and projection, through monumentalisation, both affects and is affected by ongoing events. Collective memory is not innocent and narratives about the past may be constructed; the past is created, reworked and shaped by collective remembrance. Conversely, actions in the present are also influenced by how the past is remembered. Throughout this thesis, the plurality in collective remembrance is emphasised and multiple, and at times conflicting, narratives may be created about the past. This thesis shows, then, how disunity may emerge in multiple narratives created about the past. Therefore, changes in a community's ideological framework are shown to affect the collective memory of earlier events.

## APPENDIX: THE MONUMENTS AND THE EVIDENCE

Table App. 1 *Confidence Attributed to the Acceptance of each Monument*

| Battle      | No. | Monument                                       | Commemorating Group     | Location                 | Confidence |
|-------------|-----|--|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------|
| Marathon    | 1   | Burial Mound                                   | Athens                  | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 2   | Burial Mound                                   | Plataea                 | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 3   | Trophy   | Athens                  | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 4   | Grave of Miltiades                             | Athens                  | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 5   | <i>Herakleia</i>                               | Athens                  | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 6   | Epigram for the Athenians                      | Athens                  | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 7   | Casualty List                                  | Athens                  | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 8   | Treasury                                       | Athens                  | Delphi                   |            |
|             | 9   | Thank-Offering (Statue Group?)                 | Athens                  | Delphi                   |            |
|             | 10  | Callimachus Monument                           | Athens                  | Athens (Acropolis)       |            |
|             | 11  | Engraved Marble Base (Cenotaph?)               | Athens                  | Athens                   |            |
|             | 12  | Stoa <i>Poikile</i>                            | Athens                  | Athens (Agora)           |            |
|             | 13  | Temple of Eukleia                              | Athens                  | Athens (Agora)           |            |
|             | 14  | Sanctuary of Pan                               | Athens                  | Athens (Acropolis)       |            |
|             | 15  | Statue Group                                   | Athens                  | Delphi                   |            |
|             | 16  | Bronze Statue of Athena                        | Athens                  | Athens (Acropolis)       |            |
|             | 17  | 'Old' Parthenon                                | Athens                  | Athens (Acropolis)       |            |
|             | 18  | Annual Sacrifice of 500 Kids                   | Athens                  | Athens (Agrai)           |            |
|             | 19  | Temple of Nemesis with Statue of Nemesis       | Athens                  | Rhamnus                  |            |
|             | 20  | Statue of Arimnestos                           | Plataea                 | Plataea                  |            |
| Artemisium  | 21  | Circle of Marble Steles with an Epigram        | Athens                  | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 22  | Shrine to Boreas                               | Athens                  | Athens                   |            |
| Thermopylae | 23  | Epigram for the Spartiates                     | Amphictyons             | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 24  | Epigram for Peloponnesians                     | Amphictyons             | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 25  | Epigram for the Opuntian Locrians              | Opus                    | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 26  | Epigram for the Thespians                      | Thespieae               | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 27  | Stone Lion over Leonidas' grave                | Spartans or Amphictyons | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 28  | Burial mound                                   | Sparta & Thespieae      | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 29  | Tomb of Leonidas                               | Sparta                  | Sparta                   |            |
|             | 30  | List of Spartans Who Fought at Thermopylae     | Sparta                  | Sparta                   |            |
|             | 31  | Shrine of Maron and Alpheius                   | Sparta                  | Sparta (Agora)           |            |
|             | 32  | Hero-Cult practices for the fallen             | Sparta                  | Sparta                   |            |
|             | 33  | Epigram for Leonidas                           | Sparta                  | Sparta                   |            |
| Salamis     | 34  | Trophy on the Island of Psyttaleia             | Athens                  | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 35  | Trophy on the Island of Salamis (Cynosoura)    | Athens                  | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 36  | Gravestone with Epitaph for the Corinthians    | Corinth                 | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 37  | Burial Mound                                   |                         | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 38  | Tomb of Themistocles                           | Athens                  | Battlefield              |            |
|             | 39  | Thank-Offering of Three Triremes (1)           | Panhellenic             | Isthmus                  |            |
|             | 40  | Thank-Offering of Three Triremes (2)           | Panhellenic             | Sunium                   |            |
|             | 41  | Thank-Offering of Three Triremes (3)           | Panhellenic             | Salamis                  |            |
|             | 42  | Statue of Apollo Holding the Beak of a Ship    | Panhellenic             | Delphi                   |            |
|             | 43  | Tomb of Eurybiades                             | Sparta                  | Sparta                   |            |
|             | 44  | Painting of Salamis Holding the Beak of a Ship | Athens                  | Olympia                  |            |
|             | 45  | Sanctuary of the Hero Cychreus                 | Athens                  | Salamis                  |            |
|             | 46  | Epigram Engraved on a Cenotaph                 | Corinth                 | Isthmus                  |            |
|             | 47  | Bronze Mast with Three Gold Stars              | Aegina                  | Delphi                   |            |
|             | 48  | Pedimental Sculptures of the Temple of Aphaea  | Aegina                  | Aphaea sanctuary, Aegina |            |

Table App. 2 *Confidence Attributed to the Acceptance of each Monument cont.*

| Battle  | No. | Monument  | Commemorating Group | Location           | Confidence |
|---------|-----|---|---------------------|--------------------|------------|
| Plataea | 49  | Trophy  | Panhellenic         | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 50  | Trophy  | Sparta              | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 51  | Trophy  | Athens              | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 52  | Epigram for Athenians                               | Athens              | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 53  | Epigram for Spartans                                | Sparta              | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 54  | Epigram for Corinthians                             | Corinth             | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 55  | Epigram for Tegeans                                 | Tegea               | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 56  | Burial Mound  | Sparta              | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 57  | Burial Mound  | Athens              | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 58  | Burial Mound  | Tegea               | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 59  | Burial Mound  | Megara              | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 60  | Burial Mound  | Phlius              | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 61  | Burial Mound (Empty?)                               | Aegina              | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 62  | Empty Burial Mounds                                 | Others              | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 63  | Ruins of Sanctuaries as Memorial of Persian Impiety | Panhellenic         |                    |            |
|         | 64  | Tithing of Medising Greeks                          | Panhellenic         |                    |            |
|         | 65  | <i>Eleutheria</i>                                   | Panhellenic         | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 66  | Inviolability of Plataea                            | Panhellenic         |                    |            |
|         | 67  | Altar of Zeus <i>Eleutherios</i>                    | Panhellenic         | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 68  | Annual Rites Performed at the Greek Tombs           | Plataea             | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 69  | Tomb of Mardonius                                   | Plataea             | Battlefield        |            |
|         | 70  | Temple and Statue of Athena <i>Areia</i>            | Plataea             | Plataea            |            |
|         | 71  | Tomb of Pausanias                                   | Sparta              | Sparta             |            |
|         | 72  | Spoils Displayed in the Parthenon                   | Athens              | Athens (Acropolis) |            |
|         | 73  | Odeum at Athens                                     | Athens              | Athens             |            |
|         | 74  | Shields Hung on Temple Architraves                  | Athens              | Delphi             |            |
|         | 75  | Bronze Statue of Artemis the Saviour                | Megara              | Megara             |            |
|         | 76  | Bronze Statue of Artemis the Saviour                | Pagae (in Megarid)  | Pagae              |            |
|         | 77  | Grave of Euchidas with Engraved Stele               | Plataea             | Plataea            |            |
|         | 78  | Statue of an Ox                                     | Plataea             | Delphi             |            |
|         | 79  | Manger of Mardonius Dedicated to Athena <i>Alea</i> | Tegea               | Tegea              |            |
| General | 80  | Serpent Column                                      | Panhellenic         | Delphi             |            |
|         | 81  | Bronze Statue of Zeus                               | Panhellenic         | Olympia            |            |
|         | 82  | Bronze Statue of Poseidon                           | Panhellenic         | Isthmus            |            |
|         | 83  | Persian Stoa  | Sparta              | Sparta (Agora)     |            |
|         | 84  | Athenian Portico Displaying Spoils                  | Athens              | Delphi             |            |
|         | 85  | North Wall of the Acropolis                         | Athens              | Athens (Acropolis) |            |
|         | 86  | 'New' Parthenon                                     | Athens              | Athens (Acropolis) |            |
|         | 87  | Statue of Zeus <i>Eleutherios</i>                   | Athens              | Athens (Agora)     |            |
|         | 88  | Statue of Miltiades                                 | Athens              | Athens (Agora)     |            |
|         | 89  | Statue of Themistocles                              | Athens              | Athens (Agora)     |            |
|         | 90  | Tomb of Aristides                                   | Athens              | Athens (Phalerum)  |            |
|         | 91  | Epigram in Thanks to Aphrodite                      | Corinth             | Corinth            |            |
|         | 92  | Epigram Engraved on a Cenotaph                      | Megara              | Megara (Agora)     |            |
|         | 93  | Statues of Skyllis and His Daughter Hydna           | Amphictyons         | Delphi             |            |
|         | 94  | Altar Dedicated to Helios <i>Eleutherios</i>        | Troezen             | Troezen            |            |
|         | 95  | Statues of Women and Children                       | Troezen             | Troezen (Agora)    |            |
|         | 96  | Trophy with Epigram                                 | Delphi              | Delphi             |            |
|         | 97  | Altar of the Winds                                  | Delphi              | Thyia              |            |
|         | 98  | Statue of Apollo                                    | Epidaurus           | Delphi             |            |
|         | 99  | Bronze Statue of an Ox                              | Carystus            | Delphi             |            |
|         | 100 | Statue Group  | Hermionae           | Delphi             |            |
|         | 101 | Gilded statue of Alexander I                        | Macedon             | Delphi             |            |
|         | 102 | Bronze Apollo                                       | Peparethos          | Delphi             |            |
|         | 103 | Bronze Apollo                                       | Samos               | Delphi             |            |
|         | 104 | Bronze Bull   | Eretria             | Olympia            |            |
|         | 105 | Inscribed Persian Helmet                            | Athens              | Olympia            |            |



## MARATHON

### 1. Athenian Burial Mound

The dead at Marathon were buried on the battlefield as is described by Thucydides:

The dead are laid in the public sepulchre in the most beautiful suburb of the city, in which those who fall in war are always buried; with the exception of those slain at Marathon, who for their singular and extraordinary valour were interred on the spot where they fell.<sup>877</sup>

According to Thucydides, this was contrary to regular practice. Thucydides, in describing the usual practice of the burial of the Athenian war dead in the *demosion sema*, states that due to the soldiers' outstanding achievement at Marathon they were buried on the battlefield as an exceptional mark of honour (see discussion in chapter section 6.4.3.1).

Pausanias also mentions the Athenian grave:

It was at this point in Attica that the foreigners landed, were defeated in battle, and lost some of their vessels as they were putting off from the land. On the plain is the grave of the Athenians, and upon

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<sup>877</sup> Thuc. 2.34.5.

it are slabs giving the names of the killed according to their tribes;<sup>878</sup>

Figure App. 1 *Athenian Burial Mound at Marathon (soros)*



*Author's own photograph.*

The English antiquarian Richard Chandler visited Marathon in 1765 and identified the *soros* as the burial place of the 192 'gallant Athenians'.<sup>879</sup> What has been identified as the Marathon burial mound is still visible today on the plain of Marathon (see figure App. 1). In October 1788, the French antiquarian Louis François Sébastien Fauvel excavated the *soros* in the hope of uncovering some material evidence to support the identification of the mound.<sup>880</sup> After eight days the excavation at the centre of the mound reached the level of the plain and, in addition, two other smaller holes were begun on either side. We are informed by Philippe-Ernest Legrand, in his 1897 biography of Fauvel that 'nothing was found for his trouble, and Fauvel, mortified by his failure and harassed by the owner of the land, discontinues his research.'<sup>881</sup>

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<sup>878</sup> Paus. 1.32.3.

<sup>879</sup> Chandler 1776: 165-166.

<sup>880</sup> See Krentz 2010: 122-123.

<sup>881</sup> Legrand 1897: 56.

In the years following Fauvel's excavation, the numbers of travellers visiting the site increased in search of traces of the ancient battle. One such traveller, Edward Clarke, who visited Marathon in 1801 was critical of Fauvel's work on the mound, noting that 'it would be necessary to carry the excavation much lower' (i.e. below the current ground level).<sup>882</sup> However, on entering a passage that had been opened up into the *soros*, Clarke discovered and collected numerous arrow heads, made of common flint.<sup>883</sup> In 1802, another attempt to excavate the *soros* was made by Lord and Lady Elgin. In much the same vain as Fauvel's effort, the Elgins were largely unsuccessful in discovering finds that would put the identification of the *soros* beyond doubt.<sup>884</sup> Thus, between 1800 and 1830, the Marathon *soros* had become a prime attraction to travellers in search of memorabilia relating to the famous battle, arrow heads in particular.<sup>885</sup> Dodwell suggested that the mound was the burial mound for the Persian war dead, which was heavily based on the discovery of these arrow heads, and this theory gained some support in the early nineteenth century.<sup>886</sup>

By 1836, due to the regularity of visitors and the digging they undertook, the mound was considered to be in danger of destruction. On May 12, 1836, Iakovos Rizos Neroulos, the minister of education responsible for cultural affairs, sent a memorandum to the Provincial Directorate of Attica:

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<sup>882</sup> Clarke 1818: 7.24.

<sup>883</sup> Clarke 1818: 7.23; Leake 1829: 172.

<sup>884</sup> See Nisbet Ferguson & Nisbet Hamilton Grant 1926: 204; also Krentz 2010: 123.

<sup>885</sup> Dodwell 1819: 2.159-160; Gell 1827: 59; Leake 1835: 431-432; Gray 1840: 342; see also Forsdyke 1919-1920: 147.

<sup>886</sup> Dodwell 1819: 2.159-160; see also Gell 1827: 59.

being informed that foreign travellers passing via Marathon are frequently excavating, with the help of the locals, in the very tumulus [mound] of those Athenians who fell in the battle (the so-called *soros*) in order to find arrow heads, and wishing this most ancient monument of Greek glory to remain untouched and untroubled, we ask you to issue as quickly as possible the necessary orders to the municipal authority of Marathon, so that it is not allowed for anyone on any pretext to excavate the afore-mentioned tumulus or the other monuments on the field of battle.<sup>887</sup>

By the date of this quote, in 1836, scholarly opinion appears to identify the mound as the burial place of the Athenian warriors and does not reference Dodwell's theory that it may contain the remains of the Persian war dead.

In 1883, Heinrich Schliemann undertook excavations at the Marathon *soros*. Two holes were dug into the mound; the central trench reached a depth of six and a half feet below ground level, while the trench on the eastern side filled with water at half that depth below ground level. Schliemann, presented with meagre finds, concluded that the mound could be dated to the nineteenth century BC.<sup>888</sup> Following Schliemann's efforts, in 1890 and 1891 the Greek archaeologist Valerios Staes conducted two seasons of excavations and managed to demonstrate that the mound was, indeed, the burial place of the Athenian dead from 490 BC. Following Clarke's observation,

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<sup>887</sup> Translation by Petrakos 1996: 186, n. 43. See also Krentz 2010: 123.

<sup>888</sup> Schliemann 1884b: 139; also Schliemann 1884a.

mentioned above, excavations would have to be carried out much lower than ground level. At thirteen feet below ground level, Staes found a funeral pyre on a brick lined tray with ashes and charred bones and black figured pottery dated no later than the early fifth century BC.<sup>889</sup>

Due to the fifth century BC literary reference to the communal grave, and the subsequent archaeological evidence, which supports a date from the early fifth century BC, this monument is accepted with confidence.

## 2. Plataean Burial Mound

Pausanias, after describing the grave of the Athenians, mentions a separate grave for the Boeotian Plataeans and the slaves:

and there is another grave for the Boeotian  
Plataeans and for the slaves, for slaves fought then  
for the first time by the side of their masters.<sup>890</sup>

Due to the vestiges of ancient monuments in the vicinity to the *soros*, Clarke identifies the Plataean sepulchre to be between the Marathon mound and the grave of Miltiades, as does Leake.<sup>891</sup> This is at odds with the modern and generally accepted identification of the Plataean tomb, which is situated to the west of the plain near Vrana. Gell, while writing on his travels from the 'plain of Marathon to Pentelicus', notices 'a very remarkable circular hillock, which seems too considerable to be

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<sup>889</sup> Staes 1890: 65-71; see also Krentz 2010: 124-125.

<sup>890</sup> Paus. 1.32.3.

<sup>891</sup> Clarke 1818: 28, also see map on 18; Leake 1829: 172.

artificial, but may be the common tumulus of the slain'.<sup>892</sup> The hillock is not investigated further on this occasion and we cannot be certain that the mound mentioned is indeed what we know today to be the Plataean burial mound. However, the mound is situated on Gell's path between the Marathon plain towards Penteli. Leake locates the ancient site of Marathon at Vrana,<sup>893</sup> and so tentatively suggests that the main tumulus (that we may assume is that of the Plataeans) is the tomb of Xuthus who founded the 'Tetrapolis' of Attica, consisting of Oenoe, Marathon, Probalinthus, and Tricorynthus.<sup>894</sup>

Figure App. 2 *Plataean Burial Mound*



*Author's own photograph.*

In 1970 the Greek archaeologist Spyridon Marinatos excavated the tumuli in the area of Vrana, west of the plain of Marathon. It was during these investigations that material evidence was unearthed which allowed Marinatos to confidently identify the largest tumulus in the area as that of the Plataean dead from the battle of

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<sup>892</sup> Gell 1827: 62.

<sup>893</sup> Leake 1829: 165-167.

<sup>894</sup> Leake 1829: 171; see also Strabo 8.7.1.

Marathon.<sup>895</sup> Interred skeletons were uncovered with the remnants of fires having been lit beside them and on the surface sacrificial meals and gifts had been offered.<sup>896</sup> The mound contained eleven males, ten adults and one child of about ten years. Two of the burials were cremations and steles marked several of the inhumations.<sup>897</sup> One skeleton who had his head protected by large stones, and had received gifts, was the only burial to have had his stele engraved and may have been a Plataean officer. The name 'Archias' can be read engraved on the stele and Marinatos asserts that although it is inscribed in the Ionic alphabet, Plataeans may still have engraved the name as they 'had put themselves under the protection of the Athenians'.<sup>898</sup> This, arguably weak, justification for the use of the Ionic alphabet has led to uncertainty among modern scholarship about the identification of the tumulus.<sup>899</sup> Marinatos believes the child to have taken part in the battle as a messenger and states it would have been necessary with such an extended battle line.<sup>900</sup> The strongest link, however, between this mound and the Plataean dead is the material finds. The finds 'are absolutely identical to the finds of the Tumulus of the Athenians, both in date and in shapes of vases.'<sup>901</sup>

Based on the late literary reference to the separate grave of the Plataeans to that of the Athenians, and the questionable inscriptional evidence, this monument may only be accepted tentatively.

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<sup>895</sup> Marinatos 1970a: 164-166; Marinatos 1970b: 357-366.

<sup>896</sup> Marinatos 1970a: 165-166.

<sup>897</sup> Marinatos 1970b: 358.

<sup>898</sup> Hdts. 6.108.1, possibly as early as 519 BC, see Thuc. 3.68.

<sup>899</sup> Petrakos 1996: 65-67.

<sup>900</sup> Marinatos 1970b: 359-361.

<sup>901</sup> Marinatos 1970b: 361, see figs. 20-30; see also Marinatos 1970a: fig. 19. Compare with Marathon finds, CVA I pls. 10-14.

### 3. Trophy

The earliest literary mention of the Marathon trophy is by Aristophanes:

Chorus: Hail! King of Greece, we congratulate you  
upon the happiness you enjoy; it is worthy  
of this city, worthy of the trophy of  
Marathon.<sup>902</sup>

Aristophanes also mentions the monument elsewhere:

Bdelycleon: We have now a thousand towns that pay  
us tribute; let them command each of  
these to feed twenty Athenians; then  
twenty thousand of our citizens would be  
eating nothing but hare, would drink  
nothing but the purest of milk, and always  
crowned with garlands, would be enjoying  
the delights to which the great name of  
their country and the trophy of Marathon  
give them the right.<sup>903</sup>

Plutarch describes how the Athenians, before the battle of Plataea, explain their past exploits to the Spartans.

while we have not only like arms and bodies with  
our brethren of that day, but that greater courage

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<sup>902</sup> Aristoph. *Knights* 1333-1334; see West 1969: 12-13.

<sup>903</sup> Aristoph. *Wasps* 707-711.



which is born of our victories; and our contest is not alone for land and city, as theirs was, but also for the trophies which they set up at Marathon and Salamis, in order that the world may think that not even those were due to Miltiades only, or to fortune, but to the Athenians.<sup>904</sup>

Pausanias mentions the trophy in passing while relaying a story about divine intervention:

They say too that there chanced to be present in the battle a man of rustic appearance and dress. Having slaughtered many of the foreigners with a plough he was seen no more after the engagement. When the Athenians made enquiries at the oracle the god merely ordered them to honour Echetlaeus (He of the Plough-tail) as a hero. A trophy too of white marble has been erected.<sup>905</sup>

Plato also mentions the Marathon trophy:

but to the King she could not bring herself to lend official aid for fear of disgracing the trophies of Marathon, Salamis and Plataea<sup>906</sup>

Leake mentions the remains of a marble structure from the plain of Marathon, on the strength of an account from a fellow traveller, having not seen them himself.

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<sup>904</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 16.4.

<sup>905</sup> Paus. 1.32.5.

<sup>906</sup> Plato. *Menexenus* 245a.

Mr. W. Bankes, who has more recently visited Marathon, and who examined the plain with his usual diligence, discovered near the south-western angle of the Great Marsh, and about a quarter of a mile from the sea, at the church of Misosporetissa, the remains of a single Ionic column, of two feet and a half in diameter, of the best period of the arts, and which had the appearance of not having belonged to any building. It may have been part of the trophy of white marble which was erected by the Athenians after the action, and which, from the remark of Pausanias on its material, seems to have still existed in his time; for this is precisely the spot where the chief slaughter of the barbarians took place, and where the victory of the Athenians was crowned by driving them to the shore, and into the marsh.<sup>907</sup>

Remnants of a marble structure, the very same as those identified by Bankes, which consisted of multiple column drums and fragments of sculpture found on the plain of Marathon were published by Vanderpool.<sup>908</sup> These pentelic marble fragments, Vanderpool argues, were part of the very white marble trophy Pausanias described in the second century AD. This 'white marble' structure was subsequently destroyed and the remnants were in fact built in to a mediaeval tower. This tower too has also fallen and is nearly completely destroyed while its remains are to be found near the modern day chapel of the Panagia Mesosporitissa. Vanderpool, having examined the

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<sup>907</sup> Leake 1829: 173-174.

<sup>908</sup> Vanderpool 1966; see also West 1969: 7-15.

foundations of the mediaeval tower, ascertained that the structure sits on its own foundations, indicating the components from the classical era had been moved and brought to the site of the tower.<sup>909</sup> One may assume, judging by the size and weight of the pentelic marble fragments that they were scavenged from within the immediate vicinity. When examining the text surrounding Pausanias' reference to the marble monument quoted above, we see that the trophy, the burial place of the Persians, the Makaria spring, and the Great Marsh are all mentioned in swift succession. This may indicate that, although slightly dubious with a lack of exact topographical referencing, these monuments and natural landmarks were located in close proximity to one another: to the north-east of the plain. Vanderpool advocates the trophy would probably have been erected near the area where the heaviest losses were inflicted upon the Persians;<sup>910</sup> this would support the above interpretation of Pausanias' account, as the victorious Athenians would probably have covered the Persian dead in the close vicinity of where they fell.

Figure App. 3 *Athenian Trophy at Marathon*



*Author's own photograph.*

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<sup>909</sup> Vanderpool 1966: 100.

<sup>910</sup> Vanderpool 1966: 102; see also 105.

The largest piece of the original structure, which was pulled from the remains of the mediaeval tower, is the Ionic capital which is now housed in the Marathon Museum. This piece has a cutting which, it is generally accepted, once held a statue, presumably also made of marble. According to Vanderpool, '[t]he existing cutting on the top of the capital is too large for just the trophy and we must suppose that there was something else besides, perhaps a Nike preparing or crowning the trophy such as is sometimes represented on vases, reliefs and coins'.<sup>911</sup> The monument has been dated to the second quarter of the fifth century BC (c.460 BC) on stylistic grounds.<sup>912</sup> Thus the monument was a single column, ten metres high which supported a statue. If the dating is accurate one can assume, with some degree of confidence, that this is indeed a commemorative monument of the battle of Marathon.

#### 4. Grave of Miltiades

Pausanias, writing in the second century AD is the earliest literary reference to the grave of Miltiades:

In the plain...here is also a separate monument to one man, Miltiades, the son of Kimon, although his end came later, after he had failed to take Paros and for this reason had been brought to trial by the Athenians.<sup>913</sup>

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<sup>911</sup> Vanderpool 1966: 106.

<sup>912</sup> Vanderpool 1966: 100.

<sup>913</sup> Paus. 1.32.4-5.

Pausanias is the only ancient source to discuss this monument and clearly indicates it is on the plain of Marathon. Pausanias uses the word *mnēma* to describe the monument which would not necessarily indicate Miltiades' body was entombed at this site.

Clarke, in the nineteenth century, interpreted Pausanias' writing as describing a place of burial, and identified some squared blocks at Marathon as the tomb of Miltiades.<sup>914</sup> Clarke identifies the remains of this monument as 'standing in a line with [the *soros*], towards the south'.<sup>915</sup> Contrastingly, Leake identified the foundation of a square monument consisting of large marble blocks situated five hundred yards 'northward' of the *soros* and suggests that it is the remains of the monument erected in honour of Miltiades; on the strength of the remains, it is suggested that the monument may have consisted of a 'cubical base supporting a short column.'<sup>916</sup> Frazer also situates a structural foundation north of the *soros*, but at six hundred yards.<sup>917</sup> At this position, Fraser describes a 'tower' which is marked by some cypresses. Here are the foundations of a quadrangular building lying north-west to south-east measuring, roughly, 12 paces long by 8 paces broad. Frazer believes this is a construction of Roman date as he thinks the foundation is constructed with bricks and mortar. In 1890 the blocks of 'well-hewn' pentelic marble which sat on top of these foundations were found by Greek archaeologists to have been removed, revealing the mortared

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<sup>914</sup> Clarke 1818: 7.27-28.

<sup>915</sup> Clarke 1818: 7.27.

<sup>916</sup> Leake 1829: 172-3.

<sup>917</sup> Frazer 1965: 2.435.

foundations below. Fraser, therefore, rejects that this particular site can be 'either the Greek trophy or the tomb of Miltiades.'<sup>918</sup>

Unfortunately, after exploring the area myself I was unable to locate the base of this monument, either to the north or the south of the *soros*. This structure would have been a monument to an individual, as Pausanias notes. Due to the lack of archaeological evidence it is not certain whether this monument was, in fact, a tomb or a cenotaph. However if it was a burial, in justification of including a singular burial in a study of communal commemoration, the Athenians saw fit to honour Miltiades with an individual grave upon the field of conflict and thus would have established some form of public recognition of the monument.<sup>919</sup>

Miltiades was evidently held in high regard in Athens after his death, as he was portrayed fighting in the battle of Marathon in the painting in the Stoa *Poikile* (App. no.12) and a statue of him was dedicated at Delphi (App. no.15). However, given the late date of the sole literary reference to this monument, and the lack of consensus in later literature regarding any archaeological evidence, this monument may only be accepted with caution.

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<sup>918</sup> Frazer 1965: 2.435.

<sup>919</sup> West 1965: 14.

## 5. *Herakleia*

Pindar includes the games at Marathon when referring to victories in other games, firstly in his *Olympian Odes*:

And then there were two other joyous victories at  
the gates of Corinth, and others won by  
Epharmostus in the vale of Nemea; and at Argos he  
won glory in a contest of men, and as a boy at  
Athens. And at Marathon, when he was barred from  
competing with the beardless youths, how he  
endured the contest for silver cups among the older  
men!<sup>920</sup>

And secondly in his *Pythian Odes*:

You have won a prize of honour at Megara, and in  
the valley of Marathon<sup>921</sup>

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<sup>920</sup> Pind. *Olympian Odes* 9.89. See also Pind. *Olympian Odes* 13.110.

<sup>921</sup> Pind. *Pythian Odes* 8.79.

Figure App. 4 *Inscribed Stele Mentioning the Herakleia*



*Author's own photograph*

A stele was discovered in the early 1930's in the southern part of the Marathon plain in the locality known as Valaria, just north of the small swamp of Vrexisa.<sup>922</sup> The stele contains parts of two inscriptions; one on the front and one on the back. The first is a legal document dating from the period of Kleisthenes' reforms in the last decade of the

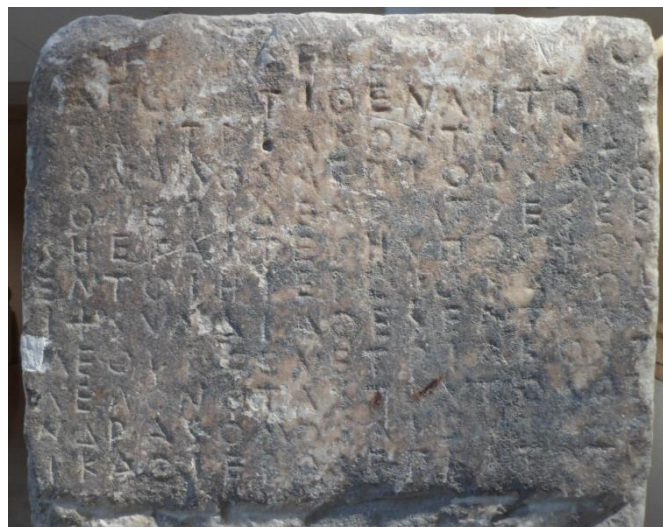
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<sup>922</sup> Vanderpool 1942: 329, also see n.1.



sixth century BC.<sup>923</sup> The second inscription, which interests us here, records some of the procedure concerning the selection of officials for the *Herekleia* (games held at Marathon) and dates from just after the battle of Marathon, between 490 - 480 BC.<sup>924</sup> The inscription relating to legal matters is read vertically and so, due to the damage inflicted on the stone, only a quarter of each line is legible. Thus, no complete reading can be made.<sup>925</sup> The inscription on the back regarding the *Herakleia*, given that the text is to be read horizontally, can be reconstructed with more success.

Figure App. 5 Herakleia *Inscription*



*Author's own photograph*

...Herakleion games... The  
Athlothetai shall appoint thirty  
men for the contest. They shall  
select from the visitors three from  
each tribe, who have promised in

<sup>923</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 2.

<sup>924</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 3.

<sup>925</sup> See Vanderpool 1942: 332-333 for attempts and suggestions at restoration and interpretation.

the sanctuary to help in arranging  
the contest to the best of their  
ability, not less than thirty years of  
age. These men are to take the  
oath in the sanctuary over victims.  
A steward...<sup>926</sup>

Vanderpool dates this inscription to the beginning of the fifth century BC on epigraphical and historical grounds.<sup>927</sup> Another inscription was found in close proximity to the inscription discussed above.<sup>928</sup> For the purpose of the current study this second inscription, arguably referring to the *Herakleia*, does little more than confirm the topography of the battle and reaffirm the likelihood of the *Herakleia* taking part in this area of the plain.<sup>929</sup>

The *Herakleia* festival is understood to have had a long history. The Marathonians, according to Pausanias, claimed they were the first to worship Herakles as a god.<sup>930</sup> When the Athenian forces rushed back in defence of Athens in 490 BC, after defeating the Persian forces having camped in 'the sacred precinct of Heracles in Marathon, they pitched camp in the sacred precinct of Heracles in Cynosarges'.<sup>931</sup> Therefore, it has been suggested that the sanctuaries of Herakles, particularly those at Marathon and Cynosarges (just outside the city walls) must have been held in especially high regard

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<sup>926</sup> *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 3; trans. Vanderpool 1942: 335.

<sup>927</sup> Vanderpool 1942: 333.

<sup>928</sup> *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 1015bis.

<sup>929</sup> See Matthaïou 2003: 191-194 for a discussion on this inscription and further references.

<sup>930</sup> Paus. 1.15.2; 1.32.4.

<sup>931</sup> Hdts. 6.116.

by Athenians of the early fifth century BC.<sup>932</sup> After the Persian War the festival, which was probably initially only of local importance, grew to pan-Attic importance and this idea is supported by the archaeological evidence (figure App. 5) in that prominent men were selected, three from each of the ten tribes, to manage the games.<sup>933</sup>

The increasing importance of Herakles, post-Marathon, would make sense given that the Athenian soldiers camped in the sanctuary of Herakles before the battle and may have wanted to further honour their 'protector'.<sup>934</sup> It is possible the festival went on to pan-Hellenic renown, as we learn from Pindar that Epharmostos of Opus, Aristomenes of Aigina, and a certain relative of Xenophon of Corinth won victories there.<sup>935</sup>

Considering the fifth century BC literary evidence and the supporting archaeological evidence, athletic contests taking place at Marathon in this period is beyond doubt. However, while the memory of Marathon was constantly recalled by Athenians throughout the fifth century BC, the association between an already existing *Herakleia* festival and the battle is speculative. Therefore, this monument is accepted tentatively.

## 6. Epigram for the Athenians

The Athenian epigram is quoted by Lycurgus, writing in the fourth century BC:

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<sup>932</sup> Woodford 1971: 217.

<sup>933</sup> Vanderpool 1942: 337.

<sup>934</sup> Hdts. 6.108, 116; Herakles was also portrayed in the painting in the Stoa *Poikile*, see Paus. 1.15.3.

<sup>935</sup> Pind. *Olympian* 9. 89-90; Pind. *Pythian* 8. 79; Pind. *Olympian* 8.110.

Athenians, guarding Greece, subdued in fight  
At Marathon the gilded Persians' might.<sup>936</sup>

Lycurgus includes this epigram in examples raised 'over graves',<sup>937</sup> which would make it an epitaph, but it does not reference the grave or the dead specifically, as epitaphs almost always do.<sup>938</sup> The epigram states that the Athenians were protecting Greece, which is an idea reminiscent of the epigram inscribed on a fragmented marble base (see App. no.11). This phraseology therefore accords with the Athenian outlook after the repulsion of Xerxes' forces.<sup>939</sup>

This epigram is also mentioned in Suidas, in which it is implied the epigram was set up in the Stoa *Poikile* near to the famous painting of Marathon in the Athenian agora.<sup>940</sup> If this inscription stood in the Athenian urban centre, this placement would go some way to explaining the lack of reference to the war dead, or grave, specifically. However, this placement does conflict with Lycurgus' description of the inscription as 'funerary'.<sup>941</sup> Furthermore, the Stoa *Poikile* has been dated to between 470-450 BC (see App. no.12),<sup>942</sup> which would in turn provide a tentative date for the epigram.<sup>943</sup>

This monument is counted here as having been raised on the battlefield on the strength of Lycurgus implying the epigram was raised over the communal grave at

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<sup>936</sup> Lyc. *Against Leocrates* 109.

<sup>937</sup> Prior to recounting the epigram in Lyc. *Against Leocrates* 109.

<sup>938</sup> Jacoby 1945: 160.

<sup>939</sup> West 1965: 12.

<sup>940</sup> Suidas s.v. *Poikile*.

<sup>941</sup> As noted by West 1965: 13.

<sup>942</sup> See Castriota 2005: 90-91.

<sup>943</sup> The epigram has been dated, by its style, to the early fifth century BC, see West 1965: 12.

Marathon. However, considering the monument's placement in the reference from Suidas, this attribution is not beyond doubt. Due to the conflicting literary sources, and the lack of archaeological evidence, this monument may only be accepted with caution.

## 7. Casualty List at Marathon

Pausanias describes the casualty list as erected upon the burial mound:

On the plain is the grave of the Athenians, and upon  
it are slabs giving the names of the killed according  
to their tribes<sup>944</sup>

A damaged stele was recently uncovered near Kunouria in the northern Peloponnese. The object was found in the villa of the second century AD aristocrat Herodes Atticus at modern Loukou (ancient Eua). It has been suggested that Herodes Atticus, who had a lavish estate at Marathon, had the monument there renovated and removed the original inscriptions to his villa at Loukou; this suggestion does imply, however, that Pausanias would have seen and reported the replacement inscriptions.<sup>945</sup>

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<sup>944</sup> Paus. 1.32.3. See also *SEG* 49.370; 51.425; 53.354; 55.413; 56.430, 431, 432.

<sup>945</sup> Petrovic 2013; Keesling 2012; Proietti 2013.

Figure App. 6 *Athenian Casualty List*



*After Steinhauer (2004-2009: 690).*

Good report indeed, as it reaches always the  
furthest ends of well-lit earth, will report the *arete*  
of these men, how they died fighting against Medes  
and crowned  
Athens, a few having awaited the attack of many.<sup>946</sup>

The stele measures 0.68m high, 0.558m wide, and 0.265m thick. The cuttings on the stele's sides indicate this object was slotted into a row beside others. One may assume that the names of the individuals from each tribe were inscribed on separate steles and were lined up next to one another in the same way as Matthaïou presents the 'cenotaph' erected for the *Marathonomachoi* in the *demosion sema* (see App. no.11 and figure App. 13).<sup>947</sup> If each stone was inscribed with a four line epigram such as the stele above, at forty lines the monument would boast the longest epigram until the

<sup>946</sup> See Steinhauer 2004-2009: 679-692.

<sup>947</sup> Matthaïou 2003: 197-200.

fourth century BC. The inscription has been dated to the early fifth century BC on stylistic grounds but the strongest link to the Marathon plain and thus the battle is the circumstance of its survival; it was found in the villa of Herodes Atticus, the Marathon born aristocrat.

It has been questioned whether the Athenians would have put up a casualty list on the battlefield as early as 490 BC;<sup>948</sup> however the recent interpretations of the archaeological evidence would suggest that this practice was, in fact, carried out.<sup>949</sup> The names of the war dead appear to be divided by tribe which complements Herodotus' assertion that the Athenian army were positioned in the battle line in accordance to tribal affiliation.<sup>950</sup>

Considering the archaeological material, the stele's dating, and the circumstances of its discovery, the existence of a casualty list at Marathon in the early fifth century BC is accepted here with confidence.

## 8. – 9. Athenian Treasury and Statue Group at Delphi

Pausanias identifies the Athenian Treasury at Delphi as having been constructed from the spoils taken at Marathon:

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<sup>948</sup> West 1965: xxxii.

<sup>949</sup> See Keesling 2012 for further references on the early fifth century BC dating of the Marathon casualty list; Arrington (2014: 43) also accepts the stele pictured in figure App. 6 was part of the set of casualty lists from 490 BC; *contra* Proietti 2013, who argues the recovered casualty list may be a later reconstruction with archaising features.

<sup>950</sup> Hdts 6.111.

The Thebans have a treasury built from the spoils of war, and so have the Athenians. Whether the Cnidians built to commemorate a victory or to display their prosperity I do not know, but the Theban treasury was made from the spoils taken at the battle of Leuctra, and the Athenian treasury from those taken from the army that landed with Datis at Marathon.<sup>951</sup>

In addition a base bearing an inscription abuts the treasury's south side:

The Athenians to Apollo as offerings from the Battle of Marathon, taken from the Mede<sup>952</sup>

The Athenian Treasury was situated on the sacred way on a high podium with a triangular terrace directly in front of the entrance way (see figure App. 7). Three retaining walls were placed around the treasury, which backed into the hillside. To the north of the treasury was the terrace of Apollo's Temple.<sup>953</sup> Furthermore, running along the south of the treasury was a triangular platform upon which the inscription noted above was engraved. According to the inscription, the Athenians dedicated a thank-offering at Delphi paid for from the spoils of Marathon. The form of the monument is not known but West offers either arms and armour taken from the enemy, or a statue group, as possible suggestions.<sup>954</sup> Cuttings on the top side of the

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<sup>951</sup> Paus. 10.11.5.

<sup>952</sup> *GHI*<sup>3</sup> no.19; trans. Neer 2004: 66.

<sup>953</sup> See Scott 2010: 76, fig.4.1 for the locations of the treasury (no.96 in Scott's publication) and the statue group (no.97 in Scott's publication).

<sup>954</sup> West 1965: 16.



base, which is in situ today, have more recently been interpreted as supporting ten statues, which may have been the Athenian Eponymous Heroes.<sup>955</sup>

Figure App. 7 *Athenian Treasury at Delphi*



*After Neer (2004: fig.2)*

The engraved monument base abutting the south side of the temple was originally discovered in eight fragments by French excavators in 1893 and was pieced together by the reconstruction of the dedicatory verse inscribed on the stone.<sup>956</sup> The inscription visible today is probably of the third century BC, the original having been erased possibly for the refurbishment of the letters.<sup>957</sup> However, the text is inscribed in the archaic alphabet and the letter forms have been interpreted as evidence for dating the original inscription to shortly after Marathon.<sup>958</sup> Based on the inscriptional evidence,

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<sup>955</sup> Neer (2004: 66) suggests a statue group of the eponymous heroes; Scott (2010: Appendix C, no.97 and 81) agrees with this identification.

<sup>956</sup> See Homolle 1893: 612 and 1896: 608-617.

<sup>957</sup> West 1965: 19; see also Jacquemin 1999: 315, no.77.

<sup>958</sup> For example a dotted theta and a three stroke sigma are used. West's conclusion (1965: 19) is based on the assumption that the inscription was copied faithfully; Scott 2010: Appendix C, no.97 dates this monument to 490 BC; Jacquemin (1999: 315, no.77) also agrees with this dating.

the association of the statue group as commemorating Marathon is understood here as secure.

It has been argued that the base and the treasury are to be understood as distinct structures, both in date and meaning.<sup>959</sup> For example, West provides four reasons which indicate that the base is an insertion after the Treasury had been completed.<sup>960</sup>

The third course of the south side of the Treasury is used as a support for the base of the dedication. The Treasury's third course is well finished like the courses above it.

West follows Pomtow in concluding that when the third course was constructed, due to the differing appearances of both, it was not immediately planned for a base to abut against it.<sup>961</sup> 'Swallow Tail' clamps were used in the Treasury construction while the

base is joined by 'T' and 'Z' clamps.<sup>962</sup> The sockets cut in the Treasury to receive the pedimental sculptures are rectangular, while those cut into the base are round.<sup>963</sup>

Finally the Treasury is built entirely of Parian marble while the base is made from limestone. To follow West would be to disassociate the statue group's base and the treasury, therefore concluding that the treasury was built first and had nothing to do with commemorating Marathon.<sup>964</sup>

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<sup>959</sup> E.g. Pomtow 1894: 43-45; Dinsmoor 1912: 456, 492.

<sup>960</sup> These reasons are set out in West 1965: 17.

<sup>961</sup> West 1965: 17; see also Pomtow 1894: 43-45.

<sup>962</sup> According to West (1965: 17) these differing clamps indicate a difference in periods of construction. 'Swallow Tail' clamps being indicative of the sixth century BC, while 'T' and 'Z' clamps being more popular in the fifth century BC; *contra* Cooper (1990: 317) who argues that the Swallow Tail clamp is not a product of the sixth century BC but rather represents an 'extracted double-T or double-T clamp across joints of blocks reset into position after rebuilding or repair.'

<sup>963</sup> Again West (1965:17) interprets these differences as indicative of a difference in dating: rectangular sockets suggest a sixth century BC date, whereas round sockets suggest a fifth century BC date.

<sup>964</sup> West (1965) does not treat the Athenian treasury as a commemorative monument; in addition certain architectural features, presented by Partida (2000: 53-55) are interpreted as evidence for a late

As an alternative to commemorating the battle of Marathon, the victory over Boeotians and Chalcidians in 507/6 BC has been suggested as prompting the construction of the treasury.<sup>965</sup> However, the proximity of the proposed dates (c.507 BC or c.490 BC) has been argued as too close to be able to choose on the basis of such architectural features mentioned above.<sup>966</sup>

Recent evidence has been produced which supports the connection between the Athenian treasury and the commemorations of Marathon. In 1989 excavations were undertaken at Delphi to further understand the relationship between the treasury and thank-offering base.<sup>967</sup> The treasury was discovered to have been architecturally linked to the triangular terrace which bore the dedicatory inscription. For example, it was discovered that a ledge of 0.3 metres in width protruded from the treasury's stereobate along the south side only, which would have supported the base for the thank-offering. The planning of the treasury, then, appears to have taken the addition of the base into account from the earliest stages of construction.<sup>968</sup> The architectural linkage of the treasury with the securely dated statue group dedication has led to the treasury also being dated to about 490 BC.<sup>969</sup> Furthermore, this archaeological

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sixth century BC date for the construction of the temple, which would be too early to commemorate Marathon.

<sup>965</sup> West 1965: 18-19; Scott (2010: 78, n.15), who dates the treasury to c.490 BC, states that this date was the most likely alternative date; see also Partida 2000: 52.

<sup>966</sup> *FD III 2 1* 286.

<sup>967</sup> The results are summarised in Amandry 1998.

<sup>968</sup> Neer 2004: 67; Partida (2000: 49), who argues for an earlier date for the treasury construction, nevertheless agrees that the treasury and terrace were contemporary;

<sup>969</sup> Scott 2010: 78; See Neer 2004:72-73, who suggests a more specific date of 488 BC; Jacquemin 1999: 315-316, no. 86, with further bibliography, dates the monument to the beginning of the fifth century BC.

evidence supports the statement provided by Pausanias, in the excerpt above, which clearly attributes the funding of the treasury to the spoils of Marathon.

The statue group dedication has been interpreted as a near-simultaneous monument to the treasury.<sup>970</sup> However the statue group and treasury, while close in proximity and understood here as sharing a commemorative focus, are distinct and separate monuments.<sup>971</sup>

#### 10. Callimachus Monument

[Callimachus] of Aphidna dedicated me to Athena  
The mes[senger of the imm]ortals who dwell in  
their Olympian halls.

[Callimachus the pole]march, the struggle of the  
Athenians  
at Mar[athon on behalf of the G]reeks [...]  
for the children of the Athenians a mem[orial?]<sup>972</sup>

The form of the monument was an ionic column, of perhaps 12 feet tall, supporting a figure.<sup>973</sup> The reconstructed monument and fragmentary inscription survives and is on

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<sup>970</sup> Scott 2010: 81, who further states that statues of the Eponymous Heroes would, in c.490 BC, have been an unusual type of dedication at Delphi and therefore would have required an explanatory inscription to aid the viewer to engage with the monument. In contrast, such an explanatory inscription was absent from the more 'easily understood' treasury.

<sup>971</sup> This view is shared by Jacquemin (1999: no's.86 and 77); Neer (2004: 67) and Scott (2010: Appendix C, no's.96 and 97).

<sup>972</sup> See *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 784 where a date of 490-485 BC is suggested; trans. Bowie 2010: 203-204.

<sup>973</sup> Raubitschek 1940: 53-56; West 1965: 24.

display in the Acropolis Museum today.<sup>974</sup> The inscription runs vertically downwards in two flutings apparently cut for the engraving.

The fragmentary inscription has had many suggested restorations, and these depend heavily on the author's interpretation of the monument. For example, Hiller argues that the first line of the inscription was engraved before the battle of Marathon and the second line added later to commemorate Callimachus' death in the battle.<sup>975</sup> Wilhelm interprets the two lines as inscribed at the same time, after the battle of Marathon, by Callimachus' friends.<sup>976</sup> It has also been argued that the monument was originally dedicated to Athena by Callimachus before the battle of Marathon.<sup>977</sup> If the monument was originally commissioned by Callimachus then only the first couplet can have been intended for the dedication; the second couplet must have been composed after Callimachus' death due to the 'unambiguous reference' to Marathon.<sup>978</sup> It has been argued that if the letters '*mn*', which begin the final word we have of the second inscription, are of the word '*mnema*' (translated above as 'memorial') then the monument may be interpreted as having been transformed from a private to public monument.<sup>979</sup> Callimachus' part in the battle of Marathon, his death, and the victory

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<sup>974</sup> Statue: Acropolis Museum no's. 228, 335, 424Y, 443, 690, 2523, and two fragments without numbers; Capital: Acropolis Museum no's. 3776, 3820, 3830, 0312, and one fragment without a number; Column: no. EM 6339 fragments c-h.

<sup>975</sup> See Hiller's (1926: no.10) restoration.

<sup>976</sup> Wilhelm 1934: 112-115; see West 1965: 27-28. Also, Jacoby (1945: 158, n.8) thinks the epigram may have been inscribed by Callimachus' brother.

<sup>977</sup> Raubitschek 1940: 53-56.

<sup>978</sup> Quote from Bowie 2010: 204, who also states that 'neither letter forms nor other considerations can help us pin down how soon after 490 BC this was done.'

<sup>979</sup> Bowie 2010: 204; this point of view is also attested by West 1965: 24-25 which resonates with Hiller's earlier argument (1926).

would then be portrayed as having been performed 'on behalf of the Greeks' (as restored in the second epigram).

This monument is understood here as a private monument which was transformed into a public monument at some point after the battle of Marathon. Due to the varied interpretations of the monument's intended meaning based on the inscriptional evidence, the monument may only be accepted tentatively.

#### 11. Engraved Marble Base

##### *Epigram 1 -*

[The fame] of these [dead] men [shines] forever...  
For fighting on land and...they kept all Greece from  
seeing the day of slavery.

##### *Epigram 2 -*

These men had unconquer[ed...] when they planted  
their spears before the gates by the sea to  
burn...the city, by force having turned back of the  
Persians...

##### *Epigram 3 -*

...[on f]oot and...on(?) the island...they threw.

##### *Epigram 4 -*

For the enclosure in front of...of Pallas...holding the  
richest point

Peak of the calf-nourishing land, for these  
happiness giver of all bloom frequents.<sup>980</sup>

These epigrams survive on four stone fragments referred to here as stone A I, stone A II, stone B, and stone C. Stone A I, made of pentelic marble, was found in the wall of a modern house in the Athenian agora in 1932 (see figure App. 8).<sup>981</sup> A larger fragment (stone A II) had been discovered in the nineteenth century and first published in 1855 (see figure App. 9).<sup>982</sup> This fragment, also of pentelic marble, was found in the courtyard of a modern house on Hadrian Street in Athens.<sup>983</sup> A further smaller fragment, again of pentelic marble and referred to here as part of 'stone B', was reused as a door threshold in the library of Hadrian (see figure App.10).<sup>984</sup> The fragment was published by Peek, who was provided a description of the stone by Vanderpool.<sup>985</sup> More recently the largest fragment, referred to here as 'stone C', was discovered in 1973 built into a retaining wall of the ancient road leading from the Kerameikos to the Academy (see figures App.11 and 12).<sup>986</sup> The stone was later rediscovered by Angelos Matthaiou in the Ephorate's storerooms.<sup>987</sup>

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<sup>980</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 503/504.

<sup>981</sup> Oliver 1933: 480; Clairmont 1983: 106.

<sup>982</sup> Rangabé 1855: 597, no.784b.

<sup>983</sup> Clairmont 1983: 106.

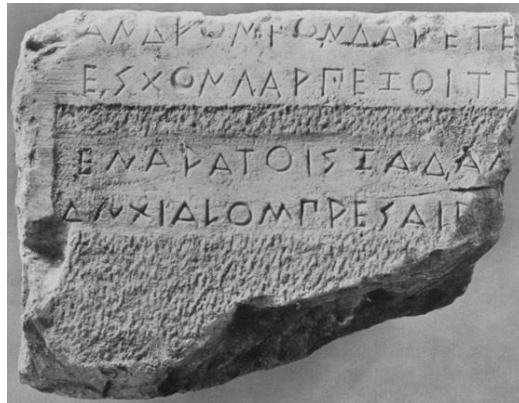
<sup>984</sup> Clairmont 1983: 102; see also Peek 1953: 305.

<sup>985</sup> See Peek 1953: 306.

<sup>986</sup> See Matthaiou 2003: 198.

<sup>987</sup> See Matthaiou 1988.

Figure App. 8 Stone A I



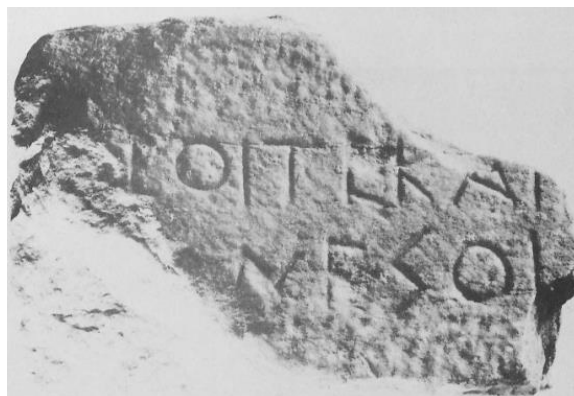
*After Oliver 1933: 481*

Figure App. 9 Stone A II



*After Oliver 1933: 482*

Figure App.10 Stone B



*After Clairmont 1983: pl.13, 7b.*



Figure App. 11 *Stone C Left*



*After Matthaiou 1988: pl.17*

Figure App. 12 *Stone C Right*



*After Matthaiou 1988: pl.18*

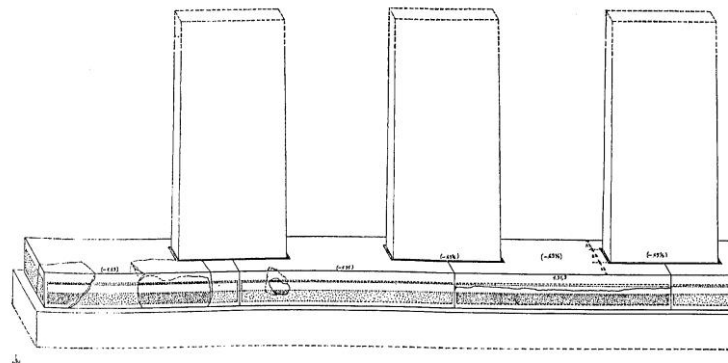
The inscribed fragments are envisaged to be the top level of a stepped base of a single monument, which had chiselled sockets to receive inserted objects, such as steles (see figure App.13 for a suggested restoration of the monument including the surviving fragments).<sup>988</sup> The discovery of stone C reveals further evidence of cuttings on top of the fragment which, it is believed, would have received the steles measured 0.70 cm wide and 0.20 cm deep; it is suggested the long base would have held multiple steles of a similar size to a number of other casualty list steles (e.g. see App. no.7).<sup>989</sup> Following this restoration, then, the fragments would have been a part of a long base, consisting of at least four blocks, which carried a number of standing steles. The front side of each block was decorated with a band of horizontal stippling with smoothed marble bands above and below. Epigram 1 is inscribed on the upper smooth band of

<sup>988</sup> Oliver 1936: 225-234; steles were suggested by Raubitschek 1940 as the inserted objects and these fragments are published as *IG I<sup>3</sup> 503/504*; this contrasts with the theory that the sockets would have supported herms, suggested by Meritt 1956; *contra* Clairmont (1983: 109) who argues, having examined stone A II, that there is no evidence to suggest that the cutting on top of the stone was made to receive a stele; Oliver (1940: 483) also states that that there is no way of telling whether the cutting was original or medieval; in contrast Raubitschek (1940: 56-59) suggested the cutting was made at the same time as epigram 2 for a stele bearing the names of Athenian casualties of a Persian attack at Phalerum after their defeat at Marathon; this, in turn, has been refuted by Oliver (1940: 483-484).

<sup>989</sup> Matthaiou (2003: 195) offers several examples such as: *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1147* and *1147bis*, the monument was composed of ten steles (one for each tribe), standing on a common base; *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1163*, the base of the monument consists of three long adjoining blocks.

stone A. The upper band of stones B and C do not exist so it is not possible to say whether this epigram continues beyond stone A.<sup>990</sup> The stippled surface of the front of the front of the stones has been smoothed out (see below for the discussion on dating) to create space for epigrams 2 (on stone A), 3 (on stone B), and 4 (on stone C).

Figure App.13 *Restoration of the 'Marathon Monument'*



*After Matthaiou 1988: 122*

The letter forms have led to the inscriptions being dated to the 470s BC.<sup>991</sup> However, it is suggested that epigrams 1 (on the upper smooth band) was composed by a different hand to epigram 2 (on the stippled lower band).<sup>992</sup> The style of epigram 1 has been likened to that of the Hekatompedon inscription, dating to 485-484 BC and therefore may be by the same hand.<sup>993</sup> Some argue that epigram 2 was inscribed up to 15 years after epigram 1.<sup>994</sup> This theory has been refuted by Clairmont on the grounds that the

<sup>990</sup> Although Bowie (2010: 206) believes this to be probable.

<sup>991</sup> Petrovic 2013: 49; Jacoby 1945: 164; Page 1981: XX, 220.

<sup>992</sup> Oliver 1933: 484; Clairmont (1983: 108) believes the inscriptions are contemporaries.

<sup>993</sup> An idea put forward by Wilhelm (1898: 487-491) and later noted by Clairmont 1983: 108; the observation is based on the engraver's partiality for the punctuation mark of three vertical circles with dots in each (visible in epigram 1 on stone A II, see figure App.9) and for the vertical line of epsilon and lamda which extend slightly below the line (see also West 1965: 43).

<sup>994</sup> Peek 1953: 310f; Meiggs 1966: 90f; this is followed by Bowie (2010: 206-207).

inscriptions are not being assessed on stylistic evidence but on political grounds.<sup>995</sup> The argument which dates epigram 2 to 15 years after epigram 1 is based on Kimon attempting to redress the wrong done to his father Miltiades after the failed expedition to Paros, and the eclipsing of Miltiades' fame by Themistocles. However, if the epigrams were inscribed at the same time, the question remains of why they are of different hands.<sup>996</sup> Nevertheless, it has been stated that the time span between the upper and lower inscriptions cannot be judged.<sup>997</sup>

The matter of the monument's original location, due to the dispersed surviving fragments, has also been debated. It has been suggested that the monument was constructed in the Athenian agora, perhaps in the vicinity of the statue of the Tyrannicides.<sup>998</sup> However, it has been argued that the discovery of stone C suggests the monument stood in the public cemetery, despite the fact that other fragments were found in the agora; fragments of monuments would often travel into the city for reuse but it was unlikely that fragments would be transported in the opposite direction.<sup>999</sup>

Before a review of the interpretations begins, it is worthy of note that interpretations of these epigrams are numerous, as are the conclusions drawn as to which battle(s)

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<sup>995</sup> Clairmont 1983: 108.

<sup>996</sup> Oliver (1933) suggests that before 480 BC two separate stones existed, one bearing epigram 1 which was composed by Simonides, and the other bearing epigram 2 composed by Aeschylus. After 480 BC epigrams 1 and 2 were combined on a single monument.

<sup>997</sup> See Bowie 2010: 207;

<sup>998</sup> Clairmont 1983: 110.

<sup>999</sup> Arrington 2014: 45; see also Matthaïou 2003: 199; this location is also accepted by Bowie 2010.

the monument commemorates. Also, given the amount of text missing, any interpretations of the text must be understood as tentative.<sup>1000</sup>

Most scholarship supports the attribution of at least some of the extant inscribed text to Marathon, although multiple interpretations of the text have been put forward. For example, Hiller suggested epigram 1 referred to the battles of Salamis and Plataea.<sup>1001</sup>

Hiller's proposed restoration, which contained reference to ships was confirmed by the discovery of a fragment published in 1956 found imbedded in a modern wall east of the temple of Ares in the Athenian Agora, thought to be a fourth century BC copy of epigram 1.<sup>1002</sup> If the late fourth century BC fragment was to be accepted as a faithful copy of epigram 1 then there is a clear reference to ships in the third line. However, as stated by Meritt, the phrase '*epi neon*' could be read as 'by the ships' as well as 'on the ships'.<sup>1003</sup> Therefore, this reference may be interpreted as referring to the conflict on the beach at Marathon as the Persians fled the mainland to the safety of their fleet. The epigram could then be understood as contrasting the two parts of the battle: the conflict on the plain and the Persian rout by the ships.<sup>1004</sup> Furthermore, albeit before the fourth century BC fragment was published, the epigrams were interpreted as

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<sup>1000</sup> As noted by Arrington 2014: 44.

<sup>1001</sup> Hiller (1934: 204-206) published a restoration of the text and interpreted a contrast drawn between a land and sea battle; Podlecki 1973 attributes epigram 1 to Salamis; Hammond (1973: 191f) agrees with Amandry (1960:1-8) that epigram 1 not only refers to Salamis but to the years 480-479 BC, which would have comprised of the battles of Salamis, Artemisium and Plataea. This is also followed by Clairmont (1983: 107); *contra*. Meritt (e.g. 1956) who argues that epigram 1 and 2 deal solely with Marathon. Oliver agrees with this conclusion (1933: 480-494), as does Peek (1934: 339-343).

<sup>1002</sup> Meritt 1956: 268-280; for a suggested restoration of this inscription see Meritt 1962: 296; see also Clairmont 1983: 106.

<sup>1003</sup> Meritt 1956: 271-272; this fragment has only two letters in common with the fifth century BC epigram and its connection has recently been refuted on the grounds that the inscription may have adorned a private monument, see Matthaiou 2000-2003 and Petrovic 2013: 48, n.13 for further references.

<sup>1004</sup> West 1965: 44.

referring to the battle of Marathon by Wilhelm who provides a restoration of the text which, instead of restoring a reference to ships in epigram 1, suggests a reference to Persian cavalry.<sup>1005</sup>

Epigram 2, on the other hand, has been attributed to the battle of Marathon.<sup>1006</sup> The text references a battle outside the city gates which prevents the destruction of the city, however the battle of Marathon wasn't fought at the Athens' gates.<sup>1007</sup> 'The gates' have been interpreted as referring to the narrows at the southern end of the Marathonian plain, between Mount Agrieliki and the sea, through which led the road from the plain to Athens.<sup>1008</sup> The Athenians commemorated by this epigram were therefore praised for blocking the Persian advance through the gates by the sea.

With regard to the stone B, bearing the fragmented epigram 3 which references foot-soldiers and an island, Clairmont argues it is to be understood in relation to the conflict between Athens and Aegina in the early fifth century BC.<sup>1009</sup> Peek attributes this fragment to the battles of Salamis and Plataea on the basis that reference to men on foot and an island are mentioned.<sup>1010</sup> However, it is noted by West that the evidence for the attribution of this monument is slight; even so, West includes the fragment in

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<sup>1005</sup> Wilhelm 1934: 95 (for epigram 1) & 102 (for epigram 2); the attribution of both epigrams to commemorating Marathon is also put forward by Oliver 1933.

<sup>1006</sup> Hiller 1934: 204-206; Podlecki 1973: 37-39; see also Clairmont 1983: 106; West (1965: 44) states that this attribution is generally accepted.

<sup>1007</sup> Another likely candidate as the subject of this commemoration is the battle of Plataea, but Athens would have already been sacked by the time the battle of Plataea was fought, see West 1965: 44.

<sup>1008</sup> Matthaiou 2003; for a summary see Bowie 2010: 207.

<sup>1009</sup> Clairmont (1983: 102) reconstructs the fragment to bear reference to horses.

<sup>1010</sup> Peek 1953: 305-312.

his collection of Athenian commemorations of the battle of Salamis.<sup>1011</sup> The fragment is not fully preserved and, considering the general association of epigram 2 with the battle of Marathon, it has been suggested that the island could refer to Euboea which was devastated before the battle of Marathon rather than Salamis.<sup>1012</sup>

It has been noted that demonstrative pronouns in both epigrams refer to the same lists of men (e.g. 'these men' in epigrams 1 and 2); therefore the second epigram, although inscribed later than the first, could not commemorate men who were not already mentioned on the original monument.<sup>1013</sup> The adornment of further inscriptions on a monument already commemorating the Marathon dead would fit in with the continuous commemoration of the event throughout the fifth century BC (see figure 5.10).<sup>1014</sup>

Epigram 4, on stone C, has been examined by Matthaïou, who interprets the enclosure mentioned in the first line as referring to the *temenos* of Heracles at Marathon, or possibly Athena (who is mentioned in the second line as 'Pallas').<sup>1015</sup> In contrast, the second couplet of epigram 4, in referencing those who hold the peak of the calf-nourishing land, has been suggested as having a strong connection to Salamis.<sup>1016</sup> An examination of word choice has been interpreted as referencing the tip (or toe) of

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<sup>1011</sup> However, West (1965: 150-151) entitles the monument 'Small fragment...possibly commemorating Salamis and Plataea'.

<sup>1012</sup> Bowie 2010: 207, n.13; Arrington 2014: 45.

<sup>1013</sup> Arrington 2014: 45-46, who attributes both epigrams and the monument as a whole to Marathon.

<sup>1014</sup> Arrington 2014: 46.

<sup>1015</sup> Matthaïou 2003: 200-201; however, it has been pointed out that the role of a *temenos* of Athena is otherwise unattested at Marathon (Bowie 2010: 207).

<sup>1016</sup> See Bowie 2010: 208-209; it should be noted that the dead of the battle of Salamis were buried on the promontory of the island of Salamis (see App. no.37).

Italy. One ship from this area fought at Salamis, under the command of Phayllos of Croton the Pythian victor, and so this epigram has been interpreted as referring to this naval battle alone.<sup>1017</sup>

With regard to the monument as a whole, Oliver was the first to suggest the monument was a cenotaph which supported lists of the Athenian casualties.<sup>1018</sup> The idea of a cenotaph may be contested on the grounds that a cenotaph may only be constructed if the casualties of a battle are not recovered (and the Marathon casualties were buried on the battlefield, see App. no's.1 and 2).<sup>1019</sup>

However, it has been observed by Matthaïou that later ephebic ceremonies involved a cenotaph in the *demosion sema* and a *polyandrion* on the Marathon battlefield.<sup>1020</sup> An ephebic decree dated to 176/175 BC mentions a regular contest which took place at Marathon but also by the *polyandrion* next to the city.<sup>1021</sup> This inscription is similar to one dating to the Hellenistic period, which describes behavioural commemoration being undertaken at the Marathon battlefield, at which young Athenians would offer a wreath and sacrifice specifically to the war dead.<sup>1022</sup> Both these inscriptions refer to organised sporting activity and a *polyandrion*. Matthaïou suggests that a cenotaph stood in the *demosion sema* and was known popularly as 'the *polyandrion*', and that

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<sup>1017</sup> Bowie 2010: 8-9; see Hdts. 8.47 for the reference of Phayllos at Salamis.

<sup>1018</sup> Oliver 1933: 480; see also Matthaïou 2003 and Petrovic 2013: 49.

<sup>1019</sup> See Jacoby 1945: 157-185, also on 176-177 Jacoby tentatively suggests the Marathon epigrams were a 'war memorial' in itself and did not support casualty lists; see also West 1965: 36; furthermore, see chapter section 4.3.1 where it is argued that the only consistent aspect in raising a cenotaph is the absence of bodies.

<sup>1020</sup> Matthaïou 2003: 197-198.

<sup>1021</sup> *IG* 2<sup>3</sup> 1313.

<sup>1022</sup> *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1006, 65-71.

only the dead of Marathon would have been famous enough to have a monument commemorating their victory referred to as ‘the *polyandrion*’.<sup>1023</sup> A *polyandrion* would usually refer to a mass grave, however in this case the name may have been attributed to a cenotaph in absence of the bodies. While discussing the public cemetery both Thucydides and Pausanias specifically mention that the dead of Marathon were buried on the battlefield while not mentioning the dead of any other battle of the Persian Wars who were also absent from the *demosion sema*.<sup>1024</sup> It has been suggested that the cenotaph to the Marathon war dead erected at the *demosion sema* prompted these references to the Marathon war dead specifically.<sup>1025</sup> The ceremonies mentioned above support the idea of a monument in the *demosion sema* connected to Marathon, and the interpretations of epigram 2 which connect it with this battle. These connections allow a tentative conclusion that at least part of the monument explicitly commemorated the battle of Marathon.<sup>1026</sup>

As the preceding discussion illustrates, the multitude of varying theories attests to the pliability of the limited, available evidence. Therefore, any conclusions drawn must be accepted tentatively. The proposed form of the monument suggests it was a structure

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<sup>1023</sup> Matthaiou 2003: 197-200; the monument has been associated with the elegiac inscription *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 503/504. For further discussion on these fragments see Petrovic 2013 and ‘*Postscript*’ on p.61 for further bibliography.

<sup>1024</sup> Thuc. 2.34.5; Paus. 1.29.4.

<sup>1025</sup> Arrington 2010: 506; see Arrington 2014: 46 for a suggestion that the monument was a *polyandrium-cum-cenotaph* of 490 BC, intended to commemorate all the Athenian dead from that year. This interpretation would allow the references to ships and islands to be attributed to conflicts with Aegina. Furthermore, the demonstrative pronouns would refer to the dead from one year, whose names would have been inscribed in steles above the epigrams. This would also provide a reason for why the monument was referred to as a ‘*polyandrium*’ in later inscriptions, e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1006, 22-23 (see also Arrington 2014: 46, n.126).

<sup>1026</sup> Bowie 2010: 209.



that displayed casualty lists. Furthermore, on the basis of the holding of funeral contests in front of both the *polyandrion* at Marathon and the '*polyandrion*' in the city, the monument commemorated Marathon, at least in part. Therefore, this monument is attributed here to the battle of Marathon tentatively, although it is accepted that it is quite possible that the structure served as a commemorative monument to multiple, as yet undefined, conflicts.

## 12. Painting in Stoa *Poikile*

The painting within the stoa is mentioned by Aeschines:

And now pass on in imagination to the Stoa Poikile...  
What is it then, fellow citizens, to which I refer? The  
battle of Marathon is pictured there.<sup>1027</sup>

The monument is also mentioned in the pseudo-Demosthenic tirade against Neaera:

The Plataeans, men of Athens, alone among the  
Greeks came to your aid at Marathon... And even to  
this day the picture in the Painted Stoa exhibits the  
memorial of their valour<sup>1028</sup>

The painting in the Stoa is mentioned by Pausanias:

At the end of the painting are those who fought at  
Marathon; the Boeotians of Plataea and the Attic

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<sup>1027</sup> Aesch. *Against Ctesiphon* 186.

<sup>1028</sup> [Dem.] *Against Neaera* 94.

contingent are coming to blows with the foreigners.<sup>1029</sup>

This monument was painted in stoa at the north side of the Athenian Agora. The battle was depicted with key figures displayed prominently with heroes aiding the Greek side. It has been suggested that the manner in which the battle was depicted would have helped the development of the Marathon legend in Athens.<sup>1030</sup> It is worthy of note that while describing the battle of Marathon Herodotus mentions the heroism of Callimachus, Stesilaus and Cynegeirus,<sup>1031</sup> and tells the story of the blinding of Epizelus.<sup>1032</sup> There is a strong correlation between these selected stories and what was depicted in the painting, which showed Callimachus, Cynegeirus, and Epizelus.<sup>1033</sup> Herodotus' choice of stories to recount about the battle may have been influenced by those depicted in the painting.

The structure itself has been dated to the decade of the 460's BC due to the foundations of the building containing pottery fill belonging exclusively to this decade.<sup>1034</sup> No consensus was reached in antiquity on who painted the depiction of the battle of Marathon which adorned the stoa's interior.<sup>1035</sup> However, it is thought to have been painted soon after the construction of the building, between 470 – 450

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<sup>1029</sup> Paus. 1.15.3. The painting is also mentioned in numerous later sources, some of which are referenced below.

<sup>1030</sup> West 1965: 47.

<sup>1031</sup> Hdts. 6.114.

<sup>1032</sup> Hdts. 6.117.

<sup>1033</sup> For Callimachus and Cynegeirus being described in the painting: Ael. *On the Characteristics of Animals* 7.38, Pliny 35.57; for Epizelus: Ael. *On the Characteristics of Animals* 7.38.

<sup>1034</sup> Shear 1984: 13-15 and 18; see also Castriota 2005: 90; this dating is also consistent with the architectural carving, see Stansbury-O'Donnell 2005: 81.

<sup>1035</sup> West 1965: 47-48.

BC.<sup>1036</sup> The structure was originally called the 'Stoa Peisianaktos' after Peisianax, the brother in law to Kimon.<sup>1037</sup> The dating of the picture is based on the connection between the construction and Kimon who was the leading Athenian politician between 470's and 460's BC. Furthermore the paintings themselves, both those focussed on real battles and the depictions of myth, are thought to parallel the circumstances of the defeating of the Persians by the Delian League under Kimon in the 470's and 460's BC.<sup>1038</sup>

Based on the secure dating of the construction, the correlation between the reported painting and Herodotus' account of the battle, and modern interpretations of the paintings linking the works to the time of Kimon, this monument is accepted with confidence.

### 13. Temple of Eukleia

Pausanias mentions the Temple in the Athenian Agora:

Still farther on is a temple to Eukleia, this too being a thank-offering for the victory over the Persians, who had landed at Marathon. This is the victory of which I am of opinion the Athenians were proudest<sup>1039</sup>

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<sup>1036</sup> See Castriota 2005: 90-91; Stansbury-O'Donnell 2005: 81.

<sup>1037</sup> Plut. *Kimón* 4.5; Castriota 2005: 90.

<sup>1038</sup> See Castriota 2005: 90, and for further references.

<sup>1039</sup> Paus. 1.14.5.

Pausanias is our only source who relates the Temple for Eukleia with the battle of Marathon. Plutarch notes that Eukleia has altars and images set up in every market place in Boeotia.<sup>1040</sup> However, the epithet Eukleia is not mentioned in known Athenian inscriptions until the first and second centuries AD.<sup>1041</sup> Due to the lack of evidence in support of the sole literary reference, it is only possible to accept this monument cautiously.

#### 14. Sanctuary of Pan

Herodotus mentions the sanctuary to Pan:

While still in the city, the generals first sent to Sparta the herald Philippides, an Athenian and a long-distance runner who made that his calling. As Philippides himself said when he brought the message to the Athenians, when he was in the Parthenian mountain above Tegea he encountered Pan. Pan called out Philippides' name and bade him ask the Athenians why they paid him no attention, though he was of goodwill to the Athenians, had often been of service to them, and would be in the future. The Athenians believed that these things were true, and when they became prosperous they established a sacred precinct of Pan beneath the Acropolis.<sup>1042</sup>

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<sup>1040</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 20.6.

<sup>1041</sup> *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1035, 1.53; 3738; 4193A, 13; see also West 1965: 49.

<sup>1042</sup> Hdts. 6.105.

Pausanias, when describing his descent from the Acropolis also mentions honours made to Pan:

On descending, not to the lower city, but to just beneath the Gateway, you see a fountain and near it a sanctuary of Apollo in a cave. It is here that Apollo is believed to have met Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus.... when the Persians had landed in Attica Philippides was sent to carry the tidings to Lacedaemon. On his return he said that the Lacedaemonians had postponed their departure, because it was their custom not to go out to fight before the moon was full. Philippides went on to say that near Mount Parthenius he had been met by Pan, who told him that he was friendly to the Athenians and would come to Marathon to fight for them. This deity, then, has been honoured for this announcement.<sup>1043</sup>

Herodotus states that the sanctuary is 'beneath' the Acropolis and the sanctuary of Pan is generally understood to be a cave on the northwest slope.<sup>1044</sup> A sanctuary of Pan on the Acropolis is also mentioned by other fifth century BC authors.<sup>1045</sup> Furthermore, a dedicatory epigram of a statue of Pan set up by Miltiades has been recorded in the Palatine Anthology.<sup>1046</sup> Based on the literary evidence, the fact of Pan being worshipped by Athenians in the fifth century BC is not doubted.<sup>1047</sup> On the

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<sup>1043</sup> Paus. 1.28.4.

<sup>1044</sup> West 1965: 50; Hurwit 2004: 229, see also fig. 8.

<sup>1045</sup> Eurip. *Ion* 938; Aristoph. *Lysistrata* 911.

<sup>1046</sup> Pal. Anth. 232.

<sup>1047</sup> West 1965:51.

strength of Herodotus' association of the sacred precinct of Pan with the battle of Marathon, this monument is accepted with confidence.

### 15. Statue Group

Pausanias is the only ancient literary source who mentions this monument. The wooden horse mentioned is a monument dedicated by the Argives:

On the base below the wooden horse is an inscription which says that the statues were dedicated from a tithe of the spoils taken in the engagement at Marathon. They represent Athena, Apollo, and Miltiades, one of the generals. Of those called heroes there are Erechtheus, Cecrops, Pandion, Leos, Antiochus, son of Heracles by Meda, daughter of Phylas, as well as Aegeus and Acamas, one of the sons of Theseus. These heroes gave names, in obedience to a Delphic oracle, to tribes at Athens. Codrus however, the son of Melanthus, Theseus, and Philaios, these are not givers of names to tribes. The statues enumerated were made by Pheidias, and really are a tithe of the spoils of the battle.<sup>1048</sup>

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<sup>1048</sup> Paus. 10.10.1-2; instead of the name Philaios, the Perseus Digital Library reports the name Neleus. For the textual emendation to Philaios see Vidal-Naquet 1986: 304-305.

We are informed by Pausanias that this monument was made by Pheidias and therefore the monument has been dated to the 470's to 460's BC.<sup>1049</sup> The attribution of the monument to Pheidias has been questioned on the grounds that if it commemorated Marathon it would probably have been constructed earlier and Pheidias would have been too young around 490 BC to have been offered such a prestigious commission.<sup>1050</sup> However, other monuments commemorating Marathon were made possibly as late as 460 BC, such as the painting in the Stoa *Poikile* (see no.12).

The statue group was situated on the south eastern corner of the precinct of Apollo.<sup>1051</sup> The lower courses of the monument's base, consisting of limestone blocks, are still in position. There are dowel holes visible on the top surface of the upper course of blocks, which are slightly smaller and set back from the lower course.<sup>1052</sup> None of the statue base remains in situ and no inscription relating to the statue group has been discovered.

The monument has been suggested as having commemorated the battle of Marathon where gods and heroes aided Miltiades and the Athenians in their victory.<sup>1053</sup> As noted

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<sup>1049</sup> Morgan 1952: 314; West 1965: 53; Scott (2010: 97) also dates the monument to c.460 BC; Jacquemin (1999: 315, no.78) suggests a broader date of the second quarter of the fifth century BC.

<sup>1050</sup> Furtwängler 1895: 55-57.

<sup>1051</sup> For the location of the monument see Scott 2010: 102, fig.4.8 no.142; the location is based on Pausanias' comment that the statue group was below the 'wooden horse', which has been interpreted as an Argive dedication (not commemorating the Persian Wars) that has been located on archaeological and inscriptional grounds. For this monument see Scott 2010: Appendix C, no.182 and Jacquemin 1999: 313, no.67 for further bibliography.

<sup>1052</sup> See West 1965: 53 for a description.

<sup>1053</sup> West 1965: 53-54.

by Pausanias, seven of the ten heroes had Kleisthenic tribes named after them and instead of the three missing tribal heroes (Ajax, Oeneus, and Hippothous), Codrus, Theseus and Philaios are named. Due to Pausanias' statement that seven of the statues were eponymous heroes and in addition there were three more it is difficult to accept the conclusion that he was mistaken in the attributions, or the names were later altered by a careless scribe.<sup>1054</sup> The replacement of the three of the eponymous heroes with these specific individuals has been interpreted as providing a stronger emphasis on the battle of Marathon.<sup>1055</sup> Theseus and Philaios were ancestors of Miltiades and have been suggested as appropriate choices,<sup>1056</sup> and Codrus has been interpreted as representing self-sacrifice as the last king who gave his life in defending Athens.<sup>1057</sup> Through the juxtaposition of Miltiades and Codrus, it has been suggested that Kimon, who has been credited as the likely candidate for funding this public monument, would have been keen to present Miltiades (his father) as embodying the qualities necessary to die for one's country.<sup>1058</sup>

This monument has been interpreted as part of a wider re-evaluation of the importance of the battle of Marathon by the Athenians in their own political identity,

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<sup>1054</sup> As suggested by West 1965: 54.

<sup>1055</sup> Jacquemin 1999: 191; see also Scott 2010: 97.

<sup>1056</sup> Arrington 2014: 204; Plutarch (*Theseus* 35.5) also relates a tale that Theseus appeared as a phantom and fought at Marathon.

<sup>1057</sup> Jacquemin 1999: 191; Arrington 2014: 204.

<sup>1058</sup> Arrington 2014: 204; as for Miltiades' death, Herodotus (6.134, 6.136) informs us he died from a gangrenous wound he sustained (not in battle) during the siege of Paros.



and as part of a wider set of monuments commemorating the battle raised in Athens and elsewhere at this time.<sup>1059</sup> The monument is therefore accepted with confidence.

## 16. Bronze Statue of Athena

Demosthenes states clearly that the Athenians raised the statue of Athena in connection with the Persian Wars:

Does anyone say that this inscription has been set up just anywhere? No; although the whole of our citadel is a holy place, and although its area is so large, the inscription stands at the right hand beside the great brazen Athene which was dedicated by the state as a memorial of victory in the Persian war, at the expense of the Greeks.<sup>1060</sup>

Pausanias, when describing the Athenian Acropolis, also mentions the statue on two occasions and attributes the work to Pheidias:

In addition to the works I have mentioned, there are two tithes dedicated by the Athenians after wars. There is first a bronze Athena, tithe from the Persians who landed at Marathon. It is the work of Pheidias...<sup>1061</sup>

Secondly:

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<sup>1059</sup> Scott 2010: 97; the other monuments include the Athena *Promachos* on the Acropolis (App. no.16) and the Stoa *Poikile* in Athens (App. no.12).

<sup>1060</sup> Dem. *On the False Embassy* 272.

<sup>1061</sup> Paus. 1.28.2.

The Plataeans have also a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Warlike; it was built from the spoils given them by the Athenians as their share from the battle of Marathon. It is a wooden image gilded, but the face, hands and feet are of Pentelic marble. In size it is but little smaller than the bronze Athena on the Acropolis, the one which the Athenians also erected as first-fruits of the battle at Marathon; the Plataeans too had Pheidias for the maker of their image of Athena.<sup>1062</sup>

The literary sources inform us of a colossal statue of Athena constructed on the Athenian Acropolis. However, the exact height of the figure is not stated. Pausanias does inform us that the statue's helmet crest and tip of the spear could be seen by sailors as they passed cape Sunium.<sup>1063</sup> Furthermore, in the second of Pausanias' excerpts cited above, it is stated that the statue of Athena at Plataea (see App. no.70) is smaller than that on the Acropolis. It has been suggested that a height of 7.5 metres would have been sufficient to make the top of the statue visible from the sea.<sup>1064</sup>

This monument is generally suggested to have been constructed in the 450's BC.<sup>1065</sup> This conclusion is based on the survival and dating of construction accounts of the fifth century BC.<sup>1066</sup> The accounts, which generally relate to expenditure on copper, tin and workforce wages, suggest the construction of a large bronze work, undertaken by the

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<sup>1062</sup> Paus. 9.4.1.

<sup>1063</sup> Paus. 1.28.2.

<sup>1064</sup> Stevens 1936: 443ff; *contra* Dinsmoor (1921: 118ff) who estimated a height of 16.36 metres; it is argued that it is unlikely that this statue would be larger than the Parthenos and therefore Cullen Davison (2009: 279) and West (1965: 57) accept a height of between 23-33 feet (7 to 10 metres).

<sup>1065</sup> West 1965: 58-59; Lewis 1994: 505; Cullen Davison 2009: 279-280.

<sup>1066</sup> *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 435.

Athenians at public expense, and raised on the Acropolis a little before 450 BC; the colossal bronze Athena suits this description.<sup>1067</sup>

The poros foundations of the statue base have been located approximately 40 metres east of the Propylaea, the foundations of which align almost exactly with the base.<sup>1068</sup>

Furthermore, two marble blocks, found on the Acropolis, bear a fragmentary inscription.<sup>1069</sup> This inscription has been restored as 'The Athenians made the dedication from Median spoils'.<sup>1070</sup> However any interpretation of the text must be seen as tentative as each block bears only three letters.<sup>1071</sup>

In excerpts above, Pausanias states that the monument commemorates Marathon on two occasions. However Demosthenes, more generally, says the monument commemorates the defeat of the Persians. If the monument is of the 450's BC then it could be part of Kimon's efforts to embellish the Acropolis after the battle of Eurymedon, and the victory at Marathon was led by Kimon's father Miltiades.<sup>1072</sup> Due to lack of consensus over the commemorative focus of this monument, it is attributed to the battle of Marathon tentatively.

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<sup>1067</sup> Cullen Davison 2009: 279; furthermore, a fifth century BC moulding pit has been found on the Acropolis, which would have provided a suitable site for the creation of the statue (see Zimmer 1990: 62-71).

<sup>1068</sup> Cullen Davison 2009: 277.

<sup>1069</sup> *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 505.

<sup>1070</sup> See Raubitschek & Stevens 1946: 107-114.

<sup>1071</sup> See Cullen Davison 2009: 279-280.

<sup>1072</sup> Cullen Davison 2009: 280.

## 17. 'Old' Parthenon

The Parthenon standing today was built on the foundations of an earlier temple, referred to here as the Older Parthenon.<sup>1073</sup> It has been suggested by Dinsmoor, and subsequently followed by West, that the earlier structure was a monument to commemorate the battle of Marathon specifically.<sup>1074</sup> Dinsmoor's general argument for attributing this structure to the commemoration of Marathon rests on the dating of the beginning of construction to just after 490 BC.<sup>1075</sup>

The dating for this temple is based on three main points. The building material for the structure is Pentelic marble, which became more readily available after the battle of Marathon. The potsherds found in the fill of the building's foundations date to the decade 490-480 BC specifically. Thirdly, there are traces of fire damage on this structures foundations and a layer of burned debris on top of the fill.<sup>1076</sup> The temple is supposed to have been begun soon after Marathon and then destroyed, in an unfinished state in 480 BC. Furthermore, Dinsmoor relies on astronomical data to strengthen the case for dating the construction of this temple to the decade following the battle of Marathon. Aristides, as archon and 'overseer of public revenues',<sup>1077</sup> may have begun the temple in 489/488 BC which would have coincided with the Panathenaic festival of 488 BC. The festival would have taken place in the month of

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<sup>1073</sup> Boardman 1977: 39, and n.3; see also Kousser 2009: 275-276.

<sup>1074</sup> Dinsmoor 1934; West 1965: 62-63.

<sup>1075</sup> This is followed by Kousser 2009:264, who states the building would have reached the height of the third column drum by the time of the Persian sack.

<sup>1076</sup> See West 1965: 62.

<sup>1077</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 4.2.

Hecatombaion, and in 488 BC the sun rose exactly along the line of the temple's axis on the third day from the end of that month.<sup>1078</sup>

While the evidence suggests the temple was constructed soon after Marathon, due to the lack of more affirmative evidence, this monument may only be accepted as a commemorative monument to Marathon tentatively.

#### 18. Annual Sacrifice of 500 Kids to Artemis *Agrotera*

Aristophanes references the vow:

Agoracritus: So when I saw myself defeated by this ox dung, I outbade the fellow, crying, "Two hundred!" And beyond this I moved that a vow be made to Diana of a thousand goats if the next day anchovies should only be worth an obol a hundred.<sup>1079</sup>

Xenophon also describes the vow and the alteration made after the conflict:

And while they had vowed to Artemis that for every man they might slay of the enemy they would sacrifice a goat to the goddess, they were unable to find goats enough; so they resolved to offer five

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<sup>1078</sup> Dinsmoor 1942: 202-206; see also West 1965: 63.

<sup>1079</sup> Aristoph. *Knights* 658-662.

hundred every year, and this sacrifice they are paying even to this day.<sup>1080</sup>

Plutarch's reporting of the vow, and the alteration, reaffirms the report of Xenophon:

For it is said that the Athenians made a vow to sacrifice so many kids to Diana Agrotera, as they should kill barbarians; but that after the fight, the number of the dead appearing infinite, they appeased the Goddess by making a decree to immolate five hundred to her every year.<sup>1081</sup>

Xenophon relates the form of the vow and states that it was still being repaid in his time. Despite Plutarch confirming Xenophon's details, it is Aristophanes' comedic reference to the vow which, I believe, confirms the practice was instigated in the fifth century BC. On the strength of the literary evidence, this act of commemoration is accepted with confidence.

#### 19. Temple of Nemesis with Statue of Nemesis

Pausanias is the sole literary reference for this monument:

About sixty stades from Marathon as you go along the road by the sea to Oropus stands Rhamnus. The dwelling houses are on the coast, but a little way inland is a sanctuary of Nemesis, the most implacable deity to men of violence. It is thought

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<sup>1080</sup> Xen. *Anabasis* 3.2.12.

<sup>1081</sup> Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 26.

that the wrath of this goddess fell also upon the foreigners who landed at Marathon. For thinking in their pride that nothing stood in the way of their taking Athens, they were bringing a piece of Parian marble to make a trophy, convinced that their task was already finished. Of this marble Pheidias made a statue of Nemesis, and on the head of the goddess is a crown with deer and small images of Victory.<sup>1082</sup>

The temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus has been dated to the 430's BC on grounds of architectural style.<sup>1083</sup> The statue of Nemesis within this temple, according to Pausanias, was made from the stone brought to Marathon by the Persians. Pausanias states that the statue can be attributed to Pheidias but it has been asserted that it is more likely the work of his student Agoracritus of Paros and may not have been constructed until the 420's BC.<sup>1084</sup> The statue would have stood at about twice life size and stood on a pediment which bore relief sculpture on its sides.<sup>1085</sup> The relief, also described by Pausanias, depicts Helen being led to Nemesis by her mother Leda; the action is being watched by others such as Tyndareus, the Dioscuri, Menelaus, Agamemnon, and Pyhrrus son of Achilles.<sup>1086</sup>

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<sup>1082</sup> Paus. 1.33.2-3.

<sup>1083</sup> See Dinsmoor (1950: 181-183) who states the building shows the influence of the 'new' Parthenon and may be the work of the architect who constructed the Hephaesteion in Athens.

<sup>1084</sup> Richter 1950: 240-242.

<sup>1085</sup> West 1965: 69; a fragment of the statue's head is held in the British Museum, see Smith 1892: 1.264-265, no.460 who catalogues the fragment under the sculptor 'Agoracritus of Paros' and attributes the fragment to him on stylistic grounds, material of fragment, and location of find; for discussion and images of the fragment see Despines 1971: 45-50 pl.54-55 who also dates the statue to c.430 BC on stylistic grounds.

<sup>1086</sup> Paus. 1.33.8; for discussion and reconstruction of the base see Lapatin 1992, with further bibliography.

These reliefs have been interpreted as Helen's homecoming after Troy and, furthermore, symbolically connected with the Persian Wars because it may be understood as Helen being led to Nemesis in retribution for the Persian invasion.<sup>1087</sup>

Herter cautiously believes that the statue and temple commemorate the battle of Marathon specifically, opposed to the Persian Wars in general.<sup>1088</sup> This conclusion is drawn by combining the Persian War association of the relief and Pausanias' assertions about the statue's marble.

The association with Marathon is cast in some doubt considering the sole late literary reference and late dates for the temple and statue. However, monuments which commemorated Marathon were being constructed in the 460's BC (see figure 5.10). This monument is therefore accepted tentatively.

## 20. Statue of Arimnestos

Pausanias mentions this statue while describing what is inside the temple of Athena *Areia*:<sup>1089</sup>

In the temple are paintings. These paintings are on the walls of the fore-temple, while at the feet of the image is a portrait of Arimnestos, who commanded the Plataeans at the battle against Mardonius, and yet before that at Marathon.<sup>1090</sup>

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<sup>1087</sup> Svoronos 1909: 1.167-179, no's. 203-214.

<sup>1088</sup> Herter 1935: 2351-2352; this view is also followed by West 1965: no.23.

<sup>1089</sup> For the temple of Athena *Areia* see App. no.70.

<sup>1090</sup> Paus. 9.4.2.



Pausanias refers to Arimnestos as the leader of the Plataean forces at Marathon. However, Arimnestos is not mentioned as a commander at Marathon by either Plutarch or Herodotus, and is connected only with the battle of Plataea by these authors.<sup>1091</sup> These references need not contradict Pausanias as his specific reference to Marathon may have been prompted by an inscription on the statue's base.<sup>1092</sup> Furthermore, West suggests that during the 460's BC the Athenians constructed a statue group at Delphi which included their Marathon commander Miltiades (who did not die there), and around this time the Plataeans could have honoured their Marathon commander also at this time.<sup>1093</sup>

Pausanias is our sole literary source for this monument. On the strength of Pausanias' statement, this monument is attributed to the commemorations of Marathon, but may have possibly served a dual commemorative focus by incorporating the later battle of Plataea. The lack of earlier literary evidence concerning the monument and the lack of references to connect Arimnestos with Marathon prevent attributing this monument with any confidence.

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<sup>1091</sup> Hdts. 9.72; Plut. *Aristides* 11.5.

<sup>1092</sup> Suggested by West 1965: 73.

<sup>1093</sup> West 1965: 73.

## ARTEMISIUM

### 21. A Circle of Marble Steles with an Epigram

The monument was set up by Athenians in the precinct of Artemis *Proseoa* at Artemisium, as Plutarch describes:

It has a small temple of Artemis surnamed Proseoa, which is surrounded by trees and enclosed by upright slabs of white marble. This stone, when you rub it with your hand, gives off the colour and the odour of saffron. On one of these slabs the following elegy was inscribed:

Nations of all sorts of men from Asia's boundaries coming,  
Sons of the Athenians once, here on this arm of the sea, Whelmed in a battle of ships, and the host of the Medes was destroyed;  
These are the tokens thereof, built for the Maid Artemis.

And a place is pointed out on the shore, with sea sand all about it, which supplies from its depths a dark ashen powder, apparently the product of fire, and here they are thought to have burned their wrecks and dead bodies.<sup>1094</sup>

Plutarch also mentions the inscription in his tirade against Herodotus:

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<sup>1094</sup> Plut. *Themistocles*. 8.2-3.

Is then this a fellow fit to be believed when he writes of any man or city, who in one word deprives Greece of the victory, throws down the trophy, and pronounces the inscriptions they had set up to Artemis *Proseoa* (eastward-looking) to be nothing but pride and vain boasting?<sup>1095</sup>

It is curious that Plutarch describes this dedication as a ‘trophy’. This monument is not a trophy in the usual sense but it is permanent, a circle of marble steles upon one of which an epigram is inscribed.<sup>1096</sup> Since the steles do not stand over the graves of the fallen it cannot be considered an epitaph;<sup>1097</sup> it is a dedicatory inscription, concerning the exploits of the Athenian sailors. To take Plutarch’s phrase ‘trophy’ literally, Athens may have erected a temporary trophy that was later transformed into a permanent trophy (as Plutarch saw it). Neither side were defeated at Artemisium, so it is possible that both sides claimed the victory. It has been suggested that one of the steles may have been raised there originally and the others were added later for unknown reasons when the trophy was rebuilt;<sup>1098</sup> however the date of the epigram is uncertain.<sup>1099</sup>

Due to the lack of contemporary sources relating to battlefield monuments at Artemisium this monument may only be accepted cautiously.

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<sup>1095</sup> Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus*. 34. Plutarch quotes the inscription identically in both excerpts.

<sup>1096</sup> West 1965: 145.

<sup>1097</sup> See Jacoby 1945: 157, n.3.

<sup>1098</sup> West 1965: 145.

<sup>1099</sup> Hiller (1926: 14) when relating the poem includes the date of 480/479 BC in the title, without further justification; the poem has also been published by Page 1981: XXIV, who does not discuss authenticity.

## 22. Shrine to Boreas

Herodotus mentions a shrine being constructed to Boreas for aid at Artemisium:

I cannot say whether this was the cause of Boreas falling upon the barbarians as they lay at anchor, but the Athenians say that he had come to their aid before and that he was the agent this time. When they went home, they founded a sacred precinct of Boreas beside the Ilissus river.<sup>1100</sup>

Pausanias mentions the tie between the Athenians and Boreas:

The rivers that flow through Athenian territory are the Ilissus and its tributary the Eridanus, whose name is the same as that of the Celtic river. This Ilissus is the river by which Oreithyia was playing when, according to the story, she was carried off by the North Wind. With Oreithyia he lived in wedlock, and because of the tie between him and the Athenians he helped them by destroying most of the foreigners' warships.

The two literary sources, one of which is from the fifth century BC, appear to complement one another, therefore on the strength of the literary evidence this monument is accepted here with confidence.

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<sup>1100</sup> Hdts. 7.189.3.

## THERMOPYLAE

### 23. Epigram for the Spartiates

Herodotus describes how the Spartans have an inscription which commemorates them alone:

Go tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,  
That here obedient to their words we lie.<sup>1101</sup>

This epigram is also quoted by Lycurgus and other later sources:

Go tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,  
That here obedient to their laws we lie.<sup>1102</sup>

After recording the inscription, Herodotus states that the Amphictyons had the epigram inscribed.<sup>1103</sup> The Herodotean version of this famous epigram differs somewhat from that related by Lycurgus, Diodorus and Strabo. Lycurgus *et al* mention 'laws' (*nomimoi*), whereas Herodotus uses 'words' (*rēmasi*). West judges Herodotus' account of the inscription correct, but bases this on Herodotus having visited the battlefield, which is uncertain.<sup>1104</sup> Herodotus does not state that he has seen this epigram himself, or the epigram to the Peloponnesians (App. no.24). It has been argued that Herodotus relied on Spartan sources for the information regarding the battle of Thermopylae, and the recounting of solely Spartan and Peloponnesian

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<sup>1101</sup> Hdts. 7.228.2.

<sup>1102</sup> Lyc. *Against Leocrates* 109; see also Diod. 11.33.2 and Strabo 9.4.16.

<sup>1103</sup> Hdts. 7.228.4.

<sup>1104</sup> West 1965: 183.

epigrams represents information given by highly prejudiced informants.<sup>1105</sup> It should be noted that Herodotus is ninety degrees out on his orientation of the battlefield, which he states runs north to south.<sup>1106</sup> This mistake indicates that if he did visit the area he probably did not spend much time there.<sup>1107</sup>

It is unclear whether Herodotus actually visited the battlefield; however he was, at least, informed about the existence of the epigrams which are confirmed by later sources (albeit containing slight amendments). Therefore, on the strength of the fifth century BC literary reference, and the general consensus of later authors, this monument is accepted with confidence.

A modern plaque bearing the famous inscription has been laid upon the hillock identified as the location for the last stand made by the Greeks at Thermopylae. The modern monument (see figure App. 14) is placed purposefully for the reader to look up and view the site of the battlefield and the final Persian advance.

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<sup>1105</sup> Page 1981: 233.

<sup>1106</sup> Hdts. 7.176.

<sup>1107</sup> Whether Herodotus spent long enough at the battlefield to copy the inscriptions is not possible to prove; see West 1985: 289.

Figure App. 14 *Modern Inscription Commemorating Sparta at Thermopylae*



*Author's own photograph*

#### 24. Epigram for the Peloponnesians

Herodotus describes how all the Greeks who fell at Thermopylae were buried where they fell and reports a general inscription over the dead:

Four thousand warriors, flower of Pelops' land,  
Did here against three hundred myriads stand.<sup>1108</sup>

After recording the inscription, Herodotus states that the Amphictyons had the epigram inscribed.<sup>1109</sup> This epigram, and indeed all monuments memorialising this battle, was almost certainly erected after the battle of Plataea as the Thermopylae pass would have been under enemy control. The troop numbers cited (four thousand Greeks) agrees with Herodotus' numbers and may be the source of his information while Herodotus' estimation of the Persian numbers is lower.<sup>1110</sup> The Thespians, Thebans, Lokrians and Phokians are excluded in this general epigram. On the strength

<sup>1108</sup> Hdts. 7.228.1. See also Diod. 11.33.2; Aristides 49.380; and the *Pal. Anth.* 7.248.

<sup>1109</sup> Hdts. 7.228.4.

<sup>1110</sup> Greek forces: Hdts. 7.202-203; Persian forces: Hdts. 7.185-186.

of Herodotus' assertion that the epigram stood on the battlefield at Thermopylae, this monument is accepted here with confidence (see App. no.23 for discussion on whether Herodotus visited the battlefield).

However, as the epigram does not mention the dead specifically, Wade-Gery says this inscription would not have been an epitaph, and that the inscription did not belong to a grave, it merely marked a battlefield.<sup>1111</sup> At the conclusion of the battle, the Persians were left in control of the field, and it would have been a good deal later that the bodies were buried and later still that the Amphictyons erected monuments.<sup>1112</sup>

#### 25. Epigram for the Opuntian Locrians

Strabo, in describing the geography of the Opuntian gulf, mentions five steles and is the only reference for the Opuntian inscription. Strabo states the inscription is fifteen stadia from the sea, and sixty stadia from the sea port.

Opoeis, metropolis of the Locrians of righteous  
laws,  
Mourns for these who perished in defence of  
Greece against the Medes.<sup>1113</sup>

Strabo is the only source for this epigram and the fact that five steles are present. Due to Herodotus' silence regarding this monument, it may have been a later addition to the site (see App. no.23 for discussion on whether Herodotus visited the battlefield).

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<sup>1111</sup> Wade-Gery 1933: 72.

<sup>1112</sup> See Wade-Gery 1933: 72; Macan 1908: 1.335.

<sup>1113</sup> Strabo 9.4.2.



After fighting alongside the Spartans at Thermopylae, Opus surrendered to the Persians and, in constructing this monument, may have attempted to emphasise their earlier efforts in the defence of Greece.<sup>1114</sup>

According to Herodotus the Opuntians were present at the defence of the Thermopylae pass;<sup>1115</sup> however Herodotus who describes other monuments at the site fails to mention this epigram. Therefore, due to the late date of the sole literary reference to this monument, it may only be accepted tentatively.

## 26. Epigram for the Thespians

Stephanus of Byzantium provides us with the Thespian epigram at Thermopylae:

Men that in life beneath the heights abode  
Of Helikon; whose pride makes Thespiai proud.<sup>1116</sup>

The epigram is attributed to the otherwise unknown Philaidas of Megara. The attribution to an obscure poet from Megara has been interpreted to suggest the poem was demonstrative rather than inscriptional, and preserved solely in an anthology.<sup>1117</sup>

If the poem were inscribed, the author most probably would not have signed it. Therefore it has been deemed unlikely the, otherwise unknown, Philaidas would have

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<sup>1114</sup> Medising: Hdts. 7.132, 8.66, 9.31; see also West 1965: xxxvi.

<sup>1115</sup> Hdts. 7.203.1.

<sup>1116</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. *Thespeia*; translation in Wade-Gery 1933: 76.

<sup>1117</sup> Page 1981: I, 78.

been the recognised author of the epigram in the sole source dating to some one thousand years after the battle of Thermopylae.<sup>1118</sup>

Whether the poem was inscribed or not, it has been suggested that it is incomplete; Hiller believes that the epigram originally consisted of two distichs and the first one is missing.<sup>1119</sup> Conversely, Page suggests that the lines as we have them read like a beginning and at least one couplet would have certainly followed.<sup>1120</sup> No consensus may be drawn where the distich we have would have fitted in to the poem as a whole.

The sole reference for this monument is late and the epigram is attributed to an otherwise unknown source. Furthermore, the poem itself appears to be incomplete. Therefore, it is not possible to accept this monument with any confidence.

## 27. Stone Lion

Herodotus provides us with a vague positioning for the stone lion:

This hill is at the mouth of the pass, where the  
stone lion in honour of Leonidas now stands.<sup>1121</sup>

Herodotus states that the stone lion, which stood in honour of Leonidas, was erected upon the hillock to which the Spartans retreated to make their last stand on realisation they were surrounded. It is not clear who erected the monument but it would be safe to assume it was the Spartans. However, it could also have been the Amphictyons as

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<sup>1118</sup> Page 1981: I, 78.

<sup>1119</sup> Hiller 1926: 19.

<sup>1120</sup> Page 1981: I, 78.

<sup>1121</sup> Hdts. 7.225.2.

they had erected the stele for the Spartans in general (App. no.23). Leonidas was buried on the battlefield and Pausanias informs us that in c.440 BC (forty years after battle) his remains were reburied at Sparta (see App. no.29 for discussion on this dating).<sup>1122</sup> It has been suggested that Herodotus' phrase '*epi Leōnidē*' should be read as 'over Leonidas' grave' which allows for the, arguably more practical, interpretation that the monument was only erected after Leonidas' body was moved.<sup>1123</sup>

On identifying the mound upon which the Greek forces at Thermopylae made their last stand, Clarke mentions traces of a pedestal which may have served as the base for a monument.<sup>1124</sup> Foundations of Leonidas' monument has been identified as the partial remains of a rectangular foundation on Stahlin's 'Hill 1'.<sup>1125</sup> The north and north-west sides are missing but the south side is 14m long and the east side is 11.55m long, built of large stones 0.4m high, 1.10m long and 0.57m thick. The wall is primarily of limestone with a mixture of breccia and sandstone and, as it is not joined with mortar, could well be fifth century BC. The disappearance of the stone lion set up for Leonidas has been put down to structural developments undertaken upon the *kolonos* in the Roman and Byzantine periods.<sup>1126</sup> However, it is worth noting that no sources reference this specific monument Thermopylae after Herodotus.

Herodotus' reference to a monument in the fifth century BC provides a certain level of confidence for attribution (however, see App. no.23 for discussion on whether

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<sup>1122</sup> Paus. 3.14.1.

<sup>1123</sup> West 1965: 185.

<sup>1124</sup> Clarke 1818: 7.305-310.

<sup>1125</sup> Kroll & Mittelhaus 1934: 2414.

<sup>1126</sup> Robertson 1939: 200; Luce et al. 1939: 700.

Herodotus visited the battlefield), which is further confirmed by the identification of a suitable monument base at the site. Therefore, this monument is accepted with confidence.

## 28. Burial Mound

The hillock upon which the Spartans made their last stand was identified by Dodwell as a 'green hillock, with a house upon its summit, which was once a *derveni*, or custom house.'<sup>1127</sup> The topographical information presented in Dodwell's description is vague but the stone foundations present on the hillock today may have served as those of the custom house. In addition, Dodwell presumes the hillock would have acted as the Greek sepulchre as it is probable they were buried where they fell.<sup>1128</sup> In contrast to Dodwell, Clarke, who also describes visiting the site of Thermopylae and identifying the hillock, mentions the remains of some pedestal which may have served as a foundation for a monument but makes no mention of an extant building, it is probable that Clarke wrote of a different mound.<sup>1129</sup> William Leake, on travelling through the Thermopylae pass, in no great detail, mentions the hillock upon which the Greeks were thought to have made their last stand against the Persians. Leake refers to the hillock as a 'remarkable rock' upon which are the 'remains of ancient monuments'.<sup>1130</sup>

In 1929, excavations were undertaken at Thermopylae by Spyridon Marinatos which led to the identification of the hillock being moved from the western end of the pass,

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<sup>1127</sup> Dodwell 1819: 2.67.

<sup>1128</sup> Dodwell 1819: 2.68.

<sup>1129</sup> Clarke 1818: 7.305-310.

<sup>1130</sup> Leake 1835: 5; see also Gell 1827: 238-239.

by the Phokian wall, to the eastern end; this idea contrasted with earlier unsuccessful excavations at the western end of the pass.<sup>1131</sup> Upon the hill, known as the *kolonos* today, many arrow heads were discovered and have been compared to the finds unearthed at the Marathon *soros* and are nearly all dated to the fifth century BC.<sup>1132</sup> In addition to the multitude of arrow heads, which goes some way to confirming Herodotus' account of the final Persian assault one Persian spear head was found and a Greek spear butt strengthening the identification of the *kolonos*.<sup>1133</sup> No bones were recovered as the fifth century BC stratum is below water level.<sup>1134</sup> Remains of fortifications were located on the hillock and are thought to have been the result of multiple building programs dating to the Hellenistic period. Coins and masses of pottery dating to a similar period were also found.<sup>1135</sup> During the Roman and Byzantine periods the hill was used for dwelling with the remains of houses, tiles and tombs being visible.<sup>1136</sup> The remains of fortifications and houses visible to Marinatos could validate the observations made by Dodwell and Leake and further support the claim that Clarke was indeed describing a separate hill.

On the strength of the archaeological evidence, which connects the *kolonos* with the hill of the Greeks' last stand, and that Herodotus informs us the Greeks were buried where they fell,<sup>1137</sup> this monument is accepted here with confidence.

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<sup>1131</sup> Robertson 1939: 200; Luce et al. 1939: 700.

<sup>1132</sup> Robertson 1939: 200; Luce et al. 1939: 700.

<sup>1133</sup> Final Persian assault: Hdts. 7.225.3; Persian spear head: Robertson 1939: 200; Luce et al. 1939: 700; spear butt: Robertson 1939: 200.

<sup>1134</sup> See Kraft et al. 1987, for the geological changes to the Thermopylae area.

<sup>1135</sup> Luce et al. 1939: 700.

<sup>1136</sup> Robertson 1939: 200; Luce et al. 1939: 700.

<sup>1137</sup> Hdts 7.228.1.

## 29. Tomb of Leonidas

Pausanias mentions this tomb when describing Sparta:

On going westwards from the market-place is a cenotaph of Brasidas the son of Tellis. Not far from it is the theatre, made of white marble and worth seeing. Opposite the theatre are two tombs; the first is that of Pausanias, the general at Plataea, the second is that of Leonidas. The bones of Leonidas were taken by Pausanias from Thermopylae forty years after the battle.<sup>1138</sup>

Pausanias states that Leonidas' body was returned to Sparta some forty years after the battle of Thermopylae, which is c.440 BC. Pausanias, the author, notes that the body was brought back to Sparta by Pausanias. This Pausanias (the Spartan) may be interpreted as the son of Pleistoanax, who ruled as King between 408 – 394 BC.<sup>1139</sup> However Pausanias (the Spartan), when very young, also held kingly power between 445 – 426 BC, when his father Pleistoanax was banned from kingship for an unsuccessful Attic campaign.<sup>1140</sup> If Pausanias (the author) is correct in dating the removal of Leonidas' body to 40 years after the battle of Thermopylae, this would coincide with the Spartan Pausanias' early reign in place of his father. It should be noted, however, that the Spartan Pausanias was still a minor in 427 BC as Cleomenes,

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<sup>1138</sup> Paus. 3.14.1.

<sup>1139</sup> West 1965: 119.

<sup>1140</sup> Thuc. 2.21; 5.16.

his uncle, led the Spartan forces as regent during the campaign of that year.<sup>1141</sup>

Pausanias' young age, particularly around 440 BC therefore, conflicts with Pausanias' statement that the bones were 'taken by' him. It has been suggested that the '40 years' was a late corruption of Pausanias' text which had originally read '4 years'.<sup>1142</sup>

The removal of Leonidas' body 4 years after Thermopylae would place the move within the lifetime of the Spartan general Pausanias, who led the Spartans at Plataea.

Herodotus does not mention Leonidas' tomb although it is likely he visited Sparta and saw a list of names of those who fought at Thermopylae (see App. no.30). However, it is possible Herodotus visited Sparta before 440 BC and so would have missed Leonidas' reburial. A cult of Leonidas was later developed, which would have included athletic contests.<sup>1143</sup>

In lieu of any firm evidence to contradict Pausanias' dating of the repatriation of Leonidas' bones, and the suggested dating coinciding with Pausanias' (the Spartan) initial reign in place of his father, the date of c.440 BC is accepted here. However, the date of Leonidas' body being removed from the battlefield is not beyond doubt, and the literary reference to the monument is late, therefore this allows for only tentative acceptance of this monument.

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<sup>1141</sup> Thuc. 3.26; West 1965: 120.

<sup>1142</sup> See Macan 1908: 1.352.

<sup>1143</sup> As attested in the late first century AD inscription *IG* 5<sup>1</sup> 658.

### 30. List of Spartans Who Fought at Thermopylae

Pausanias, when describing the area in Sparta near the theatre, mentions the inscribed list:

There is set up a slab with the names, and their fathers' names, of those who endured the fight at Thermopylae against the Persians.<sup>1144</sup>

Pausanias' description of this stele follows directly on from his mentioning Leonidas' tomb, and so may be interpreted as having been erected nearby. Herodotus does not mention this stele but claims to know the names of each of the three hundred and so may have seen this stele when in Sparta.<sup>1145</sup>

However, it is possible that this list of names was constructed at a later date.<sup>1146</sup> If this monument was a construction of, perhaps, the Roman period it would stand as a testament to the surviving commemorative tradition of the Thermopylae war dead. Furthermore, as noted in chapter section 6.4.3.3, honouring the war dead as a collective (the 'Three Hundred') and as individuals (being named) within the Spartan urban centre was unique amongst the Spartan monuments in this data set. The combination of public commemoration and individualisation afforded to the Thermopylae war dead was more than was usually available to the Spartan war

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<sup>1144</sup> Paus. 3.14.1.

<sup>1145</sup> Hdts. 7.224.1.

<sup>1146</sup> See Low 2011: 6; for example the interest in the Persian Wars during the Roman period is well attested, see Alcock 2002: 74-86.



dead.<sup>1147</sup> Therefore if this monument was a later construction, the anomalous practice of individualising collective war dead commemorations at Sparta may also have developed later.

The acceptance of this monument is tentative because we are reliant solely on one late source and the type of monument is anomalous to the otherwise attested Spartan commemorative practices.

### 31. Shrine of Maron and Alpheius

Pausanias describes this shrine:

There is also a sanctuary of Maron and of Alpheius. Of the Lacedaemonians who served at Thermopylae they consider that these men distinguished themselves in the fighting more than any save Leonidas himself.<sup>1148</sup>

Pausanias states that this shrine was situated on the Aphetaid road leading from the market, upon which were many shrines, sanctuaries and tombs.<sup>1149</sup> Herodotus agrees with Pausanias that Maron and Alpheius distinguished themselves at Thermopylae but does not mention the shrine.<sup>1150</sup>

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<sup>1147</sup> Individual commemorations at Sparta were scattered and associated with private commemorations, while collective war dead commemorations would focus on the mass, effacing the individual (see Low 2011: 6).

<sup>1148</sup> Paus. 3.12.9.

<sup>1149</sup> See Paus. 3.12.8-9; West 1965: 121.

<sup>1150</sup> Hdts. 7.227.

The particular mention awarded to these two warriors is consistent in the literary sources, of both the classical period and later, however the date of the monument itself is uncertain. Due to the sole literary reference to this monument being late and the uncertainty of the date, it may only be accepted tentatively.

### 32. Hero-cult Practices for the Fallen

Diodorus is our sole reference for this poem:

And, speaking in general terms, these men alone of the Greeks down to their time passed into immortality because of their exceptional valour. Consequently not only the writers of history but also many of our poets have celebrated their brave exploits; and one of them is Simonides, the lyric poet, who composed the following encomium in their praise, worthy of their valour:

“Of those who perished at Thermopylae  
All glorious is the fortune, fair the doom;  
Their grave's an altar, ceaseless memory's theirs  
Instead of lamentation, and their fate  
Is chant of praise. Such winding-sheet as this  
Nor mould nor all-consuming time shall waste.  
This sepulchre of valiant men has taken  
The fair renown of Hellas for its inmate.  
And witness is Leonidas, once king  
Of Sparta, who hath left behind a crown  
Of valour mighty and undying fame.”<sup>1151</sup>

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<sup>1151</sup> Diod. 11.11.6.

Diodorus states this poem is the work of Simonides, and it has been suggested that it was produced in the decade following the culmination of the Persian Wars.<sup>1152</sup> It has further been suggested that '[t]heir grave's an altar' may indicate that the poem is performed away from Thermopylae and the actual tomb of the dead, and the tomb is therefore represented by an altar.<sup>1153</sup> If this is an accurate reading of the text, I agree with West that the performance would have been most appropriate near the tomb of Leonidas, with the stele bearing the names of the three hundred nearby.<sup>1154</sup>

While Diodorus attributes this poem to Simonides, the late date of the sole reference to the poem, and the lack of supporting evidence, allows tentative acceptance as a monument here.

### 33. Epigram for Leonidas

This epigram is recorded in the Palatine Anthology:

Leonidas, King of spacious Sparta, illustrious are  
they who died with thee and are buried here.  
They faced in battle with the Medes the force of  
multitudinous bows and of steeds fleet of foot.<sup>1155</sup>

The epigram addresses Leonidas himself, and it has therefore been suggested that the poem may have been inscribed on Leonidas' tomb itself in Sparta.<sup>1156</sup> The poem also

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<sup>1152</sup> Bowra 1933: 277-281; See also West 1965: 122 for further references.

<sup>1153</sup> West 1965: 123.

<sup>1154</sup> West 1965: 123.

<sup>1155</sup> Pal. Anth. 7.301.

<sup>1156</sup> West 1965: 124.

references the other Spartans who died at Thermopylae; the practice of commemorating the war dead in the Spartan urban centre would fit in with the general Spartan commemorative practice, illustrated in chapter 5, of honouring the dead within this site type (see App. no.30, which may have been situated close by). However it has also been suggested, on the strength of the references to the war dead, there is no reason why it could not have stood at Thermopylae.<sup>1157</sup> The monument is believed here (albeit tentatively) to have been raised in Sparta due to the explicit reference to Leonidas whose body was, apparently, repatriated some time during the fifth century BC (see App. no.29).

The Palatine Anthology attributes this poem to Simonides; however we cannot be certain of the author. Furthermore, it has been suggested that due to the epigram being of 'mediocre' quality, it is probably from the later Hellenistic period.<sup>1158</sup> There is no physical evidence to confirm the accuracy, original location, or indeed existence of this epigram and, therefore, this monument may not be accepted with confidence.

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<sup>1157</sup> See Molyneux 1992: 181; *contra* Page 1981: VII, who states that there would be no room for the inscribed stele bearing this epigram considering Strabo's statement (9.4.2) that there were only five inscribed steles on the battlefield.

<sup>1158</sup> See Page 1981: VII.

## SALAMIS

### 34. Trophy on the Island of Psyttaleia

Plutarch, in describing the hoplite assault on the Persian troops stationed on Psyttaleia, says a trophy was erected on the island because the most strenuous part of the fighting was in the region:

For the greatest crowding of the ships, and the most strenuous part of the battle, seems to have been in this region. And for this reason a trophy was erected on Psyttaleia.<sup>1159</sup>

Pausanias, in stark contrast, makes the point that Psyttaleia has no commemorative structure but only some crude statues:

The island [Psyttaleia] has no artistic statue, only some roughly carved wooden images of Pan.<sup>1160</sup>

Wallace and Vanderpool obtained permission to investigate the north side of this island.<sup>1161</sup> On investigating the promontory which juts out towards Cynosoura, at the very extreme point where the island and Cynosoura are closest (see figure App. 15), the pair uncovered the remains of a foundation which would have been capable of holding a stone monument of similar proportions to that at Marathon. Wallace concedes that, taken alone, this evidence is not enough to indicate that the monument

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<sup>1159</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 9.2.

<sup>1160</sup> Paus. 1.36.2.

<sup>1161</sup> Wallace 1969.

stood at this spot; however, considering the possible position of the Salamis trophy across the narrowest point in the stretch of water (see App. no.35), one may surmise the Athenians were aware of the importance the geography of the area played in their victory over the Persians (figure App. 15 illustrates the proximity of Salamis to Psyttaleia).<sup>1162</sup> Furthermore, if Plutarch's statement is accepted, that the most strenuous part of the battle took place off the island of Psyttaleia, then the construction of a trophy on the coastline would correspond with the practice of constructing trophies on the nearest shore to the naval conflict.<sup>1163</sup>

Considering the inconclusive archaeological evidence, and the conflicting literary sources, this monument may only be accepted tentatively.

Figure App. 15 *View of Psyttaleia from Salamis*



*Author's own photograph*

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<sup>1162</sup> Wallace 1969: on the debate over the island Psyttaleia see 293-299; on the discovery of foundation stones see 302.

<sup>1163</sup> Pritchett 1974: 2.260; see also the discussion on trophies in chapter section 4.3.2.1.

### 35. Trophy on the Island of Salamis (Cynosoura)

Pausanias mentions the existence of a trophy:

In Salamis...is a sanctuary of Artemis, and also a trophy erected in honour of the victory which Themistocles, the son of Neocles, won for the Greeks.<sup>1164</sup>

In addition to Pausanias' reference Plutarch also mentions the trophy by relating how, on being asked to move wings by the Spartans before Plataea, the Athenians are persuaded to face the Persians.<sup>1165</sup> Plutarch depicts the Athenians spreading the word that the coming battle at Plataea would not only be for land and city but for the trophies at Marathon and Salamis. The soldiers are thus reminded that the earlier victories against the Persians were not only Miltiades' victories, but Athens'. Also, as mentioned above in reference to the Marathon trophy (see App. no.3), Plato mentions the trophy during a justification of not sending aid to the Persian King in fear of disgracing the trophies of Marathon, Salamis and Plataea.<sup>1166</sup>

A trophy certainly existed in Pausanias' time and therefore if an immediate degradable trophy, possibly in the form of a trireme, was erected immediately after the battle, as was the custom, it must have been rebuilt in stone.<sup>1167</sup> It has been argued that the

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<sup>1164</sup> Paus. 1.36.1.

<sup>1165</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 16.3-4.

<sup>1166</sup> Plato *Menexenus* 245a.

<sup>1167</sup> Possibly the trireme dedicated to Ajax on Salamis, Hdt. 8.121; see West 1969: 16.

restored, permanent monument was erected in the town of Salamis;<sup>1168</sup> *'en Salamini'* could be interpreted both 'on' and 'in Salamis'. However the publication of two eighteenth century travellers presents a testimony which certainly supports the view that the *tropaion* stood on Cynosoura:

Some fragments of an ancient column of white marble, which are yet remaining on Punto Barbaro and promontory of Salamis, at the entrance to the straights which separate that island from the continent of Attica. They are probably the remains of a trophy erected for the victory at Salamis. These fragments are yet very discernible from Athens, and must have been much more so when the column was entire. The monument of and victory, which had established the liberties of Greece, and in which the Athenians had acquired the greatest glory, must have been to them a most pleasing and a most interesting object; and we may for that reason conclude, that they placed it in and part of the island, where those who viewed it from Athens, might see it to the greatest advantage; which intention this situation perfectly answers.<sup>1169</sup>

Chandler also attests to examining some worked stones and a 'fragment or two of marble' while exploring Cynosoura and supposed they belonged to the monument erected at the defeat of the Persian forces.<sup>1170</sup>

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<sup>1168</sup> Hammond 1956: 53-54.

<sup>1169</sup> Stuart & Revett 1762: ix.

<sup>1170</sup> Chandler 1776: 202; see also Gell 1827: 303.



Figure App. 16 *Squared Block on Salamis*



*Author's own photograph*

The remains found by the eighteenth century travellers can be attested by Wallace and Vanderpool who were given special permission to examine the promontory. Wallace reported that nearing the extreme end of Cynosoura a cutting in the bedrock was discovered, measuring c.1.8m<sup>2</sup>. Other worked stone blocks lay strewn around the area (see figure App. 16) with evidence of the removal of many. Wallace suggests that this space, with its near proximity to the extremity of the promontory and so as close to Athens and Psyttaleia as possible, could have been the site of Themistocles' trophy.<sup>1171</sup> It is still possible to identify squared blocks, most clearly the one photographed, on the tip of the Cynosoura. Cynosoura was to become known as Cape *Tropaia* evidently, it seems, due to the monument constructed at its tip. It is suggested by West that the Salamis trophy was transformed from a perishable trophy to a permanent monument in the fifth century BC possibly before the Peloponnesian War.<sup>1172</sup> In Book One of Thucydides, Marathon and Salamis are singled out as the decisive battles of the

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<sup>1171</sup> To further contrast with Hammond's point of view see Wallace 1969: 302.

<sup>1172</sup> West 1969: 17.

Persian Wars.<sup>1173</sup> The land battle at Plataea where Sparta played the leading role is apparently side-lined in Athenian victorious self-representation. Thus, with Salamis playing a central role alongside Marathon as key Athenian victories one may infer that permanent monuments were erected at these sites of conflict.

Due to the consensus of later literary sources that a trophy stood at Salamis, in addition to Thucydides' assertion that Salamis played a central role in fifth century BC Athenian self-representation, and the remnants of an ancient structure at the tip of the Cynosoura, this monument is accepted with confidence.

#### 36. Gravestone with Epitaph for the Corinthians Buried on Salamis

The epigram is mentioned by Plutarch:

And in Salamis they had permitted them to bury the  
dead near the city, as being men who had behaved  
themselves gallantly, and to write over them this  
elegy:

Well-watered Corinth, stranger, was our home;  
Salamis, Ajax's isle, is now our grave;  
Here Medes and Persians and Phoenician ships  
We fought and routed, sacred Greece to save.<sup>1174</sup>

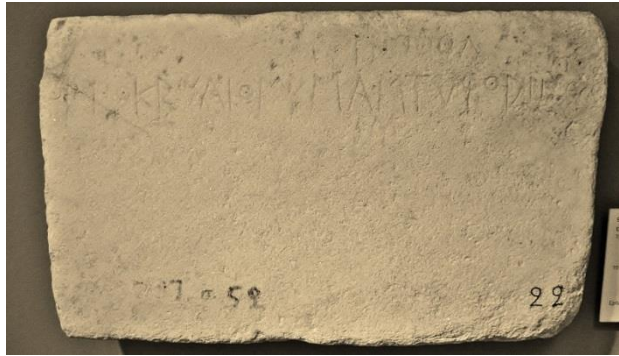
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<sup>1173</sup> Thuc. 1.73.2-73.4.

<sup>1174</sup> Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 39.

The epigram survives and is currently held in the Athens Epigraphical Museum.<sup>1175</sup>

Figure App. 17 *Corinthian Epitaph from Salamis*



*Author's own photograph*

The preserved stele is inscribed with the first couplet only. The identification of this inscription has been the cause of some debate. It has been argued that the first couplet is considered ancient while the second is probably a forgery and possibly a late, literary addition.<sup>1176</sup> Jeffery, on the other hand, states the date for this inscription is beyond question (480/479 BC).<sup>1177</sup> Carpenter, in his otherwise flattering review of Jeffery's work on the local scripts of archaic Greece, strongly contests the identification of this inscription. It is argued that as the closing couplet has been identified as a literary addition and was never inscribed on the stone, the object bears no reference to the battle of Salamis and need not have any connection to it.<sup>1178</sup>

<sup>1175</sup> EM 22. Image provided LSAG pl.21, Corinth 29. See also IG I<sup>3</sup> 1143; SEG 10.404a. See also a translation by Bowra 1938: 189.

<sup>1176</sup> Bowra 1938: 189; GHI 16.

<sup>1177</sup> LSAG 120.

<sup>1178</sup> Carpenter 1963: 81-82, who also argues that the style of the lettering suggests a seventh century BC date.

The poem, as recounted by Plutarch, has been argued by Page to have once been inscribed on the surviving stele (figure App. 17).<sup>1179</sup> The stone is smoothly finished well below the area which is inscribed today, which provides enough space to have held another couplet. Furthermore, it has been suggested that it is fairly common (although not invariable) for epitaphs to state the cause of death of, or the specific enemies fought by, the men that are being honoured.<sup>1180</sup> Although a specific date is not offered by Page, the distinction between the Persians and the Medes, 'points to the early date' for the second couplet.<sup>1181</sup>

Despite the inscribed stone having been discovered, the authenticity is not beyond doubt. The lack of the second distich, as reported in the literary evidence, has caused some difficulty in accepting the monument with confidence. Furthermore, no consensus has been reached about either the date of the inscription or indeed the original existence of a second distich. Due to the inconsistencies between the archaeological and literary evidence, therefore, this stele may only be accepted tentatively as a monument commemorating the Persian Wars.

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<sup>1179</sup> See Page 1981: XI.

<sup>1180</sup> See App. no's.6, 7, 21, 24, 25 and 52, for examples of inscriptions also raised on the battlefield referencing the specific enemy fought and/or the Greek dead.

<sup>1181</sup> Page 1981: XI, 202 and 204, argues that the later the composition the greater the improbability of a writer using the same term 'within the same breath'. Aeschylus only twice uses 'Mede' as a synonym for 'Persian' (*The Persians* 236, 791). Furthermore, Herodotus generally calls the invaders 'Medes' and distinguishes between them and 'Persians' only when it is necessary (e.g. 7.211, 9.31) or convenient (8.89, 9.40).

### 37. Burial Mound

In a short chapter discussing the island of Salamis, primarily in the context of the Persian conflict there in 480 BC, Gell mentions seeing a tumulus (see figure App. 18) at the base of the Cynosoura but fails to identify it as the Greek burial mound.<sup>1182</sup> Frazer also noted the tumulus but identified this mound as prehistoric whereas, only a few years later, the eminent German topographer, Milchhoefer identified the tumulus as that of the Greeks who died during the sea battle at Salamis.<sup>1183</sup> Pritchett, on examining the site, was unable to find any prehistoric sherds to confirm Frazer's theory and so, while having agreed the mound is artificial, discounted the suggestion of such an early date and tentatively followed Milchhoefer's identification.<sup>1184</sup>

Figure App. 18 *Burial Mound on Salamis*



*Author's own photograph*

There is no literary evidence for the mass burial of Greek soldiers after the battle of Salamis. However a first century AD inscription concerning the restoration of

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<sup>1182</sup> Gell 1827: 303.

<sup>1183</sup> Prehistoric dating: Frazer 1965: 2.478; Persian War period: Milchhoefer 1904: Heft VII-VIII, 28-29.

<sup>1184</sup> Prichett 1965: 1.96.

sanctuaries in Attica mentions the Salamis promontory on which is situated the trophy of Themistocles and a *polyandrion*.<sup>1185</sup>

Due to the lack of affirmative evidence this monument may not be accepted confidently. However, the structure that is today marked as a commemorative monument to Salamis is an artificial mound in the proximity of the site of conflict, which would accord with treatment of the war dead from other Persian War battles. The monument is therefore accepted tentatively.

### 38. Tomb of Themistocles

Thucydides praises Themistocles heavily and mentions his bones were brought home from Persian territory after his death:

His bones, it is said, were conveyed home by his relatives in accordance with his wishes, and interred in Attic ground. This was done without the knowledge of the Athenians; as it is against the law to bury in Attica an outlaw for treason.<sup>1186</sup>

Plutarch describes a structure thought to be the tomb of Themistocles:

Diodorus the Topographer, in his work 'On Tombs,' says, by conjecture rather than from actual knowledge, that near the large harbour of the

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<sup>1185</sup> *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1035, 33; see Pritchett 1985: 4.129-131 for further bibliography; the inscription is published by Culley 1975; for the date see *SEG* 26.121.

<sup>1186</sup> Thuc. 1.138.5-6.

Piraeus a sort of elbow juts out from the promontory opposite Alcimus, and that as you round this and come inside where the water of the sea is still, there is a basement of goodly size, and that the altar-like structure upon this is the tomb of Themistocles.<sup>1187</sup>

Thucydides describes Themistocles' burial in Attica as a private matter without the knowledge of the Athenian people. Therefore the burial, initially at least, was a private affair. However, Plutarch's reference, while noting his apparent scepticism, seems to describe a tomb of a more substantial nature, having been adorned with an altar-like structure. This may be interpreted as a development from a private burial to a more public monument. Plutarch also references Plato *Comicus* to support the reference of Diodorus and so tradition would have Themistocles' tomb (in its public form) in the Piraeus by the late fifth, or early fourth century BC.<sup>1188</sup> Pausanias also states the presence of Themistocles' tomb by his time, the second century AD:

Even up to my time there were docks there, and near the largest harbour is the grave of Themistocles. For it is said that the Athenians repented of their treatment of Themistocles, and that his relations took up his bones and brought them from Magnesia.<sup>1189</sup>

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<sup>1187</sup> Plut. *Themistocles* 32.4.

<sup>1188</sup> Plut. *Themistocles* 32.5 quotes the comic poet Plato 'Thy tomb is mounded in a fair and sightly place; The merchantmen shall ever hail it with glad cry'; see also West 1965: 142.

<sup>1189</sup> Paus. 1.1.2.

The ancient references to the monument all agree, at least, that the bones were brought back to Attica.

According to Dodwell, after the repentance of the Athenians the bones may well have been afforded a public burial.<sup>1190</sup> Dodwell, in his exploration of the Athenian ports, mentions a sarcophagus placed in a cavity on the shore line which was regularly flooded and difficult to examine and states that '[s]ome have supposed this to be the sepulchre of Themistocles'.<sup>1191</sup> The contents of the sepulchre had disappeared by the time of Dodwell's visit but it is clear that a particular place, by some at least, was held to be Themistocles' tomb in the early nineteenth century. In addition, the particular location of the tomb was not lost on Dodwell:

And what locality could be more appropriate for the reception of his venerable ashes, than the same shore which had witnessed his triumph, and which still overlooks the Psytalian and Salaminian rocks, and the whole extent of the Saronic gulph?<sup>1192</sup>

Gell mentions as a boat sails out of the Piraeus on the left are large column pieces which lie in ruins, thought to be erected in memory of Themistocles, who apparently 'certainly had a monument near this spot'.<sup>1193</sup>

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<sup>1190</sup> Dodwell's suggestion on this point is speculative (1819: 1.424). He points out that Thucydides' assertion that Themistocles was buried privately was hearsay, and this account contradicts later sources such as Diodorus, Plutarch, and Pausanias (all mentioned in this discussion).

<sup>1191</sup> Dodwell 1819: 1.423.

<sup>1192</sup> Dodwell 1819: 1.424.

<sup>1193</sup> Gell 1827: 100.



No ancient source explicitly connects the burial of Themistocles with the commemoration of the battle of Salamis specifically. In fact, West attributes this to the commemoration of the Persian Wars in general.<sup>1194</sup> However, the possible development of this tomb from a private burial to public monument in the late fifth or early fourth century BC and the specific location selected to honour Themistocles (overlooking the Salamis straight), suggest it was intended to recall the victory at Salamis. The conclusions drawn here are based on speculation and therefore dictate the tomb may only be accepted with caution.

#### 39. – 41. Thank-Offering of Three Triremes (Isthmus, Sunium and Salamis)

Herodotus mentions the three ships:

As for the Greeks, not being able to take Andros, they went to Carystus. When they had laid it waste, they returned to Salamis. First of all they set apart for the gods, among other first-fruits, three Phoenician triremes, one to be dedicated at the Isthmus, where it was till my lifetime, the second at Sunium, and the third for Ajax at Salamis where they were.<sup>1195</sup>

The triremes dedicated at the Isthmus and Sunium were most probably dedicated to Poseidon, who was the protecting divinity at the battle of Salamis, while Ajax was

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<sup>1194</sup> West 1965: 140-142.

<sup>1195</sup> Hdts. 8.121.1.

honoured at Salamis as the local hero to where the battle was fought.<sup>1196</sup> If these triremes were spoils from the battle of Salamis, although this is not certain, then it may be suggested that these triremes were dedicated at some point within the decade following the battle.<sup>1197</sup>

Triremes, or more frequently the beaks of the ships, were appropriate thank-offerings for naval victories.<sup>1198</sup> However, whole ship dedications set within sanctuaries have been deemed exceedingly rare, and this has been put down to the amount of space required, the logistics of hauling a ship into a *temenos*, and the challenges of constructing a building around an installed ship.<sup>1199</sup>

These monuments are accepted with a certain degree of confidence due to the monuments being mentioned by a fifth century BC source, and Herodotus' remark that specifically points out that the trireme at the Isthmus was still there in his lifetime, which suggests he may have seen it, although this is not certain.<sup>1200</sup>

#### 42. Statue of Apollo Holding the Beak of a Ship

Herodotus mentions this statue:

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<sup>1196</sup> West 1965: 91-92; Macan 1908: 548 suggests Athena and Poseidon to be recipients of the dedicated triremes at Sunium and Isthmus respectively.

<sup>1197</sup> West (see lxv, table 4, no.28) suggests a dedication of these ships in the decade following the battle, and counts the dating of these examples as 'probable'.

<sup>1198</sup> Rouse 1902: 103.

<sup>1199</sup> Westcoat 2005: 154-155, and n.3 for examples of this practice; see also Pritchett 1979: 3.281-285 for discussion on naval spoils and ship models.

<sup>1200</sup> Macan (1908: 548) describes this remark as 'curious' and questions why Herodotus would include the comment unless he had either seen the trireme or had more information about that specific monument over the other two.

After that, they divided the spoils and sent the first-fruits of it to Delphi; of this was made a man's image twelve cubits high, holding in his hand the figurehead of a ship. This stood in the same place as the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian.<sup>1201</sup>

Pausanias also mentions the monument:

The Greeks who fought against the king...dedicated also an Apollo at Delphi, from spoils taken in the naval actions at Artemisium and Salamis.<sup>1202</sup>

There are discrepancies between Herodotus' and Pausanias' accounts of the statues they describe at Delphi; Herodotus describes a statue of a man holding the beak of a ship while Pausanias mentions a statue of Apollo. However, it is generally agreed that these sources are referencing the same statue.<sup>1203</sup> Pausanias attributes the monument to Salamis and Artemisium, and although he does not mention the beak of the ship it has been suggested this aspect of the statue may have prompted this statement.<sup>1204</sup>

The discovery of a fragmented base immediately north of the foundations of the serpent column (App. no.80) has led to the location of this statue being identified as the east temple terrace.<sup>1205</sup> The statue would have stood at a height of 5.91 metres and therefore dominated the area.<sup>1206</sup> Cuts on the top of the stone reveal the positioning of the statue's feet which, it has been suggested, resemble the pose of an

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<sup>1201</sup> Hdts. 8.121.2.

<sup>1202</sup> Paus. 10.14.5.

<sup>1203</sup> Frazer 1965: 1.309; West 1965: 92-93; Scott 2010: Appendix C, no.103.

<sup>1204</sup> West 1965: 93.

<sup>1205</sup> Scott 2010: 83, fig.4.3 no.103; Bommelaer 1991: 169.

<sup>1206</sup> Following Herodotus' estimated height, Scott 2010: 83.

archaic *kouros*.<sup>1207</sup> The statue base was adorned with a dedicatory inscription which only survives in fragments, and has been dated to the fifth century BC.<sup>1208</sup> The inscription appears to have '*Hellenes*' as the subject, which is the only use of this term defining a dedicatory group in a dedicatory inscription at Delphi; this terminology mirrors Herodotus in his description of the alliance of states that fought at Salamis.<sup>1209</sup>

This monument is accepted with confidence based on its identification in literary sources, inscriptional interpretation and archaeological evidence.

#### 43. Tomb of Eurybiades

Pausanias mentions this tomb when describing Sparta:

Opposite the temple is the tomb of Theopompus son of Nicander, and also that of Eurybiades, who commanded the Lacedaemonian warships that fought the Persians at Artemisium and Salamis.<sup>1210</sup>

Pausanias is the only literary source we have for this tomb. Eurybiades may well have been honoured with a tomb in the urban centre as we learn from Herodotus that he was awarded a crown of olive as an award for excellence at Salamis.<sup>1211</sup>

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<sup>1207</sup> Bommelaer 1991: 169, no.410b.

<sup>1208</sup> For restorations of the fragmented base, see Jacquemin & Laroche 1988: figs. 7, 8 and 10; Bommelaer 1991: 169, fig.71; the base was also published as inv.1198 in *FD II* 282, fig.287; for dating the inscription see Jacquemin & Laroche 1988: 246; the monument is more specifically dated to after 480 BC by Jacquemin 1999: no.309; West (see *Ixv*, table 4, no.29) counts this monument among 'probable' examples dating to 480-470 BC.

<sup>1209</sup> The alliance was described as 'the Greeks', see *Hdts.* 8.96 & 121; Scott 2010: 84.

<sup>1210</sup> Paus. 3.16.6.

<sup>1211</sup> *Hdts.* 8.124.2.

The particular mention awarded to Eurybiades is consistent in the literary sources, of both the classical period and later, however the date of the monument itself is uncertain. Due to the sole literary reference to this monument being late and the uncertainty of the date, it may only be accepted tentatively.

#### 44. Painting of Salamis Holding the Beak of a Ship

Pausanias, when describing the temple of Zeus at Olympia, mentions the painting:

Of these screens the part opposite the doors is only covered with dark-blue paint; the other parts show pictures by Panaenus. Among them is Atlas, supporting heaven and earth, by whose side stands Heracles ready to receive the load of Atlas, along with Theseus; Perithous, Hellas, and Salamis carrying in her hand the ornament made for the top of a ship's bows; then Heracles' exploit against the Nemean lion, the outrage committed by Ajax on Cassandra, Hippodameia the daughter of Oenomaus with her mother, and Prometheus still held by his chains, though Heracles has been raised up to him. Last in the picture come Penthesileia giving up the ghost and Achilles supporting her; two Hesperides are carrying the apples, the keeping of which, legend says, had been entrusted to them.<sup>1212</sup>

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<sup>1212</sup> Paus. 5.11.5-6.

The painting of Salamis holding the beak of a ship is one of a group of nine paintings, however the remaining eight mythological scenes are not understood to be related to the painting of Salamis.<sup>1213</sup> Pausanias names the painter as Panaenus, who he says is the brother of Pheidias and also the artist who painted the scene of Marathon in the Stoa *Poikile*.<sup>1214</sup>

The sanctuary at Olympia, which was administered by the city-state Elis, has been identified as a site primarily for the Peloponnese.<sup>1215</sup> Despite this Peloponnesian focus, the presence of images of Athenian heroes such as Theseus, and depictions of victories which were led by Athenian generals, being painted on screens at Olympia has been seen as redolent of a more pro-Athenian stance at Elis during the fifth century BC.<sup>1216</sup> Therefore, this monument is accepted tentatively due to the late literary reference describing unusual imagery of Athenian symbolism being utilised at Olympia during the fifth century BC.

#### 45. Sanctuary of the Hero Cychreus

Pausanias mentions the sanctuary when describing Salamis:

There is also a sanctuary of Cychreus. When the Athenians were fighting the Persians at sea, a serpent is said to have appeared in the fleet, and

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<sup>1213</sup> West 1965: 149.

<sup>1214</sup> Paus. 5.11.6.

<sup>1215</sup> Scott 2010: 185-186.

<sup>1216</sup> Although these suggestions are speculative, see Raschke 1988: 46-47; Scott 2010: 185-186.

the god in an oracle told the Athenians that it was  
Cychreus the hero.<sup>1217</sup>

The sanctuary to Cychreus on Salamis is only attested by Pausanias. However, we are told by Plutarch that Cychreus was worshipped by the Athenians.<sup>1218</sup> Cychreus was an old local hero of Salamis, and the sanctuary therefore may have existed before the battle of Salamis.<sup>1219</sup> Furthermore, other local heroes of the island are honoured in connection with the Greek victory at this naval battle (see App. no. 41 for the dedication of a trireme to Ajax at Salamis). Given the precedent of honouring local heroes I see no reason to doubt Pausanias here. However, due to a lack of evidence confirming the classical establishment of the sanctuary, this monument is accepted tentatively.

#### 46. Epigram Engraved on a Cenotaph

Plutarch cites this epigram:

And their honorary sepulchre at the Isthmus has on  
it this epitaph:  
When Greece upon the point of danger stood,  
We fell, defending her with our life-blood.<sup>1220</sup>

Plutarch states that the Corinthians set up a '*cenotaphion*' at the Isthmus and inscribed an epigram upon it.<sup>1221</sup> The epigram is recorded by Plutarch and the Palatine

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<sup>1217</sup> Paus. 1.36.1.

<sup>1218</sup> Plut. *Theseus* 10.2.

<sup>1219</sup> West 1965: 150; according to Plutarch, Solon travelled to Salamis to sacrifice to Cychreus, an act perhaps performed within the sanctuary (Plut. *Solon* 9.1).

<sup>1220</sup> Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 39.

Anthology as a single distich, and is regarded 'in accordance with the simplicity of the early fifth century'.<sup>1222</sup> Aristides Aelius also records the epigram but quotes an expanded version of three distichs; the additional distichs are:

But we bound many pains in the hearts of the  
Persians, memories of the harsh naval battle.  
Salamis holds our bones. But our country, Corinth,  
has erected this monument in return for our good  
deeds.<sup>1223</sup>

The additional two distichs are understood as a literary addition which add only clarifying detail to the first two lines.<sup>1224</sup> No archaeological evidence has been unearthed to corroborate the literary evidence and so we must rely solely on the late literary sources, which vary in their detail. Therefore, this monument is accepted tentatively.

#### 47. Bronze Mast with Three Gold Stars

Herodotus describes this monument:

Having sent the first-fruits to Delphi, the Greeks, in the name of the country generally, made inquiry of the god whether the first-fruits which he had received were of full measure and whether he was content. To this he said that he was content with what he had received from all other Greeks, but not

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<sup>1221</sup> This epigram is also cited, identically to Plutarch, in the Palatine Anthology (7.250).

<sup>1222</sup> West 1965: 167.

<sup>1223</sup> Aristides *Orationes* 28.66, trans. Behr 1986: 2.120-121.

<sup>1224</sup> West 1965: 167-168.



from the Aeginetans. From these he demanded the victor's prize for the sea-fight of Salamis. When the Aeginetans learned that, they dedicated three golden stars which are set on a bronze mast, in the angle, nearest to Croesus' bowl.<sup>1225</sup>

According to Herodotus, the Aeginetans were prompted by the Delphic oracle to provide their own commemorative monument for the battle of Salamis.<sup>1226</sup> This monument form is unique within this data set and Herodotus does not offer an explanation on its design. The form of the monument has been interpreted as representative of natural phenomena or symbolic of nautical skill.<sup>1227</sup> The location of the monument has been suggested in the region of the entrance to the temple of Apollo, given that Herodotus states it is situated near Croesus' bowl.<sup>1228</sup> Again based on Herodotus' reference the monument is thought to have been raised in the decade following the battle of Salamis.<sup>1229</sup> This monument is therefore accepted with confidence based on the literary evidence.

#### 48. Pedimental Sculptures of the Temple of Aphaea

The temple of Aphaea, on the island of Aegina, was completed around 490 BC.<sup>1230</sup> The pedimental sculptures of both the west and the east sides were almost identical and represented combat at Troy. However, three sets of pedimental sculptures are

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<sup>1225</sup> Hdts. 8.122.

<sup>1226</sup> Scott 2010: 84 adds that the Aeginetans' individual monument would be understandable given the close relationship between the polis, the cult of Apollo *Pythieus*, and Delphi.

<sup>1227</sup> Natural phenomenon (St.Elmo's fire): Rouse 1902: 135; nautical skill: West 1965: 186.

<sup>1228</sup> Herodotus (1.51.1) earlier states that Croesus sent two bowls to Delphi, which stood either side of the temple entrance; see Scott 2010: 83, fig.4.3 no.105 for the monument's proposed position.

<sup>1229</sup> Scott 2010: Appendix C, no.105 dates the monument to 480 BC.

<sup>1230</sup> West 1965: 186;

preserved, when only two pediments ordained the temple.<sup>1231</sup> Dinsmoor suggests that the west pediment is older in style than the east pediment, the original of which may have been damaged during a Persian raid when the Greeks and Persians fought at Salamis;<sup>1232</sup> the east pediment was then replaced with new sculpture while the damaged example was set up east of the temple as a memorial.<sup>1233</sup>

The attribution of the pedimental sculptures as a commemorative monument of Salamis is understood here to be extremely tentative due the lack of affirmative evidence.

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<sup>1231</sup> The pediment sculptures were recovered in 1811 and purchased by Ludwig I of Bavaria and are now on display in the Glyptothek in Munich; see Darling 2004: 174.

<sup>1232</sup> It is worthy of note that we are informed by Herodotus (8.93) that the Aeginetans were considered most courageous in this battle, which may have prompted their desire to commemorate the conflict.

<sup>1233</sup> See Dinsmoor 1950: 107, who dates the west pediment to 'before 490 BC' and the replacement east pediment to 'just after 480 BC'; Darling (2004: 172) dates the structure to the early fifth century BC; see also App. no.85 for another example of displaying fragments of destroyed temples as commemorative monuments.

## PLATAEA

### 49. – 51. Trophies

While describing the division of the war booty, Plutarch references the trophies raised at Plataea:

then the Lacedaemonians set up a trophy on their own account, and the Athenians also for themselves.<sup>1234</sup>

Pausanias provides us with some vague information regarding the positioning of a trophy.

The trophy which the Greeks set up for the battle at Plataea stands about fifteen stades from the city.<sup>1235</sup>

In addition, fourth century BC orators also reference a trophy at Plataea,<sup>1236</sup> but Herodotus describes the monuments on the Plataean battlefield with no reference to a trophy.<sup>1237</sup> For a trophy to be visible in the second century AD, when Pausanias travelled to Plataea, the monument standing may have been made of stone.<sup>1238</sup> The text preceding Plutarch's reference to the trophies suggest the setting up of the Spartan and Athenian trophies was an act carried out soon after the culmination of

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<sup>1234</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 20.3.

<sup>1235</sup> Paus. 9.2.6.

<sup>1236</sup> Plato, *Menexenus* 245a; Isoc. *Plataicus* 59.

<sup>1237</sup> Hdts. 9.85.

<sup>1238</sup> Pritchett 1957: 12. Pritchett found a concentrated deposit of sherds along a road upon which Pausanias reported monuments stood; however, secure evidence of a permanent trophy eludes archaeologists to this day.

battle.<sup>1239</sup> It is possible that Plutarch describes perishable trophies set up by the Athenians and Spartans to commemorate their specific efforts in the battle, probably placed on their respective wings where their actions took place. Pausanias, on the other hand, may be describing a more permanent, pan-Hellenic monument.

Hunt claims that if the trophy, mentioned by Pausanias (App. no.49), stood where the battle raged hottest it would be by the temple of Demeter.<sup>1240</sup> Hunt has identified this area to be to the south-west of the city of Plataea near a Byzantine church which is estimated to be out about fifteen stades from the entrance to the city. However, according to regular practice, the trophy should be where the battle turned. Grundy, seemingly in agreement with Hunt, states that the battle would have turned just south of the hill where the ruined church of St. Demetrius stands.<sup>1241</sup> This site happens also to be about two miles or 15 stades from Plataea, a distance which accords with Pausanias' assertion, and may in fact be the same site mentioned by Hunt. Two inscriptions were discovered amongst a pile of stones beside an 'ancient well' at the base of mount Cithaeron to the east of modern day Erythres,<sup>1242</sup> a settlement that has been identified as the site of the ancient town Hysiai.<sup>1243</sup> These inscriptions, which were found separately but have since been re-joined, allude to the worshipping of Demeter and very probably contain the name Tesamenos, an Elean who acted as the Spartan diviner at the battle of Plataea.<sup>1244</sup> These inscriptions may denote the location

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<sup>1239</sup> See Plut. *Aristides* 19.7-20.3.

<sup>1240</sup> Hunt 1890: 468; see also Hdts. 9.62-65.

<sup>1241</sup> Grundy 1901: 496.

<sup>1242</sup> *JG* 7 1670 & 1671.

<sup>1243</sup> Pritchett 1957: 1.12-15; Pritchett 1965: 104-106.

<sup>1244</sup> Hdts. 9.33-36.

of the temple of Demeter, around which the Spartans routed the engaged Persian forces.<sup>1245</sup>

Plutarch, in excerpt above, attributes separate trophies to Athens and Plataea (App. no's.50 and 51) and describes their construction at the culmination of the battle. The act of setting up trophies after the culmination of battle is well attested in the fifth century BC.<sup>1246</sup> In addition, the setting up of more than one trophy for a battle in the classical period was not unheard of.<sup>1247</sup> Due to the frequency of these references, trophies are understood here as a regular post-battle commemorative act. Therefore, the Athenian and Spartan trophies, set up immediately after the conflict are accepted here with confidence.

The third trophy (App. no.49), that mentioned by Pausanias (which was probably stone) in the excerpt above, is accepted here with less confidence. Pausanias attributes the monument to 'the Greeks' and so one may assume he interpreted the monument as 'pan-Hellenic', which is how it is interpreted in this data set. However, the date for the monument is unclear and Pausanias does not provide any information as to when this trophy was constructed. Therefore, due to the lack of archaeological evidence, this monument is accepted here tentatively.

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<sup>1245</sup> Hdts. 9.62-65.

<sup>1246</sup> Thucydides records fifty eight examples of the construction of trophies and these range from minor skirmishes to major battles, see Pritchett 1974: 2.264-266, table 9 for a tabulation of examples from Thucydides.

<sup>1247</sup> E.g. Thuc. 5.3.4, 7.24.1, 7.45.1, 7.54.1.

## 52. Epigram for the Athenians

The epigram is recorded in the Palatine Anthology:

The Sons of Athens who wholly destroyed the  
Persian array,  
Thrust slavery's bitter yoke from their fatherland far  
away.<sup>1248</sup>

It has been suggested that this epigram may be dated to the fifth century BC, based on its 'curtness and brevity of style'.<sup>1249</sup> It has further been suggested that this epigram was erected over the Athenian grave at Plataea.<sup>1250</sup> If this epigram did stand over the grave at Plataea it may have been the '*elegeia*' attributed to Simonides and mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>1251</sup> However the authenticity of the epigram is not certain and therefore, without further evidence, may not be accepted with confidence.<sup>1252</sup>

## 53. Epigram for the Spartans

This epigram is recorded in the Palatine Anthology:

These, who have wreathed with unfading renown  
their country's story,  
Over their own heads flung death's luridly-dark  
cloud-pall,

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<sup>1248</sup> *Pal. Anth.* 7.257; or Way 1939: no. 258.

<sup>1249</sup> West 1965: 159; see also Weber 1929: 46.

<sup>1250</sup> Weber 1929: 45-47.

<sup>1251</sup> Paus. 9.2.5; as suggested by West 1965: 160.

<sup>1252</sup> *Contra* Jacoby 1945: 185, n.107, who states that the monument is 'probably late and literary'. This comment is made at the end of a discussion concerning the choice of word used to describe the Persians; Simonides (to which this current epigram is attributed) uses '*Mēdoi*' in the one epigram that Jacoby deems securely attributed to the poet (Hdts. 7.228.3), while the current epigram uses '*Persōn*'.

They died – they are not dead! Valour, the giver of  
deathless glory,  
Hath stooped from high to bring these upward from  
Hades' Hall.<sup>1253</sup>

This epigram is attributed to Simonides in the Palatine Anthology which would date it to the fifth century BC, although this attribution is not supported by further evidence. The epigram directly references the war dead and so this inscription may have been an epitaph. Herodotus provides us with an epigram honouring the Spartans at the battlefield of Thermopylae, so this poem may refer to the Spartans who died at the battle of Plataea.<sup>1254</sup> A lack of further evidence in support of both a speculative connection to Plataea, and the sole reference in the Palatine Anthology prevents this monument being accepted with confidence.

#### 54. Epigram for the Corinthians

Plutarch relates a poem for the Corinthians who fought at Plataea, which he attributes to Simonides:

I' th' midst were men, in warlike feats excelling  
Who Ephyre, full of springs, inhabited,  
And who in Corinth, Glaucus' city, dwelling,  
Great praise by their great valor merited;  
Of which they to perpetuate the fame,  
To th' Gods of well-wrought gold did offerings frame.<sup>1255</sup>

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<sup>1253</sup> *Pal. Anth.* 7.251, translation provided by Way 1939.

<sup>1254</sup> West (1965: 125-126) connects this monument to the battle of Plataea; Pausanias states (9.2.5) that the Spartan tomb was adorned with an elegiac verse composed by Simonides.

<sup>1255</sup> Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 42.

Plutarch is the only source for this poem and gives no indication that it was inscribed on a monument; however, the frequent reference to the dead may indicate the poem is an epitaph, but this is not certain.<sup>1256</sup> It is unlikely the full three distichs would be inscribed on a stele, but the first two are complete and it has been suggested they alone would serve as an inscription if the reason for the dead receiving 'great praise' was understood.<sup>1257</sup> If this poem was inscribed it may have stood over the tomb on the battlefield, but Herodotus does not say the Corinthians had a 'full' tomb.<sup>1258</sup> However, it is possible that the Corinthians, after the battle, may have set up an empty grave, as other cities did (see App. no's.56-62 for discussion on burial on the Plataean battlefield).

Due to Plutarch's assertion that the poem commemorated the battle of Plataea and it was attributed to a fifth century BC source, it may be accepted tentatively. However, it may not be accepted confidently as an epigram because there is no archaeological evidence to support the claim or literary evidence stating it was ever inscribed.

#### 55. Epigram for the Tegeans

This epigram is recorded in the Palatine Anthology and is attributed to Simonides:

Through these men's valour it was that the smoke  
of Tegea's burning

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<sup>1256</sup> West 1965: 168.

<sup>1257</sup> West 1965: 169.

<sup>1258</sup> Hdts. 9.85.



Up from her fair wide meads ascended not to the  
sky.  
To bequeath to their children a city prospering free  
were they yearning,  
And accounted it well that themselves in the  
forefront of battle should die.<sup>1259</sup>

This epigram may have stood over the Tegean grave on the battlefield as Herodotus states the Tegeans had a full grave there, and there is particular reference to those who are buried.<sup>1260</sup> The epigram appears to be in the form of an epitaph with direct reference to those who are buried. It is probably fifth century BC as the phrase '*tōnde di anthrōpōn*' suggests '*andron tond' arete*' of an epigram inscribed for the Athenian dead at (possibly) Marathon dated to the early fifth century BC (see App. no.11).<sup>1261</sup> However, lack of further evidence in support of both a speculative connection to Plataea, and the sole reference in the Palatine Anthology prevents this monument being accepted with confidence.

#### 56. – 62. Burial Mounds

Herodotus lists the tombs in which the dead were buried after the distribution of the booty:

But the Greeks, when they had divided the spoils at  
Plataea, buried each contingent of their dead in a

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<sup>1259</sup> *Pal. Anth.* 7.512. Translation provided by Way 1939.

<sup>1260</sup> Hdts. 9.85; West 1965: 192; *contra* Hiller (1926: 39), who argues this epigram may refer to the battle between Tegea and Sparta in 473/472 BC.

<sup>1261</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 503/4; see also West 1965: 192.

separate place. The Lacedaemonians made three tombs; there they buried their “irens,” among whom were Posidonius, Amompharetus, Philocyon, and Callicrates. In one of the tombs, then, were the “irens,” in the second the rest of the Spartans, and in the third the helots. This, then is how the Lacedaemonians buried their dead. The Tegeans, however, buried all theirs together in a place apart, and the Athenians did similarly with their own dead. So too did the Megarians and Phliasians with those who had been killed by the horsemen. All the tombs of these peoples were filled with dead; but as for the rest of the states whose tombs are to be seen at Plataea, their tombs are but empty barrows that they built for the sake of men that should come after, because they were ashamed to have been absent from the battle. There is one there called the tomb of the Aeginetans, which, as I learn by inquiry, was built as late as ten years after, at the Aeginetans' desire, by their patron and protector Cleades son of Autodicus, a Plataean.<sup>1262</sup>

Herodotus contradicts himself when relating how the Aeginetans erected an empty tomb because they were not present, as he names them as contributing five hundred men to the Greek forces.<sup>1263</sup>

Pausanias provides us with some information regarding the positioning of the graves:

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<sup>1262</sup> Hdts. 9.85.

<sup>1263</sup> Hdts. 9.28.6; the burial of the dead was also included as part of the first clause of the Oath of Plataea. For discussion on the oath see App. no.63.

Roughly at the entrance into Plataea are the graves of those who fought against the Persians. Of the Greeks generally there is a common tomb, but the Lacedaemonians and Athenians who fell have separate graves, on which are written elegiac verses by Simonides.<sup>1264</sup>

Pausanias' statement contradicts that of Herodotus' description of the burials. However, it is possible that a reworking of the commemorative landscape took place between the fifth century BC and the second century AD.

Gell, approaching the site of ancient Plataea from the north, identified what he describes as 'vestiges of tombs' to the right of the walls: that is on the western side of the ancient city.<sup>1265</sup> Leake, on visiting the site of the ancient city, believed he had located the eastern gate to the city of Plataea. Directly outside this eastern gate, Leake tentatively suggests that the tombs of the dead Greek participants in the battle of Plataea are marked 'by a ruined church near the right bank of the torrent, on the left bank of which, nearly opposite to the chapel, are the foundations of a gate'.<sup>1266</sup> Leake's suggestion of the positioning of the Greek tombs would place them on the opposite side of the ancient city to Gell's identification.

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<sup>1264</sup> Paus. 9.2.5.

<sup>1265</sup> Gell 1827: 111.

<sup>1266</sup> Leake 1835: 366-367.

On the strength of the fifth century BC literary evidence, and the fact that communal burials were practised on the battlefields of other Persian War battlefields (see App. no's. 1, 2, 28 and 37), these monuments are accepted with confidence.

### 63. Ruins of Sanctuaries as Memorial of Persian Impiety

Lycurgus describes the Oath of Plataea, apparently made before the battle of Plataea, a part of which was the agreement to leave ruined sanctuaries untouched:

It was for this reason, gentlemen of the jury, that all the Greeks exchanged this pledge at Plataea, before taking up their posts to fight against the power of Xerxes. The formula was not their own but borrowed from the oath which is traditional among you. It would be well for you to hear it; for though the events of that time are ancient history now we can discern clearly enough, in these recorded words, the courage of our forbears. Please read the oath.

"Oath. I will not hold life dearer than freedom nor will I abandon my leaders whether they are alive or dead. I will bury all allies killed in the battle. If I conquer the barbarians in war I will not destroy any of the cities which have fought for Greece but I will consecrate a tenth of all those which sided with the barbarian. I will not rebuild a single one of the shrines which the barbarians have burnt and razed

but will allow them to remain for future generations  
as a memorial of the barbarians' impiety."<sup>1267</sup>

Diodorus also mentions the oath which references leaving sanctuaries unrepaired:

And when the Greek forces were assembled at the Isthmus, all of them agreed that they should swear an oath about the war, one that would make staunch the concord among them and would compel them nobly to endure the perils of the battle. The oath ran as follows: "I will not hold life dearer than liberty, nor will I desert the leaders, whether they be living or dead, but I will bury all the allies who have perished in the battle; and if I overcome the barbarians in the war, I will not destroy any one of the cities which have participated in the struggle; nor will I rebuild any one of the sanctuaries which have been burnt or demolished, but I will let them be and leave them as a reminder to coming generations of the impiety of the barbarians."<sup>1268</sup>

Pausanias notes how certain temples were not repaired:

The treatment that the god at Abae received at the hands of the Persians was very different from the honour paid him by the Romans. For while the Romans have given freedom of government to Abae because of their reverence for Apollo, the army of Xerxes burned down, as it did others, the sanctuary

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<sup>1267</sup> Lyc. *Against Leocrates* 80-81.

<sup>1268</sup> Diod. 11.29.2-3.

at Abae. The Greeks who opposed the barbarians resolved not to rebuild the sanctuaries burnt down by them, but to leave them for all time as memorials of their hatred. This too is the reason why the temples in the territory of Haliartus, as well as the Athenian temples of Hera on the road to Phalerum and of Demeter at Phalerum, still remain half-burnt even at the present day. Such, I suppose, was the appearance of the sanctuary at Abae also, after the Persian invasion, until in the Phocian war some Phocians, overcome in battle, took refuge in Abae. Whereupon the Thebans gave them to the flames, and with the refugees the sanctuary, which was thus burnt down a second time. However, it still stood even in my time, the frailest of buildings ever damaged by fire, seeing that the ruin begun by the Persian incendiaries was completed by the incendiaries of Boeotia.<sup>1269</sup>

According to the excerpts presented above there was a tradition in the ancient sources that the Greeks swore an oath before the battle of Plataea, a part of which was to leave the destroyed sanctuaries unrepaired as a memorial to Persian impiety. Pausanias, in the excerpt above, mentions a number of examples of ruined sanctuaries which suggest the oath was made. However, no fifth century BC source mentions the oath specifically and Theopompus (who was writing in the fourth century BC) calls the oath Athenian fiction.<sup>1270</sup>

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<sup>1269</sup> Paus. 10.35.2-3; the oath is also referenced by Cicero (*On the Republic* 3.8.15).

<sup>1270</sup> Theo. *The Philippica* frag.153.

A stele was discovered in 1932 which is inscribed with what is understood to be a version of the Oath of Plataea.<sup>1271</sup> The inscribed was originally erected in a religious shrine within Acharnae that was one of the demes which constituted the Athenian *polis*.<sup>1272</sup> The lettering on the stele has been dated to 350-325 BC.<sup>1273</sup> With slight variations, the oath is quoted by both Lycurgus and Diodorus in the excerpts above and the clause about not rebuilding damaged sanctuaries is only mentioned by the literary sources.

The oath of Plataea has been divided into three provisions by West:<sup>1274</sup>

Table App. 3 *Provisions of the Oath of Plataea*

| No. | Provision   | Reference  |
|-----|---|--|
| 1   | Resolution to fight to one's utmost, to consider freedom more valuable than life, not to leave one's post and to obey orders, and to bury the dead. | Acharnae stele, lines 23-31; Lycurgus, lines 1-4; Diodorus, lines 1-4. |
| 2   | Resolution to tithe cities which had sided with the Persians.   | Acharnae stele, lines 31-36; Lycurgus, lines 4-7.                      |
| 3   | Resolution not to rebuild ruined sanctuaries.   | Lycurgus, lines 7-10; Diodorus, lines 6-9.                             |

<sup>1271</sup> The inscription is published in *RO* 88.23-46; Robert 1938: 302-316; West 1965: 99.

<sup>1272</sup> Cartledge 2013: 6; the document is a dedication by Dio, priest of the cult Ares and Athena Areia at Acharnae, see *RO* 88; see also Parke 1948: 82.

<sup>1273</sup> See Cartledge 2013: 6, 3-7 for an overview of the document, and fig.1.1 for an image; *RO* (88) date the inscription to the middle of the fourth century BC.

<sup>1274</sup> West 1965: 100.

For provision no.1 there is general agreement between the sources (for burial of the dead see App. no's.56-62). For provision no.2 (see App. no.64), Lycurgus and Diodorus both make a general statement about the inviolability of Greeks cities who fought together to protect Greece, and Lycurgus goes on to mention the punishment of the Medising city-states.<sup>1275</sup> The Acharnae stele, however, specifically mentions Athens, Sparta and Plataea as cities to be preserved and Thebes as a city to be tithed. This has been interpreted as fourth century BC anti-Theban bias which may have been added to the fifth century BC oath.<sup>1276</sup> Provision no.3 is only attested in the literary sources and is not mentioned on the Acharnae stele. In addition the Acharnae stele states the oath was sworn by the Athenians while Lycurgus and Diodorus state it was sworn by all Greeks. The version of the text on the stele has been interpreted as a fourth century BC compilation due to the specific anti-Theban references; furthermore the variations in the literary texts, and the fact that the sources are late (of the fourth century BC at the earliest), indicates that the exact oath has not been accurately preserved.<sup>1277</sup>

With specific reference to provision no.3, Plutarch describes a proposed deliberation, called for by Pericles, over whether to rebuild the sanctuaries destroyed by the Persians. If the Greeks had sworn an oath after the battle of Plataea then Pericles' congress of city-states has been deemed an appropriate course of action before

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<sup>1275</sup> It has been suggested by Meiggs (1972: 504) that Diodorus does not include reference to tithing because the source he relied on had followed Herodotus who records the oath to tithe shortly before Thermopylae (7.132).

<sup>1276</sup> West 1965: 101; Meiggs 1972: 505.

<sup>1277</sup> West 1965: 99, 101.



rebuilding.<sup>1278</sup> Furthermore, the Athenian Acropolis was left in ruins until the rebuilding under Pericles; this inaction for over a generation suggests some form of prohibition.<sup>1279</sup> It is this point that has been said requires 'special explanation' which, it could be interpreted, is provided by the Oath of Plataea.<sup>1280</sup> While the evidence discussed above suggests the probable existence of the Oath of Plataea, the lack of secure fifth century BC evidence allows only tentative acceptance of this monument.

#### 64. Tithing of Medising Greeks

Herodotus mentions an oath to tithe Medising Greek states:

Among those who paid that tribute were the Thessalians, Dolopes, Enienes, Perrhaebians, Locrians, Magnesians, Melians, Achaeans of Phthia, Thebans, and all the Boeotians except the men of Thespieae and Plataea. Against all of these the Greeks who declared war with the foreigner entered into a sworn agreement, which was this: that if they should be victorious, they would dedicate to the god of Delphi the possessions of all Greeks who had of free will surrendered themselves to the Persians. Such was the agreement sworn by the Greeks.<sup>1281</sup>

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<sup>1278</sup> See Dinsmoor 1950: 150-151; West 1965: 103.

<sup>1279</sup> West 1965: 103.

<sup>1280</sup> Meiggs 1972: 507, and see 597 for additional discussion which further complicates the issue of authenticity, without a certain conclusion.

<sup>1281</sup> Hdts. 7.132.

Herodotus does not state where this oath was sworn but according to the sequence of the narrative it would appear it was sworn before the battle of Thermopylae while Xerxes was encamped at Tempe.<sup>1282</sup> However, it has been suggested that Herodotus' oath may be associated with the Oath of Plataea; this association is based on Herodotus' inclusion of punishable groups such as Locrians and Thebans who did not Medise until after the battle of Thermopylae.<sup>1283</sup> The Oath of Plataea did include a provision calling for the tithing of Greek states that sided with the Persians (for discussion on the oath see App no.63) but was apparently sworn before the battle of Plataea.<sup>1284</sup>

The presence of the threat of tithing in the oath mentioned by Herodotus and the Oath of Plataea may not be enough to relate these two specific examples. However, Herodotus' statement does indicate that this practice in dealing with Medisers was utilised in the fifth century BC.<sup>1285</sup> Therefore this vow is accepted with confidence.

#### 65. *Eleutheria*

Diodorus mentions the *Eleutheria*:

When Mardonius and his army had returned to Thebes, the Greeks gathered in congress decreed to make common cause with the Athenians and

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<sup>1282</sup> As noted by West 1965: 102.

<sup>1283</sup> Parke 1948: 93.

<sup>1284</sup> The provision is mentioned on the Acharnae stele where it states the oath was sworn before the fight with the barbarians: *RO* 88.31-36; the provision is also mentioned by Lycurgus who states the oath was sworn before battle with Xerxes' forces commenced: *Against Leocrates* 80-81; Diodorus (11.29.2-3) states the oath was sworn at the Isthmus.

<sup>1285</sup> West 1965: 102-103.

advancing to Plataea in a body, to fight to a finish for liberty, and also to make a vow to the gods that, if they were victorious, the Greeks would unite in celebrating the Festival of Liberty on that day and would hold the games of the Festival in Plataea.<sup>1286</sup>

Strabo also mentions the *Eleutheria*:

I have already said that the Asopus flows past Plataeae. Here it was that the forces of the Greeks completely wiped out Mardonius and his three hundred thousand Persians; and they built a temple of Zeus Eleutherius, and instituted the athletic games in which the victor received a crown, calling them the Eleutheria.<sup>1287</sup>

Plutarch mentions the proposal to celebrate the *Eleutheria* every fourth year:

After this, there was a general assembly of the Hellenes, at which Aristides proposed a decree to the effect that deputies and delegates from all Hellas convene at Plataea every year, and that every fourth year festival games of deliverance be celebrated—the Eleutheria; also that a confederate Hellenic force be levied, consisting of ten thousand shield, one thousand horse, and one hundred ships, to prosecute the war against the Barbarian; also that the Plataeans be set apart as inviolable and

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<sup>1286</sup> Diod. 11.29.1.

<sup>1287</sup> Strabo 9.2.31.

consecrate, that they might sacrifice to Zeus the  
Deliverer in behalf of Hellas.<sup>1288</sup>

Games called the *Eleutheria* were instituted at the behest of Aristides according to Plutarch and are included in Plutarch's description of the Covenant of Plataea. The Covenant of Plataea is not considered here as a monument in itself, but rather a document indicating items of commemorative significance.<sup>1289</sup> The covenant, as reported by Plutarch, consists of four clauses:

1. 'Deputies' and 'Delegates' were to assemble at Plataea every year.
2. A victory festival, the *Eleutheria*, was to be celebrated at Plataea every four years.
3. A pan-Hellenic force of 10,000 men, 1000 horse, and 100 ships was to be levied, in order to continue to the war against Persia.
4. Plataea was to be kept inviolate and sacrosanct, so that the Plataeans might offer sacrifices to Zeus on behalf of all the Greeks.<sup>1290</sup>

The authenticity of the covenant has been disputed; the most serious objection that has been put forward is that there are no clear references to the covenant at the two instances where it would have been most pertinent: the trial of the Plataeans after their surrender in 427 BC, as depicted by Thucydides, and Isocrates' *Plataicus* which

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<sup>1288</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 21.1.

<sup>1289</sup> I follow West (1965: 110) in this understanding of the Covenant of Plataea.

<sup>1290</sup> Regarding clause 4, West (1965: 1907) interprets the covenant to stop at the end of Plut. *Aristides* 21.1, whereas Meiggs (1972: 507) includes the beginning of Plut. *Aristides* 21.2 (which outlines annual rites carried out at the communal graves by Plataeans) as an addition to the clause. I follow West in his definition of the fourth clause because Plutarch appears to conclude his description of the covenant before continuing, and therefore treat the annual rites practised by the Plataeans as a separate monument, see App. no.68.

was written after Plataea's destruction in 373 BC.<sup>1291</sup> However, Thucydides does have the Plataeans plead for the Spartans to 'be not unmindful of the oaths which your fathers swore, and which we now plead', but this has been dismissed as 'indefinite'.<sup>1292</sup> In favour of the Covenant of Plataea, it has been suggested that if (albeit late) attestations regarding the covenant hadn't survived 'it would be necessary to postulate something of this kind'.<sup>1293</sup> For example, Pausanias' campaign in 478 BC suggests an official decision to continue the conflict and formal arrangements, it is assumed, would have to have been made regarding the tending of the graves at Plataea.<sup>1294</sup> However, while the covenant may be based on an authentic agreement of some kind, it has been claimed that the covenant, as presented by Plutarch, is probably a propagandistic creation of the fourth century BC.<sup>1295</sup> Clause no.1 is included in the discussion of App. no.68 and clause 4 is included in the discussion of App. no.66. Clause 3 is interpreted here as not of commemorative significance but as a means to continue the conflict. Nevertheless, the details of this clause have been interpreted as further evidence for the oath's inauthenticity. The numbers outlined in the oath have been suggested as not well suited to continuing the war with Persia, as there are too many hoplites and not enough ships.<sup>1296</sup>

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<sup>1291</sup> See Meiggs 1972: 507. Thuc. 3.53-67; Isoc. *Plataicus*; see also Cartledge 2013: 127-130 for a brief overview of the covenant.

<sup>1292</sup> Thuc. 3.59.2; dismissal on the grounds that it is unclear what oaths are being referred to: Meiggs 1972: 507.

<sup>1293</sup> Larsen 1940: 179.

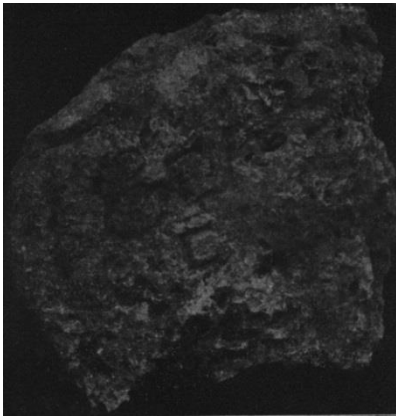
<sup>1294</sup> Meiggs 1972: 508.

<sup>1295</sup> See West 1965: 107.

<sup>1296</sup> Meiggs 1972: 507, who also states the proposed numbers bear little resemblance to the forces led by Pausanias in 478 BC.

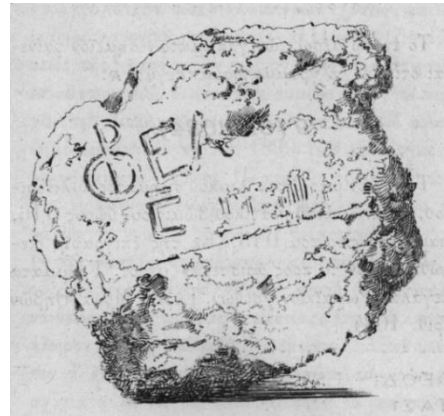
Considering clause no.2, evidence is lacking a fifth century BC date for the instigation of the penteteric festival of *Eleutheria* (this monument is discussed in more detail in chapter section 6.2.3). However, Zeus *Eleutherios* was apparently honoured at Plataea from the culmination of battle; we are informed by Thucydides that the honouring of Zeus *Eleutherios* took place soon after the battle in the Plataean agora.<sup>1297</sup> In addition, an altar was raised at Plataea (see App. no.67) and sacrifices were to be made to Zeus by the Plataeans. Sacrifices are reported by Plutarch to have been carried out down to his time, in addition to the Hellenic council assembled at Plataea.<sup>1298</sup> Material evidence, dating to the end of the fourth century BC, has been found which arguably relates to cult activity with reference to Zeus *Eleutherios*; this evidence is a boundary stone that was discovered at Plataea (figures App. 19 & App. 20).<sup>1299</sup>

Figure App. 19 *Boundary Stone*



*After Skia (1917: 161).*

Figure App. 20 *Drawing of Boundary Stone*



*After Skia (1917: 161).*

<sup>1297</sup> Thuc. 2.71.2.

<sup>1298</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 19.7; see also Raaflaub 2004: 102-117; Mikalson 2003: 99-101; Pritchett 1979: 173-83 for treatment of the pan-Hellenic altar and cult of Zeus *Eleutherios*.

<sup>1299</sup> See Skia 1917: 160-161.7 where the stone is dated on letter form.

The boundary stone fragment pictured in figures App. 19 and 20 can be seen to bear the inscription '*O(ros) El(eutheriou Dios)*'.<sup>1300</sup> It appears that by the end of the fourth century BC, an area was being specially demarcated by a stone possibly bearing Zeus' epithet '*Eleutherios*'.

The existence of a fifth century BC *Eleutheria* festival is far from beyond doubt and would be strengthened from further archaeological evidence (for further discussion see chapter section 6.2.3). Due to the lack of evidence concerning the date of instigation, it is not possible to accept this monument with confidence.

#### 66. Inviolability of Plataea

Thucydides, in describing how the Plataeans are pleading that the Spartans not destroy them, mentions that Plataea is inviolable:

Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, your countryman, after freeing Hellas from the Medes with the help of those Hellenes who were willing to undertake the risk of the battle fought near our city, offered sacrifice to Zeus the Liberator in the market-place of Plataea, and calling all the allies together restored to the Plataeans their city and territory, and declared it independent and inviolate against aggression or conquest. Should any such be

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<sup>1300</sup> Alternatively '*El(lēnōn)*'? See Schachter 1994: 131, n.1.

attempted, the allies present were to help according to their power.<sup>1301</sup>

Plutarch also mentions that Plataea be set apart as inviolable:

After this, there was a general assembly of the Hellenes, at which Aristides proposed a decree to the effect that deputies and delegates from all Hellas convene at Plataea every year, and that every fourth year festival games of deliverance be celebrated—the Eleutheria; also that a confederate Hellenic force be levied, consisting of ten thousand shield, one thousand horse, and one hundred ships, to prosecute the war against the Barbarian; also that the Plataeans be set apart as inviolable and consecrate, that they might sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer in behalf of Hellas.<sup>1302</sup>

The inviolability of Plataea is included in Plutarch's description of the Covenant of Plataea (see App. no.65 for discussion on the covenant). Plataea was in fact sacked twice, once by Sparta in 427 BC and once by Thebes in 373 BC. The destruction of a city, twice, which has apparently been deemed inviolable, makes the authenticity of Plataea's inviolability seem unlikely. However Thucydides has the Plataeans clearly state, in the excerpt above, that the Spartan general Pausanias made Plataea inviolate from attack. Furthermore the Spartans charge the Plataeans with having 'departed

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<sup>1301</sup> Thuc. 2.71.2.

<sup>1302</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 21.1.



from the common oath',<sup>1303</sup> the implication being that the Spartans would be permitted to attack. Plataea's desertion of the covenant is described by Thucydides in book 3 when the Thebans are debating with the Plataeans in 427 BC.<sup>1304</sup> It is suggested that the Plataeans' breach of covenant was their alliance with Athens and thus their joining in subjugating Greek city-states who were also covenanters such as Aegina, Euboea, and Potidaea.<sup>1305</sup> By the aggressive behaviour Plataea displayed by allying with Athens, the Spartans, as described by Thucydides, felt released from the binds of the covenant.<sup>1306</sup>

Thucydides clearly states that Plataea was deemed inviolate after the battle of Plataea by Pausanias. Furthermore it is stated that Plataea breached the agreement of the covenant which left the city vulnerable to attack in recompense. The clause of the Covenant of Plataea which allocated Plataea inviolable is therefore accepted here with confidence.

#### 67. Altar of Zeus *Eleutherios* with Epigram

Plutarch mentions the altar:

Lastly they set up an altar, on which was engraven  
this epigram:

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<sup>1303</sup> Thuc. 2.74.2.

<sup>1304</sup> Thuc. 3.64.2-3 and 3.63.

<sup>1305</sup> Meritt et al 1953: 3.102-103.

<sup>1306</sup> Meritt et al 1953: 3.103.

The Greeks, by valour having put to flight  
The Persians and preserved their country's right,  
Erected here this altar which you see,  
To Zeus, preserver of their liberty.<sup>1307</sup>

Pausanias also mentions the altar:

Not far from the common tomb of the Greeks is an  
altar of Zeus, God of Freedom. This then is of  
bronze, but the altar and the image he made of  
white marble.<sup>1308</sup>

Leake, in the same passage as suggesting a position for the tombs of the Greek dead at Plataea, suggests the 'temple' of Zeus *Eleutheria* is also directly outside the eastern gate of the city and marked in his day by a ruined church; it is also noted that the 'temple' was reduced to an altar by Pausanias' time.<sup>1309</sup> Rouse mentions an inscription by Simonides,<sup>1310</sup> which is identical to Plutarch's epigram noted above, and states that this is the only altar dedicated for a feat of war, that he has uncovered, until Mummius dedicates an altar to the gods at Thebes (in the second century BC).<sup>1311</sup>

The altar has been understood as connected to the fourth clause of the Covenant of Plataea, where Plataea is to sacrifice to Zeus on behalf of all Greeks (see App. no.65 for discussion on the covenant).<sup>1312</sup> Thucydides states that the Spartan Pausanias made a

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<sup>1307</sup> Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 42.

<sup>1308</sup> Paus. 9.2.5.

<sup>1309</sup> Leake 1835: 366.

<sup>1310</sup> *Pal. Anth.* 6.50.

<sup>1311</sup> Rouse 1902: 125.

<sup>1312</sup> West 1965: 113.

sacrifice to Zeus in the Plataean agora which may have initiated a cult for which the altar was shortly built.<sup>1313</sup> The existence of the altar is accepted here on the grounds that Pausanias sacrificed to Zeus, specifically, after the battle and the existence of an altar accords with clause no.4 of the covenant (see App. no.65 for discussion on the separate clauses, and App. no.66 for clause no.4 specifically).

#### 68. Annual Rites Performed at the Greek Tombs

Thucydides mentions these rites when he depicts the Plataeans appealing to the Spartans who are about to let them be destroyed by the Thebans:

Look at the sepulchres of your fathers, slain by the Medes and buried in our country, whom year by year we honoured with garments and all other dues, and the first fruits of all that our land produced in their season, as friends from a friendly country and allies to our old companions in arms! Should you not decide aright, your conduct would be the very opposite to ours.<sup>1314</sup>

The rites are also reported by Plutarch:

the Plataeans undertook to make funeral offerings annually for the Hellenes who had fallen in battle and lay buried there.<sup>1315</sup>

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<sup>1313</sup> West 1965: 113-114, see also lxxv, table 4 where West suggests a date of 480-470 BC for the monument.

<sup>1314</sup> Thuc. 3.58.4.

<sup>1315</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 21.2, the rites are then described in some detail (21.2-5).

Immediately prior to mentioning the annual rites paid to the war dead by the Plataeans, Plutarch outlines what has become known as the Covenant of Plataea (see discussion of the covenant in App. no.65).<sup>1316</sup>

In clause 1 of the covenant ('Deputies' and 'Delegates' were to assemble at Plataea every year) the 'Deputies' and 'Delegates' have been translated from '*theoroi*' and '*probouloi*', respectively. It has been suggested that the yearly festival described by Thucydides in the excerpt above would have required the presence of *theoroi*.<sup>1317</sup> Although we have no direct fifth century BC reference of annual meetings of representatives at Plataea, it has been suggested that clause 1 may be interpreted in connection with the yearly festival mentioned by Thucydides.<sup>1318</sup> Despite the annual rites being carried out until Plutarch's time,<sup>1319</sup> the meeting of the *theoroi* and *probouloi* at Plataea may never have taken place; the meetings at Plataea were replaced with meetings at Delos when the Delian League was formed in 478 BC and it became clear that Athens was leading the war against Persia instead of the Spartans.<sup>1320</sup>

The graves of the war dead from the battle of Plataea would have been close to Plataea itself (see App. no's. 56-62) and so it would be practical for Plataeans to tend

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<sup>1316</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 21.1; for discussion on the Covenant of Plataea see West 1965: 106-110; Isocrates also mentions the offerings to the fallen (*Plataicus* 61).

<sup>1317</sup> West 1965: 108; Meritt et al 1953: 3.101; *theoroi* was the official title given to a city's representative at another city's festival, see *OCD 'theoroi'*, for a definition see Dimitrova 2008: 9-14; *probouloi* was a term used for officials in various Greek states (*OCD 'probouloi'*) but whose powers and responsibilities are unclear, see Kagan 1987: 5.

<sup>1318</sup> West 1965: 108; Meritt et al 1953: 3.101.

<sup>1319</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 21.5.

<sup>1320</sup> Thuc. 1.96.2; see West 1965: 108; Meritt et al 1953: 3.101.

to the honouring of the dead. Furthermore, on the strength of Thucydides' reference to the Plataeans carrying out rites at the graves of the dead the rites are accepted here with confidence. However, the association of these rites with the Covenant of Plataea is understood as questionable.

#### 69. Tomb of Mardonius

Pausanias, before describing the uncertain fate of Mardonius' body, briefly mentions his tomb:

Returning to the highway you again see on the right a tomb, said to be that of Mardonius. It is agreed that the body of Mardonius was not seen again after the battle, but there is not a similar agreement as to the person who gave it burial. It is admitted that Artontes, son of Mardonius, gave many gifts to Dionysophanes the Ephesian, but also that he gave them to others of the Ionians, in recognition that they too had spent some pains on the burial of Mardonius.<sup>1321</sup>

It is generally agreed that Mardonius' body disappeared after the battle but without consensus on who buried him; Pausanias probably follows Herodotus in his account of attributing the burial to Dionysophanes the Ephesian, as he received gifts from Artontes, Mardonius' son, for burying his father.<sup>1322</sup>

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<sup>1321</sup> Paus. 9.2.2.

<sup>1322</sup> Hdts. 9.84.

On the hill to the west, close to a church of the Anargyri, Pritchett noted among the underbrush a number of large, squared blocks.<sup>1323</sup> These blocks rested on what looked like foundation walls but this is unverified by other sources. Pritchett was informed that the church was originally to be built on these ruins; however, as they were identified as the tomb of Mardonius by community seniors the site of the church was moved slightly, to the south-east of the city's walls. The inhabitants of Plataea even into the twentieth century believed his tomb to be in the near vicinity, whether it was or not.<sup>1324</sup>

The tomb of Mardonius was a site famous in antiquity and was pointed out to later travellers such as Pausanias.<sup>1325</sup> Although the burial of Mardonius has not been recorded, the grave (whether authentic or not) was important enough to note by Pausanias which may be interpreted as the monument having obtained public importance on some level, at least by Pausanias' time. However, the lack of evidence concerning the monument's authenticity, location, or public commemorative relevance, prevents the monument being accepted with confidence.

## 70. Temple and Statue of Athena *Areia*

Plutarch links the construction of the temple to the battle of Plataea:

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<sup>1323</sup> Pritchett 1957: 14-15.

<sup>1324</sup> West 1965: 191.

<sup>1325</sup> West 1965: 191.

To this proposal Aristides was first to agree on behalf of the Athenians, then Pausanias on behalf of the Lacedaemonians. Thus reconciled, they chose out eighty talents of the booty for the Plataeans, with which they rebuilt the sanctuary of Athena, and set up the shrine, and adorned the temple with frescoes, which continue in perfect condition to the present day; then the Lacedaemonians set up a trophy on their own account, and the Athenians also for themselves.<sup>1326</sup>

Contrastingly, Pausanias attributes the construction of the sanctuary and statue to the commemorations of Marathon:

The Plataeans have also a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Warlike; it was built from the spoils given them by the Athenians as their share from the battle of Marathon. It is a wooden image gilded, but the face, hands and feet are of Pentelic marble. In size it is but little smaller than the bronze Athena on the Acropolis... the Plataeans too had Pheidias for the maker of their image of Athena. In the temple are paintings: one of them, by Polygnotus, represents Odysseus after he has killed the wooers; the other, painted by Onasias, is the former expedition of the Argives, under Adrastus, against Thebes.<sup>1327</sup>

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<sup>1326</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 20.3.

<sup>1327</sup> Paus. 9.4.1-2.

When describing the statue of Athena for Pellene in Achaëa, Pausanias infers that the statue of Athena *Areia* in Plataea and the bronze Athena on the Acropolis (App. no.16) are contemporaries, or at least near contemporaries.<sup>1328</sup> The statue, therefore, may have been made in the 450's BC.<sup>1329</sup> This later date would suit the attribution of the statue to Pheidias, rather than immediately after the battle of Marathon, in the 480's BC for example, as Pheidias would have been too young.<sup>1330</sup>

Neither Plutarch nor Pausanias provides the dimensions for the statue but Pausanias compares this statue with that of the bronze Athena on the Acropolis, also attributed to Pheidias. Although smaller than the Athena statue on the Acropolis, Pausanias' comment suggests the statue to Athena *Areia* was colossal.<sup>1331</sup> According to Pausanias, the temple was adorned with paintings by Polygnotus and Onasias. These works have been interpreted as symbolically representing the battles of Marathon and Plataea. Onasias' work of the Seven Against Thebes has been said to represent fighting against imposed tyranny from outside, while Polygnotus' work of Odysseus could represent the punishment of invaders.<sup>1332</sup>

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<sup>1328</sup> Paus. 7.27.2; see also West 1965: 73.

<sup>1329</sup> West 1965: 73.

<sup>1330</sup> Cullen Davison 2009: 39; Cullen Davison suggests several elements of the description of the sanctuary which support the idea that Pheidias constructed the temple statue, such as the use of mythological scenes and the juxtaposition between historical figures and deities (2009: 40).

<sup>1331</sup> The statue stood inside the temple and therefore it is believed it could not have been more than ten metres tall (Cullen Davison 2009: 40).

<sup>1332</sup> Francis 1990: 74-75; these interpretations are necessarily tentative and the paintings have also been suggested as representative of domestic conflict, with Thebes specifically (Hocker & Schneider 1993: 51).



There is a discrepancy between the two literary sources that reference the construction of the temple; Plutarch attributes the temple to commemorations of the battle of Plataea while Pausanias attributes it to Marathon. I have followed Plutarch's attribution as he is generally considered correct on this point.<sup>1333</sup> However, due to discrepancies in the sources this attribution is not beyond doubt. For example it has been suggested that the cult of Athena *Areia* at Plataea was established after the battle of Marathon,<sup>1334</sup> and Plutarch states that the temple was 'rebuilt' from the booty of Plataea. Therefore, it is possible that the temple of Athena *Areia* was established from the spoils of Marathon and later refurbished from the spoils from Plataea. The temple and statue are therefore accepted here tentatively as commemorating the battle of Plataea.

#### 71. Tomb of Pausanias

Pausanias, describing the area in Sparta near the theatre, mentions this tomb:

Opposite the theatre are two tombs; the first is that of Pausanias, the general at Plataea, the second is that of Leonidas.<sup>1335</sup>

When recounting the death of Pausanias the Spartan, Thucydides states that upon his death the Spartans were planning to throw him into the Kaiadas, where they throw the

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<sup>1333</sup> West (1965: 72) argues that Plutarch's interest in Boeotian antiquities suggests he is correct on this point; Frazer (1965: 5.21) believes Plutarch better informed on the origins of the sanctuary due to the circumstantiality of Plutarch's account of the dispute over the assigning of the eighty talents; see also Robertson 1975: 246; Cullen Davison 2009: 39; Steinbock 2013: 111.

<sup>1334</sup> Farnell 1896: 1.356-357.

<sup>1335</sup> Paus. 3.14.1.

bodies of criminals; however, they interred him elsewhere and only on the order of the oracle at Delphi was Pausanias' tomb moved to the place where he died, near to the temple of the goddess of the Brazen House in Sparta.<sup>1336</sup> Due to the manner in which Pausanias died and the ill feeling the Ephors bore him, it would be unlikely he was honoured immediately after his death for his role in the Persian Wars. However, despite the existence of the tomb being accepted here with confidence, the uncertainty concerning the immediate commemorative relevance of Pausanias' tomb dictates the monument is accepted tentatively.

## 72. Persian Spoils Displayed in the Parthenon

Demosthenes charges Timocrates with stealing treasures from the Acropolis:

Was it not he who, being appointed treasurer at the Acropolis, stole from that place those prizes of victory which our ancestors carried off from the barbarians, the throne with silver feet, and Mardonius's scimitar, which weighed three hundred darics?<sup>1337</sup>

Dio Chrysostom also mentions the sword of Mardonius specifically:

Therefore, he said, I am envious of the Athenians for the expense and lavish display around the city and sanctuaries of as many deeds they have accomplished previously. For they have the sword

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<sup>1336</sup> Thuc. 1.134.1-4.

<sup>1337</sup> Dem. *Against Timocrates* 129.

of Mardonius, and the shields of the Spartans captured on Pylos, a more revered and better dedication than the propylaia of the Acropolis and that at Olympia worth more than ten thousand talents.<sup>1338</sup>

Pausanias lists noteworthy examples of votive offerings:

The votive offerings worth noting are, of the old ones, a folding chair made by Daedalus, Persian spoils, namely the breastplate of Masistius, who commanded the cavalry at Plataea, and a scimitar said to have belonged to Mardonius. Now Masistius I know was killed by the Athenian cavalry. But Mardonius was opposed by the Lacedaemonians and was killed by a Spartan; so the Athenians could not have taken the scimitar to begin with, and furthermore the Lacedaemonians would scarcely have suffered them to carry it off.<sup>1339</sup>

Harpocration also mentions a silver footed throne which was included in the spoils:

That of Xerxes, and who as a warrior, presided and sat upon it, as he watched the naval battle. It is kept in the Parthenon of Athena.<sup>1340</sup>

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<sup>1338</sup> Dio Chr. *Orations* 2.36.

<sup>1339</sup> Paus. 1.27.1.

<sup>1340</sup> Harp. s.v. *argyropos diphros*.

The literary excerpts noted above are generally consistent with their references to the spoils.<sup>1341</sup> In particular the sword of Mardonius is mentioned by Demosthenes,<sup>1342</sup> Dio Chrysostom and Pausanias, and Xerxes' throne is mentioned by Demosthenes and Harpocration.

We learn from Herodotus that the Greek forces amassed a great deal of spoils after the battle of Plataea.<sup>1343</sup> Furthermore, the consensus that Mardonius' sword is displayed as spoils connects the dedication to the battle of Plataea, as does the breastplate from Masistius mentioned by Pausanias. The existence of this monument is accepted with confidence, and is accepted as a commemorative monument of Plataea. However, it is probable that the Athenians would also have amassed spoils from the battle of Marathon, and the references to Xerxes' throne, from which Harpocration tells us he watched 'the naval battle', indicates the spoils may have related to more than one battle.<sup>1344</sup>

### 73. Odeum at Athens

Plutarch describes the Odeum:

The Odeum, which was arranged internally with many tiers of seats and many pillars, and which had

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<sup>1341</sup> The Persian spoils were also included in Pericles' account of Athens' wealth at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 2.13.4).

<sup>1342</sup> West (1965: 152) dates this speech to 353 BC.

<sup>1343</sup> Hdts. 9.80.

<sup>1344</sup> West 1965: 152-154 nevertheless interprets the spoils as commemorating the battle of Plataea solely.

a roof made with a circular slope from a single peak,  
they say was an exact reproduction of the Great  
King's pavilion, and this too was built under the  
superintendence of Pericles. Wherefore Cratinus, in  
his 'Thracian Women,' rails at him again:  
The squill-head Zeus! lo! here he comes,  
The Odeum like a cap upon his cranium,  
Now that for good and all the ostracism is o'er.<sup>1345</sup>

Pausanias places the structure in the area of the sanctuary of Dionysus:

Near the sanctuary of Dionysus and the theatre is a  
structure, which is said to be a copy of Xerxes'  
tent.<sup>1346</sup>

Vitruvius also mentions the Odeum when describing colonnades:

Such places, for instance, are the colonnades of  
Pompey, and also, in Athens, the colonnades of  
Eumenes and the fane of Father Bacchus; also, as  
you leave the theatre, the music hall which  
Themistocles surrounded with stone columns, and  
roofed with the yards and masts of ships captured  
from the Persians.<sup>1347</sup>

Plutarch quotes a fifth century BC source, Cratinus, who mentions the Odeum.<sup>1348</sup>

Vitruvius is the only source who states that Themistocles roofed the structure with

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<sup>1345</sup> Plut. *Pericles* 13.5-6.

<sup>1346</sup> Paus. 1.20.4.

<sup>1347</sup> Vitruv. 5.9.1.

<sup>1348</sup> Plutarch is trusted by West 1965: 155 as a reliable source for dating the structure to the fifth century BC due to this reference.

beams taken from captured Persian ships, perhaps from Salamis. However, the Odeum has been dated to the last quarter of the fifth century BC which would be too late to attribute to Themistocles.<sup>1349</sup> Excavations undertaken at the Odeum site have revealed that there were both stone columns and wood used in the monument's construction, but there is no way of determining whether the structure was built by Themistocles, or indeed Pericles as described by Plutarch in the excerpt above.<sup>1350</sup> It has been suggested that Themistocles did some building on the Odeum and Pericles later rebuilt or repaired the original building.<sup>1351</sup>

The Odeum is understood here as a commemorative monument of Plataea because, according to Plutarch and Pausanias, it was constructed as a replica of Xerxes' tent which was left to Mardonius at Plataea and may well have fallen into Athenian hands after the conflict.<sup>1352</sup> Despite the Odeum remaining mostly unexcavated,<sup>1353</sup> the monument is accepted here with confidence due to the agreement in the literary sources of a fifth century BC Odeon existing in Athens, and its connection with the Persian Wars.

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<sup>1349</sup> Dinsmoor 1951: 1.317-318; this date is suggested in connection with the westward shift of the 'theatre of Nicias' (otherwise known as the theatre of Dionysus). The Odeum, dated to c.425 BC and therefore constructed before the stone theatre (completed in 415 BC, see Dinsmoor 1951: 1.329-330), prevented its eastward expansion. See Camp 2001: 224 for the spatial relationship between the theatre and the Odeon.

<sup>1350</sup> Davison 1958: 34-35; the structure has only been partially excavated and the details of the building plan are obscure, see Camp 2001: 101.

<sup>1351</sup> See Davison 1958: 34-35; West 1965: 156-157.

<sup>1352</sup> Hdts. 9.82.1.

<sup>1353</sup> Camp 2001: 255.

#### 74. Shields Hung on Temple Architraves

Aeschines mentions the shields:

Now it was reported to us by one and another who wished to show friendship to our city, that the Amphisians, who were at that time dominated by the Thebans and were their abject servants, were in the act of bringing in a resolution against our city, to the effect that the people of Athens be fined fifty talents, because we had affixed gilded shields to the new temple and dedicated them before the temple had been consecrated, and had written the appropriate inscription, "The Athenians, from the Medes and Thebans when they fought against Hellas."<sup>1354</sup>

Pausanias also mentions the monument when describing the temple of Apollo:

There are arms of gold on the architraves; the Athenians dedicated the shields from spoils taken at the battle of Marathon, and the Aetolians the arms, supposed to be Gallic, behind and on the left. Their shape is very like that of Persian wicker shields.<sup>1355</sup>

Early in the fourth century BC the temple of Apollo at Delphi was destroyed, either by fire or earthquake.<sup>1356</sup> During the rebuilding, the Athenians hung gilded shields of the

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<sup>1354</sup> Aesch. *Against Ctesiphon* 116.

<sup>1355</sup> Paus. 10.19.4.

<sup>1356</sup> See Parke 1939: 71-72.

Persian type and erected an inscription nearby stating they were taken from the Persians and Thebans (see chapter section 6.3.5 for further discussion). French excavators found one slab from the outer surface of a metope upon which the outline of a shield is visible due to the difference in weathering, which supports the literary evidence.<sup>1357</sup>

The dedication of the shields in the fourth century BC has been suggested as a rehang of an original dedication of Persian spoils immediately following the Persian Wars in the early fifth century BC; many of the original shields may have dislodged in the destruction of the temple in c.373 BC.<sup>1358</sup> Furthermore the inscription, as quoted by Aeschines, has been suggested as being a repetition of original phrases engraved on the spoils at their first dedication with an added Theban reference due to the anti-Theban sentiment amongst Athenians at the time (see chapter section 6.3.5 for further discussion).<sup>1359</sup>

Pausanias states the shields were dedicated from the spoils of Marathon but, according to the inscription reported by Aeschines, the battle concerned involved fighting against Persians and Thebans. The only battle at which the Thebans fought alongside Persia was at Plataea and therefore this monument is understood here to be dedicated from the spoils of Plataea.<sup>1360</sup> While the archaeological evidence supports

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<sup>1357</sup> See an image of the metope in *FD II* 1 fig.18; Parke 1939: 72.

<sup>1358</sup> Parke 1939: 71-72.

<sup>1359</sup> Parke 1939: 72; West (1965: 158) states this copying of inscriptions as 'doubtless' but does not qualify his certainty.

<sup>1360</sup> See Parke 1939: 71-78; West 1965: 159; Scott 2010: 77, n.11 dates the monument to either 490 or 479 BC due to the inconsistent references in the literary sources.



the literary assertions describing the hanging of the shields in the fourth century BC, the suggestion that this dedication replaced an earlier dedication referencing Persians solely is speculative, and therefore accepted here tentatively.

#### 75. Bronze Statue of Artemis the Saviour

The sole literary reference for this statue is provided by Pausanias:

Not far from this fountain is an ancient sanctuary, and in our day likenesses stand in it of Roman emperors, and a bronze image is there of Artemis surnamed Saviour. There is a story that a detachment of the army of Mardonius, having overrun Megaris, wished to return to Mardonius at Thebes, but that by the will of Artemis night came on them as they marched, and missing their way they turned into the hilly region. Trying to find out whether there was a hostile force near they shot some missiles. The rock near groaned when struck, and they shot again with greater eagerness, until at last they used up all their arrows thinking that they were shooting at the enemy. When the day broke, the Megarians attacked, and being men in armour fighting against men without armour who no longer had even a supply of missiles, they killed the greater number of their opponents. For this reason they had an image made of Artemis Saviour.<sup>1361</sup>

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<sup>1361</sup> Paus. 1.40.2-3.

Pausanias relates a story of Artemis confusing the Persian forces. This data set consists of various monuments commemorating the intervention of deities and heroes alike, such as Pan (App. no.14), Cychreus (App. no.45), and Theseus (App. no.12). Pausanias goes on to mention that the statue was made by Strongylion.<sup>1362</sup> The date for this sculptor is not known but it is thought that he may have been of the late fifth century BC.<sup>1363</sup> Due to the lack of further evidence to support Pausanias' statement, this monument may only be accepted tentatively.

#### 76. Bronze Statue of Artemis the Saviour

Pausanias is our only literary reference for this monument:

As you go to Pagae, on turning a little aside from the highway, you are shown a rock with arrows stuck all over it, into which the Persians once shot in the night. In Pagae a noteworthy relic is a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Saviour, in size equal to that at Megara and exactly like it in shape.<sup>1364</sup>

This monument commemorates the same skirmish which is commemorated by the statue of Artemis in Megara (App. no.75).<sup>1365</sup> Due to a lack of supporting evidence this monument may also only be accepted tentatively.

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<sup>1362</sup> Paus. 1.40.3.

<sup>1363</sup> See Richter 1950: 245-246.

<sup>1364</sup> Paus. 1.44.4.

<sup>1365</sup> West 1965: 189.

## 77. Grave of Euchidas with Engraved Stele

Plutarch describes the grave and inscription to Euchidas:

There he purified his person by sprinkling himself with the holy water, and crowned himself with laurel. Then he took from the altar the sacred fire and started to run back to Plataea. He reached the place before the sun had set, accomplishing thus a thousand furlongs in one and the same day. He greeted his countrymen, handed them the sacred fire, and straightway fell down, and after a little expired. In admiration of him the Plataeans gave him burial in the sanctuary of Artemis Eukleia, and inscribed upon his tomb this tetrameter verse:  
Euchidas, to Pytho running, came back here  
the selfsame day.<sup>1366</sup>

Euchidas, who was a Plataean, was honoured by his countrymen for bringing the sacred fire from Delphi on the same day as the victory at Plataea; this act has been interpreted as an act of purification.<sup>1367</sup> The distance, calculated to about 114 miles, has been deemed physically impossible.<sup>1368</sup> Due to the, possibly, exaggerated details of the feat, and reference to the grave surviving in only a single literary source, this monument may only be accepted tentatively.

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<sup>1366</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 20.5.

<sup>1367</sup> West 1965: 190.

<sup>1368</sup> Cartledge 2013: 131.

## 78. Statue of an Ox

Pausanias mentions the statue when describing monuments at Delphi:

The Plataeans have dedicated an ox, an offering made at the time when, in their own territory, they took part, along with the other Greeks, in the defence against Mardonius, the son of Gobryas.<sup>1369</sup>

The meaning of statues of oxen is disputed. It has been suggested that dedicated statues of oxen may be intended to represent an agricultural state or possibly the strength of the dedicator.<sup>1370</sup> Alternatively, Pausanias believes that the oxen represent the victory over the barbarian and therefore the securing of the land which would now be free to plough.<sup>1371</sup> Whereas Rouse suggests the dedication of an animal statue may be representative of the entire act of sacrifice, including the procession.<sup>1372</sup>

The location of this monument has been suggested as somewhere on the east temple terrace.<sup>1373</sup> This placement is based on Pausanias' description of the surrounding area and monuments before and after mentioning the Plataean ox statue.<sup>1374</sup> Furthermore, it is on the strength of Pausanias attribution of this statue to the battle of Plataea that

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<sup>1369</sup> Paus. 10.15.1.

<sup>1370</sup> West 1965: xlviii.

<sup>1371</sup> Paus. 10.16.6.

<sup>1372</sup> Rouse 1902: 145.

<sup>1373</sup> See Scott 2010: 83, fig.4.3, no.112.

<sup>1374</sup> Paus. 10.14.7-15.2.

the monument has been dated to 479 BC.<sup>1375</sup> However, due to a lack of further evidence the monument may only be accepted here tentatively.

#### 79. Contents of the Manger of Mardonius Dedicated to Athena *Alea*

Herodotus is our sole literary source for this dedication:

[T]he first to enter were the Tegeans, and it was they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from it besides everything else the feeding trough of his horses which was all of bronze and a thing well worth looking at. The Tegeans dedicated this feeding trough of Mardonius in the temple of Athena Alea.<sup>1376</sup>

The manger of Mardonius, and its contents, was among the spoils from the battle of Plataea. Other cities would have taken spoils from the battle and dedicated them in their own ways (e.g. App. no. 72). On the strength of Herodotus' statement and the likelihood of Greek contingents claiming spoils from the defeated Persians at Plataea, this monument is accepted with confidence.

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<sup>1375</sup> Scott 2010: Appendix C, no.112; Jacquemin 1999: no.412 who dates the monument based solely on the literary evidence.

<sup>1376</sup> Hdts. 9.70.3.

## GENERAL

### 80. Serpent Column

Herodotus mentions the Serpent Column:

Having brought all the loot together, they set apart  
a tithe for the god of Delphi. From this was made  
and dedicated that tripod which rests upon the  
bronze three-headed serpent<sup>1377</sup>

Thucydides also mentions this monument and mentions the original inscription  
inscribed by Pausanias before its removal by the Spartans:

it was remembered that he had taken upon himself  
to have inscribed on the tripod at Delphi, which was  
dedicated by the Hellenes as the first-fruits of the  
spoil of the Medes, the following couplet:—  
“The Mede defeated, great Pausanias raised  
This monument, that Phoebus might be praised.”  
At the time the Lacedaemonians had at once erased  
the couplet, and inscribed the names of the cities  
that had aided in the overthrow of the barbarian  
and dedicated the offering.<sup>1378</sup>

The monument and original inscription is also mentioned by Pseudo-Demosthenes:

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<sup>1377</sup> Hdts. 9.81.

<sup>1378</sup> Thuc. 1.132.2-3.

Pausanias, the king of the Lacedaemonians, puffed up by this, inscribed a distich upon the tripod at Delphi, which the Greeks who had jointly fought in the battle at Plataea and in the sea-fight at Salamis had made in common from the spoils taken from the barbarians, and had set up in honour of Apollo as a memorial of their valour. The distich was as follows:

“Pausanias, supreme commander of the Greeks, when he had destroyed the host of the Medes, dedicated to Phoebus this memorial.”<sup>1379</sup>

Diodorus mentions the monument and is the sole reference for this additional epigram:

The Greeks, taking a tenth part of the spoils, made a gold tripod and set it up in Delphi as a thank-offering to the God, inscribing on it the following couplet:

“This is the gift the saviours of far-flung Hellas  
upraised here,  
Having delivered their states from loathsome  
slavery's bonds.”<sup>1380</sup>

Pausanias also mentions the monument and provides information about Phocian plundering of Delphi:

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<sup>1379</sup> [Dem.] *Against Nearea* 97.

<sup>1380</sup> Diod. 11.33.2.

The Greeks in common dedicated from the spoils taken at the battle of Plataea a gold tripod set on a bronze serpent. The bronze part of the offering is still preserved, but the Phocian leaders did not leave the gold as they did the bronze.<sup>1381</sup>

The literary sources above are generally consistent in describing this monument as dedicated to Apollo at Delphi and consisting of a tripod set on three bronze serpents. The base of the monument is in situ and the monument was placed on top of the old *peribolos* wall, of pre-548 BC, on the east temple terrace.<sup>1382</sup>

Pausanias describes the removal of gold aspects of the monument by the Phocians, which has been interpreted as taking place between 355-346 BC, in the third Sacred War.<sup>1383</sup> The monument is no longer in situ but a large fragment of the column has survived and is currently displayed in the Hippodrome in Istanbul. The removal of the column has been dated to the fourth century AD and attributed to Constantine.<sup>1384</sup> After being covered by soil and debris over time, the column was reported in Newton's documented travels in 1865.<sup>1385</sup>

The preserved column is made up of twenty nine coils and stands at a height of about seventeen and a half feet; the coils represent the intertwined bodies of three snakes,

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<sup>1381</sup> Paus. 10.13.9.

<sup>1382</sup> For the monument's location see Scott 2010: 83, fig.4.3 no.109; see Jaquemin 1999: 336, no.310 for a select bibliography.

<sup>1383</sup> Bengston 1960: 303; see also Scott 2010: 124, and for further references.

<sup>1384</sup> For discussion of the evidence on the date of the monument's removal see Madden 1992: 12-16.

<sup>1385</sup> Newton 1865: 2.25-35.



but the column was cast as a single piece.<sup>1386</sup> The heads and the tails of the serpents are missing from the column but the upper part of one of the heads was found during an excavation in 1848.<sup>1387</sup>

Figure App. 21 *Serpent Column*



*After Cartledge 2013: 134, fig.6.1*

The column bears an inscription and is engraved on successive coils of the column. The inscription runs from the thirteenth coil to the third from the bottom and consists of a list of cities. The list is preceded by a brief sentence: 'The following fought in the war', which is understood to refer to the events of the second Persian invasion of 480-479 BC.<sup>1388</sup> The coil is inscribed with the names of thirty one cities which correspond

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<sup>1386</sup> West 1965: 79.

<sup>1387</sup> As noted by Frazer (1965: 5.302).

<sup>1388</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 31, trans. West 1965: 81, and 80 where Salamis and Plataea are cited for the battles commemorated.

exactly with Plutarch's number of cities who fought against the Persians.<sup>1389</sup> It has been noted that this monument may have been the source of information for Plutarch's statement.<sup>1390</sup> Furthermore, the list inscribed on this monument may have been an official list;<sup>1391</sup> Herodotus informs us that the Tenians were added to the list specifically because of their services before the battle of Salamis, and Thucydides has the Plataeans appeal to the list's authority when threatened with destruction by the Spartans.<sup>1392</sup>

Herodotus, in the excerpt above, is describing the loot taken from the battle of Plataea from which this monument was originally made and dedicated. According to Thucydides, in the excerpt above, the monument was originally inscribed by Pausanias who claimed to have defeated the Persians. However, the original inscription displeased the Spartans who had it erased and replaced with a list of cities that took part in the war. With the re-inscribing of the monument, its commemorative focus was changed from a monument specifically commemorating the battle of Plataea to the defeat of Xerxes' invasion generally.<sup>1393</sup> Diodorus is the sole reference for an additional epigram, which may have been inscribed on the monument's base.<sup>1394</sup> However, due to the numerous other references to the monument with no mention of the epigram this aspect of the monument is questionable.

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<sup>1389</sup> Plut. *Themistocles* 20.3-4.

<sup>1390</sup> See West 1965: 81, n.6.

<sup>1391</sup> Meritt et al. 1953: 3.95; see also West 1965: 84.

<sup>1392</sup> Tenian addition: Hdts 8.82; Plataean appeal: Thuc. 3.57.

<sup>1393</sup> West 1965: 82; the monument cannot commemorate solely Plataea because city names included in the list, such as the Ceans, Melians, Tenians, Naxians, Cythians, and Syphnians, were not present at the battle of Plataea according to Herodotus' count (9.28 and 30); Scott (2010: 86) also believes the monument commemorated the Persian Wars generally.

<sup>1394</sup> This epigram is accepted by Frazer (1965: 5.300).

Due to the general agreement of this monument's form and commemorative meaning, which is largely corroborated by the extant archaeological and inscriptional evidence, the Serpent Column is accepted here with confidence.

#### 81. Bronze Statue of Zeus

Herodotus mentions this statue:

Having brought all the loot together, they set apart a tithe... for the god of Olympia, from which was made and dedicated a bronze figure of Zeus, ten cubits high<sup>1395</sup>

Pausanias also mentions the monument on three occasions:

As you pass by the entrance to the Council Chamber you see an image of Zeus standing with no inscription on it, and then on turning to the north another image of Zeus. This is turned towards the rising sun, and was dedicated by those Greeks who at Plataea fought against the Persians under Mardonius. On the right of the pedestal are inscribed the cities which took part in the engagement: first the Lacedaemonians, after them the Athenians, third the Corinthians, fourth the Sicyonians, fifth the Aeginetans; after the Aeginetans, the Megarians and Epidaurians, of the Arcadians the people of Tegea and Orchomenus,

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<sup>1395</sup> Hdts. 9.81.1.

after them the dwellers in Phlius, Troezen and Hermion, the Tirynthians from the Argolid, the Plataeans alone of the Boeotians, the Argives of Mycenae, the islanders of Ceos and Melos, Ambraciots of the Thesprotian mainland, the Tenians and the Lepreans, who were the only people from Triphylia, but from the Aegean and the Cyclades there came not only the Tenians but also the Naxians and Cythnians, Styrians too from Euboea, after them Eleans, Potidaeans, Anactorians, and lastly the Chalcidians on the Euripus.<sup>1396</sup>

After Iccus stands Pantarces the Elean, beloved of Pheidias, who beat the boys at wrestling. Next to Pantarces is the chariot of Cleosthenes, a man of Epidamnus. This is the work of Ageladas, and it stands behind the Zeus dedicated by the Greeks from the spoil of the battle of Plataea.<sup>1397</sup>

The Greeks who fought against the king, besides dedicating at Olympia a bronze Zeus, dedicated also an Apollo at Delphi, from spoils taken in the naval actions at Artemisium and Salamis.<sup>1398</sup>

A monument base, discovered at Olympia, has been suggested as supporting this statue of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias and Herodotus.<sup>1399</sup> This monument base is

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<sup>1396</sup> Paus. 5.23.1-2.

<sup>1397</sup> Paus. 6.10.6.

<sup>1398</sup> Paus. 10.14.5.

<sup>1399</sup> See Wiesner 1939: 152.

situated on the south east side of the temple of Zeus about 5 metres from the Altis wall.<sup>1400</sup> However Frazer notes that the identification of the stone and its connection to this statue of Zeus is primarily based on Pausanias' route through the Altis, but his route is too uncertain for a confident identification.<sup>1401</sup>

Herodotus is describing the loot taken at the battle of Plataea when mentioning the statue. Furthermore Pausanias, in two of the excerpts above, states that the statue is paid for by the spoils of the battle of Plataea. However, the names of the cities inscribed on the pedestal of the statue include a number of cities who did not take part in the battle of Plataea (e.g. Ceos, Melos, Tenos, Naxos and Cythnos).<sup>1402</sup>

West suggests that when the names were inscribed on the pedestal, the meaning of the monument was altered from a commemoration of Plataea to a more general commemoration.<sup>1403</sup> Due to the inclusion of a broad collection of city-states in the inscription, beyond those who fought at Plataea, I follow West's suggestion of a more general commemorative intention. This monument is included with confidence considering the consistent references in the literary sources; however the identification of the extant base is still uncertain.

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<sup>1400</sup> See also Hyde 1921: 345; Eckstein 1969: 23; See Scott 2010: 166, fig.6.7 for the positioning of the 'Plataian Zeus'.

<sup>1401</sup> Frazer 1965: 3.631; it should be noted that the identification of the stone was also based on a cutting on the top of the stone which may have held a stele mentioned by Pausanias (5.23.4), see Eckstein 1969: 23.

<sup>1402</sup> According to the forces present at Plataea outlined by Herodotus (9.28 and 30).

<sup>1403</sup> West 1965: 89, and it is further suggested that this list of cities may have been an imperfect copy of an official list which was inscribed more faithfully on the serpent column in Delphi (see App. no.80).

## 82. Bronze Statue of Poseidon

Herodotus is our only literary source for this statue:

Having brought all the loot together, they set apart  
a tithe... for the god of the Isthmus, from which was  
fashioned a bronze Poseidon seven cubits high.<sup>1404</sup>

This statue was part of the original pan-Hellenic dedication made from the loot from the battle of Plataea, the two other parts being the statue of Zeus at Olympia and the serpent column at Delphi (see App. no's.80 and 81). A list of cities who took part in the entire conflict was inscribed on the serpent column and the statue of Zeus which transformed those monument's meanings into more general commemorative monuments. Therefore, I follow West in considering this statue in the same light.<sup>1405</sup> However, while this monument is accepted here with confidence on the strength of Herodotus' assertion, there is no evidence that this statue bore such an inscribed list.

## 83. Persian Stoa in Sparta

This monument is described by Vitruvius:

Likewise the Lacedaemonians under the leadership  
of Pausanias, son of Agesipolis, after conquering the  
Persian armies, infinite in number, with a small  
force at the battle of Plataea, celebrated a glorious

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<sup>1404</sup> Hdts. 9.81.1.

<sup>1405</sup> West 1965: 89-90.

triumph with the spoils and booty, and with the money obtained from the sale thereof built the Persian Porch, to be a monument to the renown and valour of the people and a trophy of victory for posterity. And there they set effigies of the prisoners arrayed in barbarian costume and holding up the roof, their pride punished by this deserved affront, that enemies might tremble for fear of the effects of their courage, and that their own people, looking upon this ensample of their valour and encouraged by the glory of it, might be ready to defend their independence. So from that time on, many have put up statues of Persians supporting entablatures and their ornaments, and thus from that motive have greatly enriched the diversity of their works.<sup>1406</sup>

Pausanias also describes the Persian Stoa:

The most striking feature in the marketplace is the portico which they call Persian because it was made from spoils taken in the Persian wars. In course of time they have altered it until it is as large and as splendid as it is now. On the pillars are white-marble figures of Persians, including Mardonius, son of Gobryas. There is also a figure of Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis and queen of Halicarnassus. It is said that this lady voluntarily joined the expedition of Xerxes against Greece and

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<sup>1406</sup> Vit. 1.1.6.

distinguished herself at the naval engagement off  
Salamis.<sup>1407</sup>

The form of this monument and its elaborateness, in the fifth century BC, is uncertain as Thucydides claims that Spartans were less interested in constructing magnificent monumental landscapes than other *poleis*.<sup>1408</sup> Pausanias, in the excerpt above, does state that the structure was elaborated over time so it is possible the initial monument was less ornate. Furthermore, it has been suggested that this monument should be identified with archaeological remains discovered on the north-west side of the Spartan agora.<sup>1409</sup>

Vitruvius specifically mentions the battle of Plataea above, and it is quite possible that the Stoa was paid for from the sale of the booty from this battle.<sup>1410</sup> However, we are informed by Pausanias that the statues built to hold up the roof of the Stoa included Artemisia who distinguished herself at Salamis. It may be assumed that the Stoa, instead of commemorating the battle of Plataea alone, came to be a monument for the Persian Wars in general.<sup>1411</sup> In the absence of secure dating for this monument it is included in this data set tentatively as a monument of the classical period.

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<sup>1407</sup> Paus. 3.11.3.

<sup>1408</sup> Thuc. 1.10; as noted in Low 2011: 3.

<sup>1409</sup> See Waywell 1999: 14 who is tempted to make this connection, although is tentative due to no sign of the statues of the Persians; see Low 2011: 10, fig. 1.4 for the proposed positioning of the monument.

<sup>1410</sup> The spoils of this battle were rich (Hdts. 9.80 and 81) and Sparta would have taken a large share, having commanded the forces.

<sup>1411</sup> West 1965: 118.



#### 84. Athenian Portico Displaying Spoils

The inscription can still be read on the portico's stylobate today:

The Athenians dedicated the stoa and the cabl[es  
a]nd the ship's ornaments, having taken them from  
the en[em]y<sup>1412</sup>

Herodotus mentions that the Athenians dedicated cables from the Persian bridge over the Hellespont:

This done, they sailed away to Hellas, carrying with  
them the cables of the bridges to be dedicated in  
their temples, and all sorts of things in addition.  
This, then, is all that was done in this year.<sup>1413</sup>

Pausanias mentions the dedication but associates it with another conflict:

The Athenians also built a portico out of the spoils  
they took in their war against the Peloponnesians  
and their Greek allies. There are also dedicated the  
figure-heads of ships and bronze shields. The  
inscription on them enumerates the cities from  
which the Athenians sent the first-fruits: Elis,  
Lacedaemon, Sicyon, Megara, Pellene in Achaia,  
Ambracia, Leucas, and Corinth itself. It also says  
that from the spoils taken in these sea-battles a  
sacrifice was offered to Theseus and to Poseidon at

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<sup>1412</sup> *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 29; author's trans.

<sup>1413</sup> Hdts. 9.121.

the cape called Rhium. It seems to me that the inscription refers to Phormio, son of Asopichus, and to his achievements.<sup>1414</sup>

The stoa of the Athenians was discovered in 1880 by French excavators and is situated against the polygonal wall beneath the south temple terrace.<sup>1415</sup>

Pausanias states that spoils from the naval victories of the Athenian general Phormio were displayed in the portico. Pausanias also states that the portico itself was built from the spoils taken in these conflicts. However the letter forms in the surviving inscription have been judged as too early to agree with Pausanias' dating, and should not be dated later than 470 BC, and may be as early as 510 BC.<sup>1416</sup> The lettering is in an archaic Attic alphabet which was utilised in the sixth century BC but was gradually discarded in the fifth century BC. However, conclusive dating cannot be made on the inscriptional evidence alone because different letters of the archaic alphabet were retained longer than others.<sup>1417</sup>

The structure itself is difficult to date with certainty due to a lack of similar structures with which to compare it.<sup>1418</sup> The architectural remains have been analysed and it has been suggested that the structure could be dated to the sixth century BC, or may

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<sup>1414</sup> Paus. 10.11.6.

<sup>1415</sup> Haussoullier 1881: 7-19; for the location of the portico see Scott 2010: 83, fig.4.3 no.133.

<sup>1416</sup> See *ML* 25; varying dates have been suggested in collections of Greek historical inscriptions such as: 460/459 BC for an Athenian victory over the Aeginetans (*MGHI* 20), and 480 BC as a thank-offering for victory at Salamis (*GHI* 18).

<sup>1417</sup> See West 1965: 131 for discussion on letter forms; see also Walsh 1986: 324-326, who argues that a date as late as 450 BC cannot be excluded when analysing the letter forms.

<sup>1418</sup> West 1965: 130.

support a fifth century BC date if the structure is accepted as bearing 'archaising tendencies'.<sup>1419</sup> The strongest argument against a sixth century BC date is the use of Pentelic marble in the construction of the columns. This material did not become into use in Athens until after the Persian Wars.<sup>1420</sup> Furthermore, it has been suggested that the use of Ionic columns suggest a fifth century BC date for the structure; while Ionic columns had been used in Athenian architecture from the time of the Pisistratids, it was only in the middle of the fifth century BC that they became prominent.<sup>1421</sup> Based on the architectural remains and the inscriptional evidence a date of close to 480 BC has been suggested.<sup>1422</sup>

It has been suggested that the portico was constructed in order to house (and display) the cables of Xerxes' bridge over the Hellespont and ornaments from some of the ships.<sup>1423</sup> This idea supports the account provided by Herodotus, who uses the word '*hopla*' to describe the cables from the Persian bridge over the Hellespont, as does the inscription noted above. While the wide column spaces suggest it was designed for display, the material on show has also been disputed. For example, the term '*hopla*' has been suggested to refer to arms taken in battle rather than parts of a bridge.<sup>1424</sup>

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<sup>1419</sup> Quote from West 1965: 130; for analysis of the archaising architectural features see *FD* II 92-101. These features include: the ratio between the height of the column and the lower diameter of the shaft (which vary between 7.88 and 8.48 in the Athenian portico) resembling an archaic figure of about 7-8. While in the classical period the ratio exceeds 9; and the ratio of the height of the base to the diameter of the shaft at the point of intersection with the base (which is 0.52 in the Athenian portico) contrasts with later classical ratios of 0.485-0.38.

<sup>1420</sup> West 1965: 131.

<sup>1421</sup> Walsh 1986: 332.

<sup>1422</sup> *FD* II 108; this period is agreed with by Hansen (1989: 133); Walsh (1986) prefers a later date of construction, around the 450's BC.

<sup>1423</sup> Amandry 1946: 1-8; see also *FD* II 1 5 91-121.

<sup>1424</sup> See Walsh 1986: 322-323.

Furthermore even the term '*helontes*', which appears in the inscription adorning the portico, has come under scrutiny. The term may be understood to refer to seizure of goods, whereas the cables of Xerxes' bridge were initially removed to Kardia when the bridge was broken up and handed to the Greeks at Sestos.<sup>1425</sup>

In contrast to the attribution of the monument to commemorations of the Persian Wars it has been suggested that the monument did not refer to one specific conflict but all Athenian victories over a range of conflicts.<sup>1426</sup> The vague reference to 'enemies' without specifying any one people supports this suggestion. Furthermore, the fact that the Persians are not mentioned in the inscription has been interpreted as evidence that the monument was not intended to commemorate victory in the Persian Wars at all.<sup>1427</sup>

Based on the tentative dating of the structure, which is deduced from the archaeological and inscriptional evidence, and the apparent purpose of the structure complementing Herodotus' account, this stoa is cautiously accepted here as a Persian War monument. The lack of literary evidence attributing the structure to the commemorations of the Persian Wars, the lack of a specific enemy mentioned in the inscription and the general debate concerning the date of construction prevent accepting this monument with confidence.

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<sup>1425</sup> Hdts. 9.115; Walsh 1986: 322; see also *ML* 25.

<sup>1426</sup> Hansen 1989: 133-134.

<sup>1427</sup> See Walsh 1986: 321, who goes on to argue that the spoils would have been taken from Greeks.

## 85. North Wall of the Acropolis

The north wall of the Acropolis contains fragments of the unfinished Older Parthenon and the temple of Athena *Polias* which were destroyed during the Persian sacking of Athens (see App. no.17).<sup>1428</sup> The ostentatious display of aspects of Persian destruction has led Kousser to interpret the wall as commemorating Athenian victory over the Persians.<sup>1429</sup> Two main stretches of the rebuilt Acropolis walls display destroyed building fragments: parts of the temple of Athena *Polias*' entablature are positioned north-west of the Erechtheion, and column drums from the Old Parthenon are displayed to the north-east of the Erechtheion (see figures App. 22 and 23). The column drums have been said to be too unwieldy to have been selected for pragmatic reasons, as they weigh about seven tons each and there are 27 of them.<sup>1430</sup> The entablature, too, is carefully arranged and is considered a purposeful selection; for example the architrave, the metope frieze and cornice appear just as they would have appeared on the temple of Athena *Polias*. Plenty of other plain rectangular blocks would have been available for use, instead the most temple like fragments were selected: the column drums were lined up in a row and the entablature was extended to a distance similar to that of the original temple.<sup>1431</sup>

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<sup>1428</sup> Dinsmoor 1950: 150.

<sup>1429</sup> See Kousser 2009: 270-271; this idea is also suggested by West (1965: 134) who includes the wall as a monument to the Persian Wars; *contra* Steskal (2004: 210-211) who argues the selection of material from destroyed buildings was an economic choice after a costly war.

<sup>1430</sup> Hurwit 1999: 142; Kousser 2009: 271.

<sup>1431</sup> See Kousser 2009: 271 for this argument and further bibliography; Hurwit (2004: 70) interprets the Acropolis wall construction discussed here as purposeful and describes it as 'an eternal lament'.

Due to the lack of evidence confirming the construction as commemorative, Kousser's interpretation is followed here only tentatively. The construction of the wall is suggested as being a symbol of power and pride which enabled the Athenians of the fifth century BC to collectively recall the eventual repulsion of the Persians.<sup>1432</sup>

Figure App. 22 *Section of Acropolis Wall displaying Temple of Athena Polias' Entablature*



*After Kousser 2009: 270*

Figure App. 23 *Section of Acropolis Wall displaying Column Drums of the Older Parthenon*



*After Kousser 2009: 271*

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<sup>1432</sup> Kousser 2009: 271.

## 86. 'New' Parthenon

The construction of the 'New' Parthenon was initiated in 447 BC.<sup>1433</sup> The New Parthenon was constructed directly on the site of the Old Parthenon (see also App. no.17), and recycled much of the original building materials in the new structure.<sup>1434</sup> The only aspects of the original that were not reused were the column drums too damaged by thermal fracture which were in turn transformed into their own commemorative monument, built into the north wall of the Acropolis (see App. no.85). The reuse of building materials in the new temple has been analysed in economic terms,<sup>1435</sup> however it has also been suggested that Athenians of the fifth century BC would have understood the structure as representing a 'rebirth' of the ruined sanctuary.<sup>1436</sup> Furthermore, the connection between the Parthenon and the Persian Wars are thought to have been portrayed symbolically through myth.<sup>1437</sup> The Persians may be associated with negative mythological exemplars such as the Centaurs and the Amazons who battle the Greek figures on the metopes. On a number of the metopes, depicting Greeks fighting both Amazons and Centaurs the humans appear in mortal danger.<sup>1438</sup> The artistic impression is then one depicting the price of victory rather than its effortless achievement. It has been suggested that the presenting of the Persian

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<sup>1433</sup> Kousser 2009: 269, 275, for further references for building accounts see n.59; for discussion of the building accounts see also Pope 2000.

<sup>1434</sup> See Boardman 1977: 39, and n.3; Neils 2001: 27.

<sup>1435</sup> Pope 2000: 65-66.

<sup>1436</sup> Hurwit 2004: 72-76.

<sup>1437</sup> As suggested by Kousser 2009: 276-277.

<sup>1438</sup> It has also been argued that the subject of the west metopes on the Parthenon is a fight between Greeks and Persians, not Amazons, see Brommer 1967: 191-195.

Wars through myth allowed the Athenians to re-write the past and remember the initial defeats as the precursor to eventual victory, as the Greeks always win in the battles portrayed on the Parthenon's metopes.<sup>1439</sup>

The Parthenon frieze has been the focus of much scholarly debate and has prompted numerous suggestions for its meaning and significance.<sup>1440</sup> With reference to this data set, the frieze has been interpreted in connection with the battle of Marathon in particular.<sup>1441</sup> John Boardman has argued that the frieze represents the Great *Panathenaia* which took place on 28 Hecatombaion, six weeks before the battle of Marathon, an event which the *Marathonomachoi* would probably have attended.<sup>1442</sup> The 192 dead Athenian war dead from Marathon were numbered at 192 by Herodotus,<sup>1443</sup> and this number has been calculated as being represented on the frieze.<sup>1444</sup> The war dead are interpreted by Boardman to have been heroised and therefore represented as knights on horseback or warriors in chariots.<sup>1445</sup> These individuals have been suggested as the only mortal Athenian citizens who earned the

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<sup>1439</sup> Kousser 2009: 277.

<sup>1440</sup> E.g. the inaugural Panathenaic procession during the reign of Cecrops, first legendary king of Athens: Kardara 1964: 115-158, for objections see Neils 2001: 177-178, Boardman 1984: 210, Boardman 1977: 43; the east frieze depicting the actions preliminary to human sacrifice: Connelly 1996, for objections see Neils 2001: 178-180.

<sup>1441</sup> Boardman 1977, 1984, 1999.

<sup>1442</sup> See Boardman 1977: 47-48; the presence of the *peplos* on the east frieze has been regarded as evidence that the procession of the Great Panathenaia is depicted, e.g. Jenkins 1994: 24-25.

<sup>1443</sup> Hdts: 6.117.1.

<sup>1444</sup> For the calculation of the numbers see Boardman 1977: 48-49; Boardman 1984: 214-215; Boardman returns to this theory in 1999: 328-329.

<sup>1445</sup> The connection between horses and heroes is deemed commonplace by Boardman, for discussion on the connection see Boardman 1977: 45.



right to be portrayed in the company of the gods, who are also represented on the frieze.<sup>1446</sup>

Boardman's theory has been refuted.<sup>1447</sup> Due to missing parts of the frieze it is difficult to calculate the exact number of individuals, therefore any conclusions based on figure numbers would be extremely questionable. However, a more serious objection has been raised about exactly who is counted on the frieze to make up the supposed 192 Marathon dead.<sup>1448</sup> For example neither the charioteers nor the men who carry the cult equipment and lead the sacrificial animals are counted, while the marshals who direct the cavalcade and the young attendants who hold the horses' reins are counted. Furthermore, the lack of hoplites (even considering Boardman's explanation of heroisation) has been interpreted as a serious problem, as the battle of Marathon was a hoplite battle which did not feature Greek cavalry, who are also unarmed as depicted on the frieze.<sup>1449</sup>

By 447 BC, when the construction of the 'New' Parthenon was initiated, Athens had defeated the Persians a number of times since the battle of Plataea, most notably at the battle of Eurymedon, and they had become the most formidable naval power in Greece.<sup>1450</sup> The conjunction between a fiercely democratic political system within the city and an imperialistic foreign policy encouraged the building of the Parthenon; this

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<sup>1446</sup> Boardman 1977: 43.

<sup>1447</sup> E.g. Spence 1993: 267-71; Simon 1983: 59-60; Neils 2001: 180-181; Jenkins 1994: 26.

<sup>1448</sup> Neils 2001: 180; Jenkins 1994: 26.

<sup>1449</sup> Neils 2001: 180 and 181 where Neils concludes that the frieze may commemorate Marathon in a general way but probably does not show the individuals who died during the battle.

<sup>1450</sup> Kousser 2009: 275.

monument has been said to document and celebrate these achievements as a victory monument.<sup>1451</sup> It has been suggested that the new Parthenon was as much a monument thanking Athena for Athenian victory over Persia as it was a monument to the success and power of the Athenian state under Pericles.<sup>1452</sup> Plutarch references the funds utilised to construct the Parthenon in a depiction of a debate over the building project on the Acropolis.<sup>1453</sup> In this debate Pericles' political enemies argue over his aim of utilising funds amassed from the Delian League to pay for the building program. Pericles' response to his critics was that as long as Athens used necessary funds to continue the war then any surplus may be used to beautify the city and pay the workforce. It has been suggested, therefore, that the structure was closely related to Athens' position as *hegemon* in the ongoing war against Persia.<sup>1454</sup> Plutarch's writing, while connecting the Parthenon with conflict between Athens and Persia, references the continuous and ongoing war, opposed to the Persian Wars as defined by this thesis.

Any argument concerning the Parthenon's meaning based on interpretations of the frieze are 'not capable of proof'.<sup>1455</sup> Therefore the inclusion of this structure as a monument is based on its physical placement (on the foundations of the 'Old' Parthenon) and the reuse of physical aspects of the 'Old' Parthenon. The interpreted

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<sup>1451</sup> See Kousser 2009: 275, who interprets the Parthenon as commemorating past suffering, the Persian sack of the Acropolis in particular, and that it was against this darker backdrop that the more recent triumphs of the Athenian Empire could be contrasted; Hurwit 1999: 228-232; Neils 2001: 173-201; Petsalis-Diomidis 2003: 191-196.

<sup>1452</sup> Castriota 1992: 132.

<sup>1453</sup> Plut. *Pericles* 12.1-4.

<sup>1454</sup> Castriota 1992: 136.

<sup>1455</sup> Boardman 1977: 48, although it is also stated that such arguments are not capable of disproof either.

allusion to conflict between Greek and Persian forces in the design (such as the metopes) may refer to the ongoing conflict between Athens and Persia as much as the Persian Wars as defined by this thesis. Furthermore, the funding of the building comes largely from Delian League tributes which again cannot be credited to the conflicts included within this thesis. The monument is included here tentatively as a general monument because it is likely that the monument commemorated the Persian Wars generally, at least in part.

#### 87. Statue of Zeus *Eluetherios*

Isocrates mentions the statue as a topographical marker:

In gratitude we honoured them with the highest honours and set up their statues where stands the image of Zeus the Saviour, near to it and to one another, a memorial both of the magnitude of their benefactions and of their mutual friendship.<sup>1456</sup>

Pausanias also mentions the statue:

Here stands Zeus, called Zeus of Freedom, and the Emperor Hadrian, a benefactor to all his subjects and especially to the city of the Athenians.<sup>1457</sup>

Harpocration is the only source to report a connection between the monument and the Persian Wars:

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<sup>1456</sup> Isoc. *Evagoras* 97.

<sup>1457</sup> Paus. 1.3.2.

Hyperides: 'Now to Zeus, O men of the jury, a title has been given which proclaims freedom because freedmen built the stoa which is near him.' Didymus says that the orator is wrong. For he was called *eleutherios* because the Athenians were freed from the Medes. Because he is inscribed *Soter*, he is named *Eleutherios*, as Menander shows.<sup>1458</sup>

The connection between the monument and the Persian Wars is made only by Didymus and reported by Harpocration. Harpocration here is contesting a statement made by the orator Hyperides, who claimed the *Eleutherios* Stoa was so named because it was built by freemen.<sup>1459</sup>

According to Pausanias' description of the statue, it stood directly in front of a stoa identified as the Stoa of Zeus *Eleutherios*, which has been dated to the decade 430-420 BC due to architectural fragments and pottery found in its construction fill.<sup>1460</sup> A circular base situated in front of the Stoa of Zeus *Eleutherios*, traces of which are visible today, is thought to be the location of the statue; it has been suggested that due to the positioning of the statue base, which lies directly on the east to west axis of the stoa, the stoa and statue were constructed concurrently.<sup>1461</sup>

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<sup>1458</sup> Harpocration s.v. *Eleutherios Zeus*.

<sup>1459</sup> See West 1965: 136-137.

<sup>1460</sup> Camp 1992: 106.

<sup>1461</sup> West 1965: 137; for an impression of the structure and statue positioning see Camp 1992: 106-107.

This monument is accepted with confidence on the strength of consistent literary references concerning the existence of the statue from the fourth century BC and the dating of the structure with which the statue base aligns.

#### 88. – 89. Statues of Miltiades and Themistocles

Pausanias mentions statues of Miltiades and Themistocles when describing the Athenian agora:

For the likenesses of Miltiades and Themistocles have had their titles changed to a Roman and a Thracian.<sup>1462</sup>

Demosthenes states that Miltiades and Themistocles did not have statues:

Take first Themistocles, who won the naval victory at Salamis, Miltiades, who commanded at Marathon, and many others, whose achievements were not on a level with those of our commanders today. Our ancestors did not put up bronze statues of these men, nor did they carry their regard for them to extremes.<sup>1463</sup>

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<sup>1462</sup> Paus. 1.18.3.

<sup>1463</sup> Dem. *Against Aristocrates* 196.

Aristotle informs us that Harmodius and Aristogeiton were the first to receive portrait statues in the Athenian agora,<sup>1464</sup> while Demosthenes informs us that Conon was the first man to be honoured in this way after them.<sup>1465</sup> I understand the excerpt quoted from Demosthenes above to state there was no statue of Miltiades in the fifth century BC; the reference to ancestors not constructing statues is a description of Athenian practices specifically before his own time. Demosthenes also states that there was no statue of Themistocles in the fifth century BC; however he must have meant no statue constructed specifically in the Athenian agora because statues of Themistocles were set up privately elsewhere.<sup>1466</sup> West suggests that due to the fact that Themistocles died in exile it is hardly likely he would have been honoured by the Athenians with a statue in the agora by the middle of the fifth century BC. However, by the end of the century or even some time in the fourth century BC his reputation may have been restored and a statue constructed.<sup>1467</sup> If the fourth century BC sources are accepted that Conon's statue was the first raised after Harmodius and Aristogeiton for the victory at Knidos in 394 BC, we are provided with a *terminus post quem* for the statues of Miltiades and Themistocles.

Throughout the fifth century BC, within Athenian public space, individuals were not publicly honoured by the setting up of portrait statues; however it has been noted that the practice of erecting portrait statues to individuals in public places became

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<sup>1464</sup> Arist. *Rhetoric* 1.9.38; fragments of an inscribed base, thought to be from this monument, has been found during excavations of the agora, see *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 502. See also Geagan 2011: 4-5, A1 for further bibliography.

<sup>1465</sup> Dem. *Against Leptines* 70; this statue is also mentioned by Isocrates (*Evagoras* 56-57), who states it was in honour of the naval victory off Knidos in 394 BC; see also Pausanias 1.3.2.

<sup>1466</sup> For a statue of Themistocles in the temple of Artemis *Aristoboule*: Plut. *Themistocles* 22.1-2.

<sup>1467</sup> West 1965: 139.

comparatively common from the fourth century BC onwards.<sup>1468</sup> Up until the beginning of the fourth century BC, individual military achievement was not usually held in higher regard than the accomplishments of the citizen soldiers.<sup>1469</sup> For example, the Athenians who were victorious at the battle of Eion, of 476 BC, were permitted only to erect the modest herm monument in the agora at Athens.<sup>1470</sup> Aeschines describes the monument and states that a great honour was given to them by receiving the right to set up three stone herms on the condition that they did not inscribe their own names on them, so the inscription would be perceived as belonging to the people and not only the generals.<sup>1471</sup>

According to Lycurgus, who was writing in the fourth century BC, Athens was set apart from other cities by erecting statues of successful generals in their agora.<sup>1472</sup> However, the development of portrait statuary as a public honour in public spaces in the fourth century BC is only to be understood in the Athenian urban context, and did not restrict private dedications within sanctuaries or the setting up of such statues outside of Athens.<sup>1473</sup> For example, statues of Xanthippus and Pericles were set up on the Acropolis, a statue of Miltiades was raised at Delphi in commemoration of the battle of

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<sup>1468</sup> Richter 1965: 1.5; West 1965: 138-139; Dillon 2006: 11, 101-102; see also Paus. 1.21.1, who states that in the Athenian theatre, by his time, undistinguished individuals may have portrait statues constructed; the material evidence for the Athenian agora is gathered in Geagan 2011; agoras were used as sites to erect honorific statues throughout the Hellenistic period with a particularly dense development in the later Hellenistic period (see Ma 2013: 75-85).

<sup>1469</sup> Dillon 2006: 101.

<sup>1470</sup> For the battle see Hdts. 7.107; Plut. *Kimon* 7.

<sup>1471</sup> Aesch. *Against Ctesiphon* 183, for the inscriptions see 184-185.

<sup>1472</sup> See Lyc. *Against Leocrates* 51, who further states that other cities would usually erect statues of athletes in their agoras.

<sup>1473</sup> Richter 1965: 1.5.

Marathon by the Athenians, and a painted portrait of Themistocles was dedicated in the Parthenon by his son.<sup>1474</sup>

As noted above, Conon is said to have been the first individual to be honoured with a portrait statue after Harmodius and Aristogeiton. This honour was bestowed for the victory at the battle of Knidos in 394 BC and would have been raised shortly after this date.<sup>1475</sup> It has been suggested that with the loss of the Peloponnesian War, and the weakening of the Athenian city-state both internally and externally, Athens was increasingly at the mercy of individual initiative, generosity and whim.<sup>1476</sup> This dependence would have, in turn, elevated a powerful individual's role, particularly in the areas of generalship and finance. As the state increasingly depended on wealthy individuals, honours bestowed on these statesmen would more likely reflect this relationship; therefore portrait statues increase in frequency.<sup>1477</sup> Following the honour bestowed on Conon, in 389 BC Iphikrates received a statue for his defeat of a Spartan hoplite force, in 376 BC Chabrias was voted a bronze statue for his victory at Naxos, and Timotheos (Conon's son) was given a statue for a diplomatic mission to Kerkyra in

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<sup>1474</sup> Pericles: Paus. 1.25.1; Miltiades: Paus. 10.10.1-2, see also App. no.15; Themistocles: Paus. 1.1.2; according to Pausanias a statue was raised on the Acropolis in honour of Xanthippus, 'who fought against the Persians' (1.25.1). Pausanias places Xanthippus at the battle of Mycale, which falls outside the remit of the Persian Wars as defined within this thesis, and so this statue is not included in the data set; see also Richter 1965: 1.5 for further examples; Dillon (2006: 101) also notes that fifth century BC portraits were set up but only in a sanctuary context and usually as privately sponsored votive dedications.

<sup>1475</sup> Dillon 2006: 101, and see n.20 for further bibliography.

<sup>1476</sup> Stewart 1979: 122-124 analyses possible motives behind this development.

<sup>1477</sup> Stewart 1979: 123; Smith (1988: 16-18) also interprets the development of honorary portraits as mirroring the political fortunes of the city-state.



375 BC.<sup>1478</sup> In addition, there were also others who were honoured in this way who are not mentioned by name.<sup>1479</sup>

In addition to honouring living statesmen, it was in the fourth century BC that Athens began regularly honouring historical figures of the city's past with honorific portraits.<sup>1480</sup> A statue of Solon is mentioned by Demosthenes and stood in the Athenian agora.<sup>1481</sup> Other statues which are thought to have been erected in the fourth century BC include Kallias, who was thought to have negotiated peace with the Persians in c.449 BC.<sup>1482</sup> West attributes the statues of Miltiades and Themistocles to these developments in honorific practices. West includes these statues in his data set because he argues they mark an important development in the commemorations of the Persian Wars. These monuments have been argued as contributing to a shift from the religious to the secular in public portraiture in commemorative monuments.<sup>1483</sup>

Retrospective portraits were constructed in Athenian public space within the first half of the fourth century BC. Furthermore, Demosthenes specifically mentions Miltiades and Themistocles by name which may indicate specific statues prompted these

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<sup>1478</sup> Dillon 2006: 102; Iphikrates' statue: Aesch. *Against Ctesiphon* 243, Dem. *Against Aristocrates* 130; Chabrias: Aesch. *Against Ctesiphon* 243, Nep. *Chabrias* 1.2-3; Timotheos: Aesch. *Against Ctesiphon* 243, Nep. *Timotheos*, 2.3, Paus. 1.3.2.

<sup>1479</sup> See Aesch. *Against Ctesiphon* 243, who delivered this speech in 330 BC, for this date see Dillon 2006: 102, n.28..

<sup>1480</sup> See Dillon 2006: 104f.

<sup>1481</sup> Dem. *Against Aristogiton* 2 23; a statue of Solon standing in front of the Stoa *Poikile* is also mentioned by Pausanias (1.16.1); Solon was seen by many in the early fourth century BC as the father of Athenian democracy, see Dillon 2006: 104, and n.53 for further bibliography.

<sup>1482</sup> Pausanias (1.8.2) saw the statue of Kallias in the Athenian agora; the fourth century BC date is offered by Dillon 2006: 102.

<sup>1483</sup> West 1965: 139.

references. Due to accepting these monuments on the basis of general honorary practices of the fourth century BC, and assuming Demosthenes' specific references were prompted by existing statues, these examples may only be accepted tentatively.

#### 90. Tomb of Aristides

Plutarch is our sole source for the tomb:

Moreover, his tomb is pointed out at Phalerum, and they say the city constructed it for him, since he did not leave even enough to pay for his funeral.<sup>1484</sup>

This tomb was paid for by the state and therefore is understood to have acquired the status of a public monument for his service to the city-state.<sup>1485</sup> No evidence exists, literary or otherwise, which connects this monument to the Persian Wars. However, probably in the fourth century BC, Athens may have begun honouring the generals who led their forces in the Persian Wars with public honours (such as statues, see App. no's.88 and 89). This monument is interpreted with some caution due to the late literary source, and the lack of evidence for connecting the tomb with the commemoration of the Persian Wars.

#### 91. Epigram in Thanks to Aphrodite

Plutarch mentions the epigram after describing how Corinthian courtesans prayed to Aphrodite for success against Persia:

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<sup>1484</sup> Plut. *Aristides* 27.1.

<sup>1485</sup> As suggested by West 1965: 142-143.

For it was a thing divulged abroad, concerning  
which Simonides made an epigram to be inscribed  
on the brazen image set up in that temple of Venus  
which is said to have been founded by Medea,  
when she desired the Goddess, as some affirm, to  
deliver her from loving her husband Jason, or, as  
others say, to free him from loving Thetis. The tenor  
of the epigram follows:

For those who, fighting on their country's side,  
Opposed th' imperial Mede's advancing tide,  
We, votaresses, to Cytherea pray'd;  
Th' indulgent power vouchsafed her timely aid,  
And kept the citadel of Hellas free  
From rude assaults of Persia's archery.<sup>1486</sup>

Athenaeus also provides a slightly different version of the epigram:

Simonides composed this epigram:—  
These damsels, in behalf of Greece, and all  
Their gallant countrymen, stood nobly forth,  
Praying to Venus, the all-powerful goddess;  
Nor was the queen of beauty willing ever  
To leave the citadel of Greece to fall  
Beneath the arrows of the unwarlike Persians.<sup>1487</sup>

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<sup>1486</sup> Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 39.

<sup>1487</sup> Ath. *The Deipnosophists* 13.32.

Plutarch attributes the poem to Simonides, which would date it to the fifth century BC, and states that the poem was inscribed. However, no archaeological evidence can support these assertions. Due to the lack of evidence concerning this poem it may only be accepted with caution.

## 92. Epigram Engraved on a Cenotaph

Pausanias mentions the monument in Megara but does not mention the inscription:

In the city are tombs of Megarians. They made one for those who died in the Persian invasion, and what is called the Aesymnium (Shrine of Aesymnus) was also a tomb of heroes.<sup>1488</sup>

An inscription was discovered near Megara in the eighteenth century and is preceded by a short introduction:

The epigram for the heroes who died in the Persian Wars and lie buried there, defaced by time, Helladius the high priest inscribed, for the honour of the city. Simonides was the author:

While striving to strengthen the day of freedom  
For Greece and the Megarians, we received the fate  
of death,  
Some under Euboea and Pelion, where stands  
The precinct of the holy archer Artemis,

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<sup>1488</sup> Paus. 1.43.3.

Some at the mountain of Mykale, some before  
 Salamis,  
 <>  
 Others on the Boeotian plain who dared  
 To come to blows with enemies fighting on  
 horseback.  
 The citizens granted us together this privilege  
 around the navel  
 Of the Nisaians in their people-thronged agora.<sup>1489</sup>

According to the excerpt from Pausanias above, tombs were made for the dead of the Persian Wars within Megara. The Megarians provided ships for the Greek navy and took part in the battle of Plataea and, at least at Plataea, the Megarians were afforded burial on the battlefield.<sup>1490</sup> In the absence of the bodies, the ‘tomb’ within the Megarian city, reported by Pausanias, has therefore been interpreted as a cenotaph.<sup>1491</sup>

The inscription noted above was discovered in the wall of a church in the village of Paleaochori near Megara in the eighteenth century by the traveller Michel Fourmont.<sup>1492</sup> Fourmont copied the inscription and this version was published by Boeckh in the nineteenth century.<sup>1493</sup> The actual stone was rediscovered in 1898 by

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<sup>1489</sup> *JG* 7 53; trans. Dillon & Garland 2010: 387; the translation of the introduction the author’s own.

<sup>1490</sup> Naval contribution: Hdts. 8.1.1; Plataea: Hdts. 9.69; burial at Plataea: Hdts. 9.85.2.

<sup>1491</sup> Frazer 1965: 2.533-534; West 1965: 172; Page (1981: 213) suggests it may be a ‘memorial’.

<sup>1492</sup> See West 1965: 172-173.

<sup>1493</sup> *CIG* 1051.

Wilhelm who re-published the inscription.<sup>1494</sup> The inscription is thought to be of the fourth century AD at the earliest and is not considered well done.<sup>1495</sup> For example, the sixth line of the inscription is omitted (highlighted above by '<>'), a word is missing in the ninth line, the lines are not straight, and the letters are not uniform in size.

According to the introduction before the epigram, the copy was made by 'Helladius the High Priest'. Due to the original epigram being worn with time, the inscription states Helladius had it inscribed rather than 're-inscribed'. Wilhelm suggested that the only the first couplet was copied from the original monument and that the following four couplets were later additions.<sup>1496</sup> This suggestion was made on the strength that the final four couplets merely enumerate the battles which the Megarians participated in and add nothing to the poignancy of the first two lines.<sup>1497</sup> More recently, two battles have been identified by Dillon and Garland as Artemisium in lines 3-4 and Plataea in lines 7-8.<sup>1498</sup>

The original inscription, based on the vocabulary, phrasing, or metre of the preserved copied inscription, has been interpreted as a fifth century epigram.<sup>1499</sup> However the preserved example is an extremely late example, and without further evidence to confirm its accuracy it may only be accepted tentatively.

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<sup>1494</sup> The stone was re-discovered in the church of St. Athanasius in Palaeochori. Wilhelm's publication (originally published in 1899, in *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, volume 2: 236-244) has been reprinted and is referenced here as Wilhelm 1972.

<sup>1495</sup> West (1965: 173) states the spelling is of the fourth century AD; see also Page 1981: XVI, 213.

<sup>1496</sup> See Wilhelm 1972: 316-322.

<sup>1497</sup> As noted in West 1965: 174.

<sup>1498</sup> Dillon & Garland 2010: 387.

<sup>1499</sup> Page (1981: 214) states there is 'nothing...incompatible with the early fifth century' about the inscription.

### 93. Statues of Skyllis and His Daughter Hydna

Pausanias is our only source for these statues:

Beside the Gorgias is a votive offering of the Amphictyons, representing Skyllis of Scione, who, tradition says, dived into the very deepest parts of every sea. He also taught his daughter Hydna to dive. When the fleet of Xerxes was attacked by a violent storm off Mount Pelion, father and daughter completed its destruction by dragging away under the sea the anchors and any other security the triremes had. In return for this deed the Amphictyons dedicated statues of Skyllis and his daughter.<sup>1500</sup>

Pausanias is our sole reference for this monument and no archaeological evidence has been discovered in support.<sup>1501</sup> However, Herodotus also mentions the feats of Skyllis, and how he assisted the Greek forces at Artemisium by providing information on the Persian fleet, which indicates he had acquired a reputation by the fifth century BC.<sup>1502</sup> Therefore despite Skyllis acquiring some renown in the fifth century BC, without further supporting evidence this monument may only be accepted tentatively.

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<sup>1500</sup> Paus. 10.19.1-2.

<sup>1501</sup> Jacquemin (1999: no.54) dates the monument to the fifth century BC tentatively.

<sup>1502</sup> Hdts, 8.8.

#### 94. Altar dedicated to Helios *Eleutherios*

Pausanias is the only source for this monument constructed by the Troezenians:

They had every reason, it seems to me, for making an altar to Helios Eleutherios, seeing that they escaped being enslaved by Xerxes and the Persians.<sup>1503</sup>

Pausanias suggests the monument commemorates the invasion of Xerxes specifically. West proposes that Pausanias bases his suggestion on the epithet '*eleutherios*'.<sup>1504</sup> Due to the general association with freedom the monument is counted here among monuments commemorating the Persian Wars in general. However, due to the lack of evidence for this monument, and the uncertainty concerning the date of construction, it may not be accepted with confidence.

#### 95. Statues of Women and Children

Pausanias mentions the monument when describing the market place at Troezen:

Under a portico in the market-place are set up women; both they and their children are of stone. They are the women and children whom the Athenians gave to the Troezenians to be kept safe, when they had resolved to evacuate Athens and not to await the attack of the Persians by land. They are

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<sup>1503</sup> Paus. 2.31.5.

<sup>1504</sup> West 1965: 175.



said to have dedicated likenesses, not of all the women—for, as a matter of fact, the statues are not many—but only of those who were of high rank.<sup>1505</sup>

Herodotus also states that Athenians were sheltered at Troezen during the invasion of Xerxes.<sup>1506</sup> The monument is therefore understood here to commemorate the contribution Troezen made to the Greek defence, particularly of Attica during Xerxes' invasion.<sup>1507</sup> The lack of archaeological, or further literary evidence to support Pausanias' reference, prevents this monument being accepted with confidence. However, on the basis of Herodotus' information concerning Troezen's assistance to the Athenians, which in turn corroborates Pausanias' reasoning behind the monument, it may be accepted tentatively.

#### 96. Trophy with Epigram

Diodorus mentions the trophy at Delphi and recounts the epigram:

So the oracle of Delphi, with the aid of some divine Providence, escaped pillage. And the Delphians, desiring to leave to succeeding generations a deathless memorial of the appearance of the gods among men, set up beside the temple of Athena Pronaea a trophy on which they inscribed the following elegiac lines:

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<sup>1505</sup> Paus. 2.31.7.

<sup>1506</sup> Hdts. 8.41.1.

<sup>1507</sup> West 1965: 176.

“To serve as a memorial to war,  
The warder-off of men, and as a witness  
To victory the Delphians set me up,  
Rendering thanks to Zeus and Phoebus who  
Thrust back the city-sacking ranks of Medes  
And threw their guard about the bronze-crowned  
shrine.”<sup>1508</sup>

The epigram was copied by the traveller Francis Vernon, who travelled through Greece in 1675 and 1676, and is cited by Meritt.<sup>1509</sup> It has been suggested, on a stylistic basis, that the inscribed epigram is not of the early fifth century BC and may have been inscribed about 400 BC or later.<sup>1510</sup>

The trophy mentioned by Diodorus may have initially been of the temporary style, a collection of arms and armour from the defeated forces (see chapter section 4.3.2 for definitions).<sup>1511</sup> Therefore, the epigram, if it was inscribed at a later date, may have been added to the trophy when it was rebuilt in stone. Due to the uncertainty concerning the date of the epigram, this monument is included here tentatively.

## 97. Altar of the Winds

Herodotus is the sole reference for this monument which was constructed at Thyia by the Delphians:

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<sup>1508</sup> Diod. 11.14.4.

<sup>1509</sup> Meritt 1947: 60; Vernon’s copy of the inscription shows that it was inscribed over five lines rather than the four lines recounted by Diodorus, see Meritt 1947: 59-60.

<sup>1510</sup> Meritt 1947: 60; Scott 2010: Appendix F, no.297 dates the inscription to 400 BC.

<sup>1511</sup> As suggested by West 1965: 177.

In the meantime, the Delphians, who were afraid for themselves and for Hellas, consulted the god. They were advised to pray to the winds, for these would be potent allies for Hellas. When they had received the oracle, the Delphians first sent word of it to those Greeks who desired to be free; because of their dread of the barbarian, they were forever grateful. Subsequently they erected an altar to the winds at Thyia, the present location of the precinct of Thyia the daughter of Cephisus, and they offered sacrifices to them. This, then, is the reason why the Delphians to this day offer the winds sacrifice of propitiation.<sup>1512</sup>

According to Herodotus the Delphians were advised by the oracle at Delphi to pray to the winds. In doing so an altar was set up in Thyia where continued appeasement of the winds would have taken place.<sup>1513</sup> Although Herodotus implies the worshipping of the Winds at Thyia took place after the Persian Wars, the date of the instigation of the worship is not clear. It has been suggested a cult of the Winds was practiced at Thyia before the Persian Wars, and the establishment of the altar there by the Delphians has been interpreted as an attempt to give pan-Hellenic significance to the practice.<sup>1514</sup> This monument is accepted with confidence on the strength of Herodotus' account.

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<sup>1512</sup> Hdts. 7.178.

<sup>1513</sup> Mikalson 2003: 62.

<sup>1514</sup> Macan 1908: 1.265-266; see also West 1965:178-179.

## 98. Statue of Apollo

Pausanias mentions the statue constructed by the Epidaurians:

The offerings next to Phryne include two images of Apollo, one dedicated from Persian spoils by the Epidaurians of Argolis, the other dedicated by the Megarians to commemorate a victory over the Athenians at Nisaea.<sup>1515</sup>

This statue is thought to have stood east of the temple terrace at Delphi.<sup>1516</sup> The supposed location of this monument, and its form as an image of Apollo, has been interpreted as mimicking the pan-Hellenic statue of Apollo which would have stood nearby (App. no.42).<sup>1517</sup> By interpreting the Epidaurian Apollo in conjunction, spatially stylistically, and temporally, with the pan-Hellenic Apollo, the Epidaurian Apollo statue has been suggested to be a monument commemorating the battle of Salamis.<sup>1518</sup> However, Epidaurus also contributed ships to the Greek fleet earlier in the invasion, and sent infantry to the Isthmus when the Persians held Attica.<sup>1519</sup> Therefore due to the lack of a specific battle being specified in the surviving evidence, this statue is interpreted here as a monument to the Persian Wars in general.

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<sup>1515</sup> Paus. 10.15.1.

<sup>1516</sup> Scott 2010: 83, fig.4.3 no.106, however, as noted in the image key, the placement is not secure.

<sup>1517</sup> Scott 2010: 84.

<sup>1518</sup> Epidaurians at Salamis: Hdts. 8.43; see Scott 2010: Appendix C, no.106; Jacquemin 1999: 171.

<sup>1519</sup> Epidaurians contribute ships before Artemisium: Hdts. 8.1; and land forces at the Isthmus: Hdts. 8.72.

On the strength of Pausanias' statement, the lack of conflicting sources, and the general likelihood of the Epidaurians participating in the commemorations, this monument is accepted with confidence.

#### 99. Bronze Statue of an Ox

Pausanias describes this monument raised at Delphi by the Carystians:

The Euboeans of Carystus too set up in the sanctuary of Apollo a bronze ox, from spoils taken in the Persian war. The Carystians and the Plataeans dedicated oxen, I believe, because, having repulsed the barbarian, they had won a secure prosperity, and especially a land free to plough.<sup>1520</sup>

Pausanias compares the choice of monument form with the ox constructed at Delphi by the Plataeans (App. no.78).<sup>1521</sup> The statue has been suggested to have been located in the area of the east temple terrace.<sup>1522</sup> A slab has been discovered near the Bouleterion that may have once stood as part of a plinth on the upper temple terrace.<sup>1523</sup> The block has cuttings on the top which suggest it once acted as a statue's plinth, and the bifurcated footprint suggest it was for a figure of an animal. Furthermore the block is inscribed with two fragmented inscriptions which have been restored as referring to Carystus, the older one of the two being dated to the first third

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<sup>1520</sup> Paus. 10.16.6.

<sup>1521</sup> See App. no.78 for an outline of differing opinions on what statues of oxen represent.

<sup>1522</sup> Scott 201: 83, fig.4.3 no.111.

<sup>1523</sup> It has been suggested that it was moved from its intended location by landslide, see *FD* II 311, and for an image of the block 310, fig.253.

of the fifth century BC based on the letter forms.<sup>1524</sup> This block is thought to be part of the top of the plinth which supported the ox, dedicated by Carystus and mentioned by Pausanias.

Pausanias, as our sole literary reference, does not provide a particular battle to which we may attribute this monument. Therefore, the monument is interpreted here as a monument to the Persian Wars in general. Due to Pausanias' reference and the supporting archaeological evidence, this monument is accepted with confidence.

#### 100. Statue Group

This monument once stood in the pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Delphi. The base of this monument is extant and the surviving inscription can be read:

Persephone

The Hermionaeans dedi[cated to Apollo]<sup>1525</sup>

The letter forms have been identified as early fifth century BC and it has been suggested that due to this dating the monument may be attributed to commemorating the Persian Wars, but there is no firm evidence to support this suggestion.<sup>1526</sup> It has

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<sup>1524</sup> *FD II* 311, inv.638.

<sup>1525</sup> *FD II* 235, inv.2501, author's own trans.; see also Jacquemin 1999: no.314.

<sup>1526</sup> West 1965: 193, and it is further stated that the monument was 'probably intended to suggest the freedom which would allow the people of Hermione to grow their own crops'; the text is described as 'archaic' in *FD II* 235.

also been suggested that another inscribed stone was a part of this statue base, naming other divinities which would have been included in the statue group.<sup>1527</sup>

It is quite possible Hermione would commemorate the Persian Wars as they are represented on the inscribed lists of cities on the serpent column at Delphi (App. no.80) and the statue of Zeus at Olympia (App. no.81). However, due to relying solely on letter dating to decipher the meaning behind this monument, the attribution is tentative.

#### 101. Gilded Statue of Alexander I

Herodotus is referring to the statue of Apollo holding the beak of a ship commemorating Salamis (App. no.42):

After that, they divided the spoils and sent the first-fruits of it to Delphi; of this was made a man's image twelve cubits high, holding in his hand the figurehead of a ship. This stood in the same place as the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian.<sup>1528</sup>

Pseudo-Demosthenes also mentions the statue:

It was my ancestor, Alexander, who first occupied the site, and, as the first-fruits of the Persian

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<sup>1527</sup> *FD* III 4 147; *IG* 4 686; Scott 2010: 81, n.28.

<sup>1528</sup> *Hdts.* 8.121.2.

captives taken there, set up a golden statue at Delphi.<sup>1529</sup>

Herodotus and pseudo-Demosthenes both state a gold statue was constructed at Delphi by Alexander I of Macedon.<sup>1530</sup> Due to Herodotus' positioning of Alexander's statue being near the statue of Apollo holding the beak of a ship (App. no.42), the location of Alexander's statue has been identified on the east temple terrace; the proximity of Alexander's statue to the pan-Hellenic statue of Apollo has been interpreted as an effort to represent his own role in the Persian Wars.<sup>1531</sup>

We learn from Demosthenes that Macedonians fought and killed Persian forces as they retreated through Macedonian territory from the battle of Plataea.<sup>1532</sup> This monument could then be interpreted as directly relating to that battle.<sup>1533</sup> However, according to Herodotus, Macedon initially Medised and it was at the battle of Plataea that Alexander reversed his allegiance to assist the Greeks.<sup>1534</sup> Therefore this monument is interpreted here as an effort, by Alexander, to present his general realignment of allegiance in the war in general.

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<sup>1529</sup> [Dem.] *Philip* 21.

<sup>1530</sup> It is not beyond doubt that the statues mentioned by Herodotus and pseudo-Demosthenes are not the same, however I see no reason here to assume otherwise.

<sup>1531</sup> Scott 2010: 87; see also Jacquemin 1999: 253, and no.347 who dates the monument 479 BC on the strength of the literary sources.

<sup>1532</sup> Dem. *Against Aristocrates* 200; Demosthenes mistakenly states this defeat was inflicted on the Persians by Perdiccas, but Alexander I was ruling Macedonia at the time.

<sup>1533</sup> As it is in Scott 2010: Appendix C, no.114.

<sup>1534</sup> Alexander's Medisation: Hdts. 8.142; reversal in allegiance: Hdts. 9.44-45.



Due to general agreement in the literary sources of the existence of a statue dedicated by Alexander at the site of Delphi, which (according to pseudo-Demosthenes) commemorated at least some aspect of the Persian Wars, this monument is accepted with confidence.

102. Bronze Apollo

A limestone block, discovered at Delphi inside the temple of Apollo,<sup>1535</sup> bears an inscription which names the dedicator of the monument as the Peparethians:

Diopithes the Athenian made [me].  
When the Peparethians captured two ships of the  
Carians in battle  
they erected a tithe to Apollo the Far-Shooter.<sup>1536</sup>

Judging by the cuttings on the top of the limestone block, the stone would have acted as a base for a bronze statue of a figure approximately 3 metres in height.<sup>1537</sup> Furthermore, the location of the statue of Apollo has been loosely identified as the area of the east temple terrace.<sup>1538</sup> Based on the form of the letters visible on the stone, and the positioning of the cuttings on the stone (from which the statue's position may be deduced), this monument has been dated to the first quarter of the

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<sup>1535</sup> *FD* II 283.

<sup>1536</sup> *CEG* 325; trans. Bowie 2010: 335.

<sup>1537</sup> *FD* II 283.

<sup>1538</sup> See Scott 2010: 83, fig.4.3; see also *FD* II 284 for the assertion that it is not necessary to look beyond the immediate area of a stone's discovery for its original location.

fifth century BC.<sup>1539</sup> This statue, then, is thought to have mirrored the pan-Hellenic Apollo statue dedication in its choice of material, the form of its base, its pose and its position on the temple terrace.

Due to the inscription mentioning the Carians, who Herodotus names in the Persian navy,<sup>1540</sup> the date proposed based on inscriptional and archaeological evidence this monument is accepted with confidence. However, this statue is attributed to commemorating the Persian Wars in general as it is not clear at which naval battle the Peperethians captured Carian ships.

#### 103. Bronze Apollo

An inscribed limestone block was discovered at Delphi in 1894, near the temple entrance, which bears an inscription identifying the monument as a dedication to Apollo by the Samians.<sup>1541</sup> Due to the block's find spot, the statue has been tentatively located slightly to the north on the east temple terrace.<sup>1542</sup> Based on the cuttings on the top of the limestone block, the monument is thought to be a bronze statue, probably a figure of Apollo.<sup>1543</sup> Based on the lettering form, the dedication of this monument has been dated to later in the first half of the fifth century BC.<sup>1544</sup>

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<sup>1539</sup> *FD* II 282-283; Scott 2010: 84; see also Jacquemin 1999: no.387.

<sup>1540</sup> Hdts. 7.93.

<sup>1541</sup> *FD* III 4 455, inv.1790, also Pl. 20, A; see also *FD* II 248.

<sup>1542</sup> See Scott 2010: 76, fig.4.1 no.94; see also *FD* II 284 for the assertion that it is not necessary to look beyond the immediate area of a stone's discovery for its original location.

<sup>1543</sup> *FD* III 4 455; Scott 2010: Appendix C, no.94.

<sup>1544</sup> Scott 2010: 75; *FD* III 4 455; *contra*. *LSAG* 330, no.17, where a more specific date of 479 BC is offered, directly following the battle of Mycale; see also Jacquemin 1999: no.427.

This monument is accepted tentatively due to the lack of evidence concerning Samian involvement in the specific battles that make up the Persian War as defined by this thesis. The monument may commemorate the battle of Mycale and therefore fall outside the remit of this study.

#### 104. Bronze Bull

Pausanias mentions this statue, dedicated by the Eretrians, when describing monuments at Olympia:

Of the bronze oxen one was dedicated by the  
Corcyraeans and the other by the Eretrians.  
Philesius of Eretria was the artist.<sup>1545</sup>

Pausanias is our sole literary source for this monument; however in 1877 the base of a monument bearing an inscription mentioning the Eretrians was uncovered about 30 metres east of the northeast corner of the temple of Zeus.<sup>1546</sup> The top of the uppermost blocks bear cuttings which appear to have fitted four bifurcated footprints.<sup>1547</sup> The upper surface also bears a two line inscription which also supports Pausanias' identification exactly, including the artist's name.<sup>1548</sup> The inscription has been dated to the early fifth century BC.<sup>1549</sup> The archaeological and inscripational

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<sup>1545</sup> Paus. 5.27.9.

<sup>1546</sup> Eckstein 1969: 50; this statue has therefore been securely placed to fifty metres north of the Bouleterion, see Scott 2010: 166, fig.6.7, and 206, fig.7.7.

<sup>1547</sup> See Eckstein 1969: 51, Textabb 10 for a restoration of the base.

<sup>1548</sup> *IvO* 248.

<sup>1549</sup> Eckstein 1969: 52.

evidence confirms the description offered by Pausanias. However, the monument is not securely attributed to the Persian Wars.

Before the battle of Marathon, Eretria was sacked by the Persian army which has been considered a considerable blow,<sup>1550</sup> and we learn from Herodotus that the Eretrians were enslaved.<sup>1551</sup> Despite the removal of Eretrian citizens by the Persians, enough remained to contribute seven ships to the combined Greek navy which fought at Artemisium and Salamis,<sup>1552</sup> and together with the Styreans seven hundred hoplites at Plataea.<sup>1553</sup> For Eretria's contribution to the Persian Wars, the city-state was included in the Serpent Column inscription at Delphi (see App. no.80).

Eretria would have undoubtedly suffered financial hardship after being sacked by the Persians and having a number of their citizens enslaved, however the Athenian tribute lists show the city's existence at a respectable level throughout the remainder of the fifth century BC.<sup>1554</sup> Furthermore, the booty from the conflicts of 489 – 479 BC could have contributed to the cost of constructing of a bronze statue at Olympia.<sup>1555</sup>

The fact that the Eretrians constructed this monument at Olympia in the fifth century BC, and that this is the same one mentioned by Pausanias, is accepted with confidence. However due to there being no clear attribution for the monument's purpose, it is accepted here tentatively as a commemoration of the Persian Wars.

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<sup>1550</sup> Francis & Vickers 1983: 52.

<sup>1551</sup> Hdts. 6.101 & 6.119.

<sup>1552</sup> Hdts. 8.1.2.

<sup>1553</sup> Hdts. 9.28.5.

<sup>1554</sup> See Francis & Vickers 1983: 52, and n.31; Meritt et al. 1939: 1.294, and n.96.

<sup>1555</sup> As suggested by Francis & Vickers 1983: 52.

105. Inscribed Persian Helmet

The helmet is inscribed:

The Athenians to Zeus, having taken it from the  
Medes<sup>1556</sup>

This Persian helmet was discovered at Olympia and bears an inscription that clearly indicates it is a monument from the Persian Wars; therefore it is accepted with confidence.<sup>1557</sup> No particular battle is mentioned in the inscription, and so it is treated here as a monument to the Persian Wars in general.

Figure App. 24 *Inscribed Persian Helmet*



*After Kunze 1961: pl.56*

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<sup>1556</sup> *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 1472, author's trans.

<sup>1557</sup> West 1965: 157; the helmet was first published in Kunze 1961: 129-137; see also Scott 2010: 170, n.99 for further references.

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