

UNDYING GLORY: PRESERVATION OF MEMORY IN GREEK ATHLETICS,
WAR MEMORIALS, AND FUNERAL ORATIONS

by

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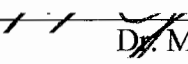
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Title: **UNDYING GLORY: PRESERVATION OF MEMORY IN GREEK
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Ancient Greek acts of commemoration aimed to preserve the memory of an event or an individual. By examining the commemoration of athletic victory, military success, and death in battle, with reliance upon theories of memory, this study examines how each form of commemoration offered immortality. A vital aspect was the way they joined word and material reminder. Athletes could maintain their glory by erecting statues or commissioning epinician odes, which often relied on image and words. The physical and ideological reconfiguration of the plain of Marathon linked the battle's memory to a location. Pericles' oration offered eternal praise to both the war dead and Athens, an Athens crafted as a monument by Pericles to remain for future generations. In different and complimentary ways, all of these forms of commemoration preserved the glory of a deed or an individual for posterity.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: MEMORIES

Τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ἀνάγνωτέ μοι
 Ἄρχεστράτου παῖδα, πόθι φρενὸς
 ἐμᾶς γέγραπται...

(Pindar *Olympian* 10.1-3)

Read to me the Olympic victor,
 the son of Arcestratus, where it has been written
 on my mind...¹

I begin this study of the immortality granted through Greek acts of commemoration with lines from Pindar because, in just a few lines, the poet lays a useful framework for a discussion of memory. The epinician poet asks the name of the victor to be read to him in order to remember it; Pindar needs a reminder in order to start his ode for Hagesidamus and his victory.² Regardless of the person whom Pindar asks to do this, we learn that Pindar needs external stimuli for recollecting the name and the memory attached to it. This request seems peculiar since Pindar states that the name is already

¹ Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

² Unlike Homer, who uses the Muse to remember, as Vernant 1969, 55 notes, Pindar needs the name in order to begin recalling the victor. Pindar does address the Muse, but only in the capacity to ward off blame for breaking a promise and wronging Hagesidmus, the subject of the poem to whom Pindar owes a sweet song (γλυκὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ μέλος ὀφείλων ἐπιλέλαθ' ὦ Μοῖσ', ἀλλὰ σὺ καὶ θυγάτηρ | Ἄλάθεια Διός, ὀρθᾶ χερὶ | ἐρύκετον ψευδέων | ἐνιπὰν ἀλιτόξενον, 3-6). Gildersleeve 1899 has the verb, ἀνάγνωτέ, suggesting "a humorous search in the poet's ledger" (214). Verdenius 1988 comments that Gildersleeve's translation is not quite right. Instead, "the imperative is used 'absolutely' and has rhetorical force" (55) and offers the interpretation that "the poet asks for a simple report...of the place where the victor's name is recorded" (55).

written on his mind.³ While a memory exists in one's mind, a physical manifestation of it, whether aural or visual, helps in the recalling of the memory. From this poem, we learn that a particular place keeps Hagesidamus' name, as the verb *γέγραπται* suggests.⁴ The localizing of the name helps root the memory of Hagesidamus and his achievement to a physical place. The encomium of Hagesidamus depends on Pindar's remembrance of the victor, and once this happens, the poet can work to preserve the victory. With the help of Hagesidamus' name, Pindar hopes to take a preexisting memory and ensure its survival. Thus, Pindar makes his work an *aide-mémoire* for his listeners. Without the efforts of Pindar, the memory of Hagesidamus is in danger of being forgotten. Acts of commemoration assist in the preservation of memory.

Not every memory is considered important to preserve. In fact, the memories that stand the greater chance of lasting are those determined important by a society.⁵ Thus, commemorated events are not randomly selected, but ones deemed worthy of memory.⁶ Athletic victory, an avenue for the display of Greek male excellence, provided the winner a chance to demonstrate his possession of key societal values. At Olympia, Hagesidamus won the boy's boxing event, a victory which Pindar was hired to commemorate.

³ More correctly, the narrator of the poem has the memory of the victor in his *φρήν*. We learn in the final lines of the poem that the narrator was present at Hagesidamus' victory at Olympia (100-101).

⁴ Verdenius 1988 states that with the verb, "Pindar is thinking of a ledger, and especially a register of debts" (55). This places the name on a tangible object, a place where Pindar can look to recall the name of Hagesdamus.

⁵ Assman and Czaplicka 1995, 130. "No memory can preserve the past" (130); only that which the society determines important remains. Nora 1989, 19 notes that there must be a desire to remember, therefore not everything can be remembered.

⁶ Pindar would have been commissioned to write his poems, but the victor made a conscious choice to hire Pindar to preserve the important event.

Hagesidamus had gained glory through his victory and could preserve the memory of the achievement since he exhibited values of physical and athletic excellence important to his society. The memories in Pindar's poems are a result of a deliberate choice to preserve an event through commemoration. The formation and survival of the victor's memory lies in this process of commemoration. This puts the event in a position to be one that others in the society should consider important, since there needs to be social support in order for a memory to last.⁷

Preserving a memory is a selective and constructed process; certain groups determine the things worth remembering and how that memory should be presented. Only those aspects that reflect a group's conceptions of the memory are used in its formation, for any event outside of the perimeters of the approved memory will not be a part of it.⁸ The event is shaped into a memory often not of what truly happened, but what should have happened, according to those forming the memory. What matters is that the memory connects the past to the present in a manner reflecting the aims of the preservers of the memory who offer it up for acceptance.⁹

Locations or physical objects help to sustain the memory. As Pierre Nora notes, "Memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects."¹⁰ This study will look at the different physical objects to which memory has been attached. Greek acts of commemoration, either for individuals or events, connect a memory to a

⁷ Tuan 1991, 689.

⁸ Nora 1989, 8.

⁹ Lowenthal 1975, 11-12, 28; Finley 1965, 299.

¹⁰ Nora 1989, 9.

location and form what Nora terms a *lieu de mémoire*.¹¹ Although words are not rooted in a particular location, they are still important in the commemoration process, both because their written form is a physical manifestation of a memory, and because they help maintain other forms of commemoration.¹²

Since memories are gained through society, they persist in what Maurice Halbwachs refers to as collective memory.¹³ Throughout this study, I shall be referring to this term, but what exactly does it mean, and what does it have to do with understanding the commemorative process? Societies commemorate only those things that they decide are worth remembering, so any act of public commemoration expresses the memories of a group of people. Each individual thought occurs within frameworks that, as Halbwachs says, “are...precisely the instruments used by the collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with the predominant thoughts of the society.”¹⁴ In order for collective memory to exist, individual memories interact through communication with others, a process that unifies them. A common construction of the past takes shape from these interactions, and this collective memory warrants commemoration, at the expense of the individual memory.¹⁵ Repetitive contact with others, including events and rituals, takes the individual memory and merges it with that

¹¹ For further information regarding *lieux de mémoire*, see Nora 1989.

¹² Tuan 1980, 467. This process will be explored in this study.

¹³ Halbwachs 1992, 38.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁵ Assman and Czaplicka 1995, 127; Lowenthal 1975.

of the larger group.¹⁶ Collective memory is this unified, common construction. M.I. Finley states, “Group memory [a similar construct as collective memory], after all, is no more than the transmittal to many people of the memory of one man or a few men, repeated many times over.”¹⁷ This collective experience is how future generations gain access to the memory and its meaning.¹⁸

Memory formation, then, is an active and selective process intended to preserve one event or person(s) from the recesses of oblivion and let others fade away. The decision to forget is just as selective and destroys those memories that do not reflect values important to the society. Any event teeters on the brink of being forgotten unless a deliberate action forms a memory.¹⁹ If the event passes into a realm where it can no longer be remembered, a state akin to the death of mortals occurs. Memory can help humans overcome this process and “maintain their nature consistently through generations.”²⁰

This concept also appeared in Greek thought, as Jean Paul Vernant discusses in his work, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs*. Vernant provides an example from Pausanias 9.39, which describes a ritualized descent to the Underworld in the cave of Trophonius. Before entering a chasm, the man who will descend must first drink the water of

¹⁶ Mitchell 2003, 443.

¹⁷ Finley 1965, 297.

¹⁸ Assman and Czaplicka 1995, 129.

¹⁹ Finley 1965, 297.

²⁰ Assman and Czaplicka 1995, 126.

forgetfulness (αὐτὸν Λήθης τε ὕδωρ καλούμενον); this connects Lethe to death.²¹ Upon returning from the cave, the man sits on a chair of memory in order to share his experience (earlier, he had tasted the waters of memory to help him recall everything that would transpire during the descent). Vernant then makes this observation regarding memory:

Mémoire apparaît en contraste comme une fontaine d'immortalité, l'ἄθνατος πηγή dont parlent certaines inscriptions funéraires et qui assure au défunt sa survie jusque dans l'au-delà. Précisément parce que la mort se définit comme le domaine de l'oubli, le Λήθης πεδίον, celui qui dans l'Hadès garde la mémoire transcende la condition mortelle.

(Vernant 1969, 59)

The process of remembering shatters the limitations of mortality, intending to preserve the memory beyond the life of the person. Humankind is, by nature, an ephemeral creature; its existence is bound temporally. In his work, *The Greeks and Their Past: Poetry, Oratory and History in the Fifth Century BCE*, Jonas Grethlein examines the temporality of mortals through two contingencies: one of action and another of chance.²² Grethlein sees memory as humanity's way of dealing with its temporal nature, especially against the unpredictability of chance. Since death is the most indicative event of chance, humans find ways to secure the instability it brings. One way to deal with

²¹ Vernant 1969 says, "Oubli est donc une eau de mort" (59).

²² Grethlein 2010, 7. Grethlein says, "Temporality therefore provides the starting point from which I will develop a matrix of modes of memory. The temporality of human life is based on contingency, which tradition defines as 'quod nec est impossibile nec necessarium.' Denoting what is, logically and ontologically, possible, but not necessary, contingency not only defines the realm in which human life unfolds, but also forms our ability to look ahead and back in time. Contingency is most often understood as being identical with chance. However, as Rüdiger Bubner has shown, it is the frame for actions as well as for chance. Where things are neither impossible nor necessary, human beings can act, but are at the same time constrained by chance. There are two sides to contingency. I suggest they be called 'contingency of action' and 'contingency of chance' " (Grethlein 2010, 6).

death is through tradition, which creates continuities to combat the contingency of chance.²³ Remembering the dead, as in the yearly public funeral in Athens, brings them back into existence each and every time tradition recalls their memory.²⁴

Commemoration also attempts to overcome chance. The erection of monuments to honor people or events allows the memory of the commemorated to become localized in a particular place or object. These acts bring stability to a memory by placing it within the framework of the collective memory, thereby adding it to a continuum of memory amidst a world with no particular order except the one forced upon it by humans.²⁵ Commemoration responds to the temporal nature of human kind by connecting the past to the present with an eye to the future.²⁶ The memory connected to the act of commemoration grants a form of immortality, which further counteracts the threat of chance. For the Greeks, commemoration often created parallels to the mythic past, which was seen as timeless.²⁷ Not only does equating the commemorated people with the mythic past position them in a durable framework, but doing so also makes them similar to the divine, who by their very nature are immortal.²⁸

²³ Grethlein 2010, 6-7, 108, 288.

²⁴ Vernant 1969, 58.

²⁵ Osborne 2001, 19; Tuan 1980, 465. Assman and Czaplicka 1995 describes cultural memory (quite similar to collective memory) as distanced from the everyday. Instead, they are fixed points in time and do not change (129).

²⁶ See Grethlein 2010, 11 for temporality's relationship to commemoration.

²⁷ Finley 1965, 287-288; Grethlein 2010: "The mythification of history is facilitated by the exemplary use of the past, which only focuses on direct juxtapositions of events and thereby neglects temporal distance" (44).

²⁸ Lowenthal 1975, 10; Nora 1992, states, "Memory instills remembrance within the sacred" (9). On the role

Commemoration preserves memory. Memory survives the long span of time by its connection with physical objects. Through commemoration, the objects of honor enter the timeless construct of memory, thus receiving a form of immortality. This study will examine various forms of Greek commemoration and how they provide immortality for the objects of commemoration. In the commemorative process, there occurs a relationship between the word and the material object. Instead of competing for prominence, these two forms of commemoration actually support each other and assist in the preservation of the objects of commemoration.

The first chapter discusses athletic commemoration in the form of victor statues and epinician odes—those of Pindar and Bacchylides. These two forms of commemoration portray the victor in a manner that is carefully constructed in order to leave the best possible image of him for posterity. A victor at the games desires to preserve his crowning moment, because it not only shows that he is better than his competitors, but also demonstrates his manly excellence. Through associations with cult practices (statues suggest divine cult statues and the odes use cult imagery) the victor becomes practically divine, and in some cases, even receives a hero cult in his honor.²⁹ There exists between the image and text a symbiotic relationship where each relies on the other to strengthen its own form of commemoration. A victor statue cannot properly preserve the victor's achievement without the epigram that provides his name, event, and location of the win for the viewer. Pindar's assertion that his creation is not fixed to an

of memory and the divine, Vernant 1969 says, "La place centrale accordée à la mémoire dans les mythes eschatologiques traduit ainsi une attitude de refus à l'égard de l'existence temporelle. Si la mémoire est exaltée, c'est en tant que puissance réalisant la sortie du temps et le retour au divin" (69).

²⁹ Currie 2005, 120-123 provides examples of heroized fifth century BCE athletes.

immobile statue base (*Nemean* 5.1-2) seems to grant a higher status to his work because Pindar's ode is free to travel (2-3). Despite this, there are devices, common to victor statues, which provide Pindar with imagery that helps his audience to visualize his poetry and place it in the context of the tangible, concrete act of commemoration.

For the other two chapters, Athens provides two complex examples of commemoration for the dead. Shortly after the Athenians defeated the much larger Persian army at the Battle of Marathon, they erected monuments on the plain to commemorate the battle. This victory and battle site became symbols of Athenian power and prestige in the fifth century BCE. Due to the importance of this battle in the minds of the Athenians and the subsequent ideological changes in its representation, commemoration on the battlefield of Marathon will be the focus of Chapter 2. All the dead were buried in two burial mounds—one held the Athenian dead, the other, the Plataeans and slaves. This traditional form of burial for the war dead had features that suggested cult practices; yet, the determining factor in the conferment of cult status actually depended upon the decision of the *polis*. The honor had to be bestowed upon the dead; the type of burial reflected this, but did not prescribe it. Moreover, the establishment of cult rites, together with the stelai atop the mounds listing the men, immortalized the dead buried at Marathon.

Another object on the battlefield demonstrated the change in Athenian attitude towards the battle in the years after the war. A typical temporary war trophy, *tropaion*, was erected after the battle, but in the 460s, approximately thirty years after the battle, a permanent monument of stone replaced it. In Athens, the Athenians began to represent

Marathon with other battles of the mythic past; the Battle of Marathon was now a formative moment in Athenian history. The change in trophy type shows how the Athenians went about re-conceptualizing the battle as a memory that deserved to be bequeathed to future generations. This rethinking of the battle became the impetus for the change in representing Marathon both at the battle site and in Athens.

The final chapter examines the funeral oration delivered by Pericles in the second book of Thucydides' work on the Peloponnesian War. Intended to give honor to the war dead, the speech focuses on Athens. Pericles lists the characteristics that make the *polis* great. He does not rely on events or physical objects to prove his point; instead, he relies on the nature of its citizens in conducting their affairs. The Athens that he creates is a *polis* for which men are willing to die. This voluntary offering of their lives is what gives the men their immortality. Their praise makes them worthy to be remembered and also contributes to the survival of Athens. During his speech, Pericles creates his own monument, not of stone or bronze, but of words, and that monument is Athens.

The acts of commemoration discussed in this study do more than preserve the memory of men or an event. By the nature of the acts' forms, the commemorated enter into the collective memory of their society, and become examples that the society can use to illustrate behaviors and actions suitable for the construction of an identity, either Greek or Athenian.³⁰ Immortality is a gift offered the men by the commemoration of their excellence.

³⁰ Grethlein 2010, 11 says that through continuity with the past and aided by the acts of commemoration, the viewer is able to understand and identify who he or she may be.

CHAPTER II

STATUE AND SONG

Through the erection of victor statues and the commissioning of victory odes, Greek athletes attempted to preserve a lasting memory of their greatness. A competing athlete hoped to set himself apart from others by possessing excellence (*aretē*) made obvious by winning an athletic *agon* (“contest”).³¹ Epinician odes and statues were two prominent media with which athletes preserved their victories. Without them, the memory of their glory could be forgotten. Each form of commemoration had stylistic expressions that helped enable the athlete’s glory (*kleos*) to persist even after his death. Odes relied on truth, at least the rhetoric of truth used by Pindar, to maintain *kleos* for future generations as well as on the image of light shining through the darkness of oblivion. The similarities between athletic statues and statues of gods created a connection between mortal and immortal, at least visually. From these similarities, there occurs a strong reference to cult practice that helps perpetuate the *kleos* of the athletes.

Through these commemorations there emerged a relationship between physical reminders and words: statues needed inscriptions; songs relied on visual imagery. Without the symbiotic relationship between the two, the memory of victory and glory would have greater difficulty lasting. Epinician odes and victor statues presented the

³¹ While the author recognizes that there were female athletes who competed in athletics, this chapter shall focus on the victory commemorations of male athletes. Hyde 1921, 49-50 mentions that female victors did receive a victory crown like male winners, but a painting depicting the female athlete was the typical type of commemoration allotted to female victors.

athlete as a victor. More importantly, these forms of commemoration preserved the memory of the victor. In order to increase the longevity of each commemoration, the statue maker and the poet forged a reciprocal relationship between the physical monument and words, and in the process, provided the only form of immortality possible for a human being: everlasting glory (κλέος ἄφθιτον).

There were plenty of opportunities for Greek athletes to compete, since a competitive spirit permeated Greek existence.³² Panhellenic games allowed individuals to participate and potentially set themselves apart from their fellow Greek competitors, a concept vital to our understanding of Greek athletics. In the overwhelming majority of contests, each athlete vied against his competition in order to be the sole winner.³³ First place mattered, anything less did not. Granted, there were prizes for second and third place at the “lesser” local events, e.g. the Panathenaia, but at the four major games, also known as *stephanitic*, first place was the only place.³⁴ Victory was the avenue by which an athlete could show the rest of the Greek world, and anyone else who knew of his victory, that he had achieved something of note, something worth remembering.

³² Besides the “Big Four”—Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, and Isthmia—there were numerous local festivals that hosted athletic contests and attracted competitors from throughout the Greek world. While each game had its own program of contests, standard events included running, wrestling, boxing, the pankration, the pentathlon, and equestrian races. Non-athletic events also provided an opportunity for victory in what might be called “performing arts” by modern standards: flute playing, heralding, writing, acting and even a male beauty contest. See Miller 2004 for a general introduction to Greek athletics.

³³ There were team events at the Panathenaia. Pyrrhic dancing, torch racing, and the *euandria* (male beauty contest) all were tribal events opened exclusively to Athenian citizens. Prizes could be for an individual or for the tribe itself. For more detail, see Kyle 1992, 94-97.

³⁴ Miller 2004, 19. For background on the Panathenaia, refer to Neils 1992, which has a list of the prizes for the different events (16) and Kyle 1992. Alcibiades, when addressing the Athenian assembly in Thucydides 6.16, mentions that in one chariot race at Olympia, in which he had seven teams entered, he placed first, second, and fourth. I take this example not to illustrate that other places brought glory—they certainly had some prestige attached to them—but to show that Alcibiades, due to his wealth, could enter that many chariots in one race and that they performed quite well.

Some of the rewards given to the victors certainly provided material gain, but what mattered more was the symbolic capital inherent in these objects. More important than drachmas or the amphorae of olive oil that were typical prizes was the fact that these items all physically manifested the *aretē*, *timē* (“honor”), and *kudos/kleos* (both “glory”) of the victor.³⁵ By defeating all competitors, the athlete showed that his abilities were beyond those of the losers. His victory demonstrated his *aretē*, which provided him with his win, thus bringing him *timē* and *kleos*. As Bacchylides says, φὰμὶ καὶ φάσω μέγιστον | κῦδος ἔχειν ἀρετάν “I say and shall say that *aretē* has the greatest *kudos*” (*Ode* 1.159-160). This striving for excellence typifies the agonistic spirit in Greek society. Recognition comes from achieving *timē* and *kleos*, which stem from athletic victory.³⁶

Since winning provided honor and glory for athletes, they needed a way to reify *kleos* and *aretē* in order for others to see and remember them. Here, the various honors, prizes, and artworks enter the discourse of victory commemoration.³⁷ All these prizes, whether granted by or for the victor, rewarded athletic victory symbolically and/or

³⁵ Following a line of reasoning put forth by Hermann Fränkel, Leslie Kurke places *kudos* in the realm of the living and *kleos* as something particularly associated with the dead. This distinction is intriguing, and the reader should not forget this. For the purposes of this paper, which usually deals with the glory in a future context, I have decided to utilize *kleos* (Kurke 1993, 132).

³⁶ Raubitschek 1983, 7.

³⁷ Victory commemoration could take many forms. A crown of olive, laurel, pine, or celery, depending upon the location of the games, became the prize at the “Big Four,” hence the label *stephanitic*. Athens provided its victors meals in its public dining hall (Pritchard 2009, 214). Local games such as the Panathenaia offered money, oxen, or amphorae filled with precious olive oil. The city often erected a statue for its hometown victor, sometimes at the site of the games or even in the agora of the *polis*. Family members could also commission a statue or the victor himself had the honor of dedicating one to promote his victory. One additional act of commemoration involved the hiring of a poet such as Pindar or Bacchylides to craft a victory ode for a performance when the athlete returned home for a *polis*-wide celebration. Despite the plethora of media for commemoration, they all worked towards one common goal: preserving the accomplishment of the victor.

financially. Most prizes had an ephemeral quality, despite having either a symbolic or practical value: the vegetative crown, whose lack of monetary value was more than made up for in its symbolic value, would wilt; the olive oil, with its many daily uses, needed to be used before going bad; coinage would eventually have to be spent. It is with two other forms of commemoration, statues and epinician odes, that *aretē*, *timē*, and *kleos* merged symbolic meaning and permanence.

These two expressions of victory achieved their purpose—preserving a memory—by doing something that the other forms of commemoration could not, that is, amplifying and channeling a memory into a permanent, even everlasting public manifestation of the victor’s glory.³⁸ However, due to high costs, only victors with the financial means could commission such acts of commemoration as odes and statues.³⁹ Other honors and prizes also carried similar symbolic and financial weight as well as public acknowledgement, but the ode and statue particularly persisted in the public realm and preserved the memory of the victory for a longer time.⁴⁰ Their high cost distinguished them. Instead of letting the memory of the victory and the *kleos* born from it fade away, these statues and odes maintained glory in a carefully constructed way. They became the conduit from which the magnification and dissemination of the athletic

³⁸ Pleket 1975, 79.

³⁹ As Smith 2007, 101-103 notes, a scholion prices a bronze statue in the time of Pindar at 3,000 drachmas. Smith points out that this was most likely an anachronistic calculation and that the price was too low for a bronze in the early fifth century. The price for odes is less clear. Smith suggests that inclusion of the price in the scholion indicates that an ode and a bronze statue were of similar cost.

⁴⁰ The victor’s name would be announced, and some sort of ceremony with the wreath presentation was held.

kleos could travel, bolstering the action performed by the athlete and sustaining the memory through space and time.

When we turn to the epinician odes, we see that Pindar and Bacchylides repeatedly present human existence as transitory. Not enjoying the static and continuous nature of the gods, mortals must face constant upheaval in their position in life and the inevitability of death. Bacchylides' use of Croesus in *Ode 3* demonstrates that even the richest and most powerful of men were not immune to the sudden reversal of fate (23-62). Charles Segal's insightful reading of Pindar's *Isthmians 3* and *4* notes how floral imagery paired with an emphasis on seasonal change accentuates the ephemeral nature of humankind.⁴¹ The use of vegetative wreaths, as with λευκωθεῖς μύρτοις in 4.69-70, reminds the audience that, like the leaves of the crown, humankind and any mortal achievements have the potential to wilt and die. Therefore, memories of people and events are the only escape for the natural life cycle in which humans reside, albeit temporarily.

There seems to be no other way for humanity to achieve immortality; other attempts end with dubious results. We need to look no further than Pindar's *Olympian 1* in order to see that death is inescapable. Tantalus warrants his eternal punishment not for offering Pelops as a meal, a story Pindar attributes to misguided poets and gossipy neighbors, but instead for stealing the food of the gods and giving it to his friends. He has overstepped his role by attempting to make their physical beings immortal with assistance

⁴¹ Segal 1981, 70-71.

from the nectar and ambrosia of the gods (60-65).⁴² Pindar manipulated the myth in order to demonstrate that even if humans try, they will be unable to overcome the death of their physical body: *θανεῖν δ' οἷσιν ἀνάγκη*, “it is a necessity for such men to die” (*Olympian* 1.82).

The very memory of a person rests in a precarious position. Without some way to preserve the thing to be remembered, it will, to borrow imagery from Pindar, fade into the darkness of oblivion. As Susan Alcock states, “[M]emory is localized in objects and places.”⁴³ Thus, things such as statues and victory odes become aids to memory when dealing with the athletic victor. His achievements have a better chance of surviving into posterity by being associated with one of these objects. They become visual representations of the thing to be remembered, not just the victory, but what it stood for, namely his *aretē*, *timē*, and *kleos*. Commemoration is a necessary process in the continued existence of a memory.⁴⁴

Statues and odes do not create memories but maintain ones that already existed.⁴⁵ The victor has already won and shown his own excellence; the *kleos* and *timē* that come about as a result of the victory are not the product of the sculptor or poet. Instead, as we shall see, these commemorations take the victor and tweak him in order to offer a more idealized figure. What those expressions of commemoration do instead is amplify the

⁴² ἀθανάτων ὅτι κλέψαις | ἀλίκεσσι συμπόταις | νέκταρ ἀμβροσίαν τε | δῶκεν, οἷσιν ἄφθιτον θῆκαν.

⁴³ Alcock 2002, 25.

⁴⁴ Steiner 1986, 132 states, “Commemoration and appeasement both suggest a belief in the continued existence of some part of the individual consciousness.”

⁴⁵ Burnett 1987, 439.

nature of the victor's glory by focusing them into loci of memory, which viewers can see, thus preventing the memory from being forgotten. Without these expressions, the glory of the athlete will be lost. The *kleos* of the athlete, therefore, becomes the memory that must be embedded into the statue or ode so that it can be handed down to later generations; it is the form of immortality available to men, who by nature, as stated earlier, are ephemeral creatures.⁴⁶ This, then, is a vital reason why athletes competed.⁴⁷

Inaction prevents mortal men from gaining their glory. Pelops, in his request to Poseidon, which he framed in a *do ut des* reciprocal statement, mentions:

τί κέ τις ἀνώνυμον
γῆρας ἐν σκότῳ καθήμενος ἔψοι μάταν,
ἀπάντων καλῶν ἄμμορος;

(O. 1.82-85)

Why should anyone sitting in darkness boil in a nameless old age in vain without a share of all fine things?

The youth finishes his address by stating that he is ready for the contest (ἄεθλος) before him and the prize he ought to get from it. He asks why one would want to be a man

⁴⁶ Tuan 1980, 463 refers to these objects as artworks. As a type of special artifact, they are able to avoid being folded into the mundane.

⁴⁷ Diotima's speech in the *Symposium*, while dealing with immortality in a slightly different context and without mentioning athletes, is relevant to this discussion. She tells Socrates that humans value their offspring (biological immortality). It is the next form of immortality that reflects issues discussed here. A desire for immortality drives humankind; there are those concerned with honor and κλέος ἐς τὸν αἰὲν χρόνον ἀθάνατον (208c.5-6). These people are willing to risk everything for that purpose with their prime motivator being ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ τοιαύτης δόξης εὐκλεοῦς (208d.7-8). Diotima places these in the category of men pregnant in mind. She goes on to say that those who leave behind products from this "birth" received cults as a result of their deeds (ἔργα) and *aretē*, something never stemming from biological offspring (ὧν καὶ ἱερὰ πολλὰ ἤδη γέγονε διὰ τοὺς τοιοῦτους παῖδας, διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπινους οὐδενός πω, 209e.3-4). In this part of her speech, the love for immortality motivates men, especially those pregnant in mind, to channel their output into immortal "children" just as athletes competed and left something behind for all time.

without glory, an idea suggested by the darkness (σκότω), a common Pindaric image.⁴⁸

Unlike the generic τις, Pelops is eager to enter a contest and get glory. No one will speak of the man in Pelops' question since he rages in old age without any name to support his memory. Without acting to gain *kleos*, a man is doomed to the eternal oblivion of darkness, unnamed and unremembered. Since glory is the key to immortality, we can begin to examine how it was articulated in statues and odes, and some outcomes of portraying *kleos* in this way.

Let us begin with statues. Early statues (sixth century BCE) followed the form of nude archaic kouroi figures with their stiff poses and symbolic style.⁴⁹ In this early period, there was not much difference in representation between athletic victors, heroes, and gods. The connection was so similar that sculptors used various attributes to distinguish gods from men.⁵⁰ W.W. Hyde, in his thorough survey of victor statues, notes the connection between statues of Apollo and early athletic figures. This "Apollo" type, as he calls it, can refer both to the athlete and the god, who is one of the three often associated with athletics and the gymnasium—Hermes and Heracles being the other two.⁵¹ The fact that, formally, statues of gods and victorious athletes looked the same should not come as a surprise when we take into consideration that, "the statues of

⁴⁸ Segal 1981, 75-81 explores the dark and light imagery in comparison to glory.

⁴⁹ Gardiner 1930, 59; Smith 2007, 89-91. Smith 2007 labels Archaic art as symbolic in contrast to the realistic approach to Classical art.

⁵⁰ Waldstein 1880, 168-69.

⁵¹ Hyde 1921, 71, 88-89, 337.

athletes had become memorials of personal glory,⁵² as Hyde states, and that through glory the athlete achieved immortality, a state indicative of the gods. What better way to allude to a man's everlasting glory than to portray him in a way similar to the gods? The archaic visual representation of the athlete contributed to the immortality of his *kleos*.

Despite the rather static nature of early statues, they represented the athlete as victorious, at the point when he had finally achieved his *kleos*. Much like a photograph of a modern Olympic athlete on the medal podium, the statue presented the victor with his honor, praise, and glory, each at its zenith. His victory, a direct result of his *aretē*, made him the perfect specimen of a Greek athlete. This displayed his physical beauty at full bloom as well. The desirability of the figure would not have been lost on the ancient viewer, further making him a man to be remembered. The statue, representing him at the peak of his glory, showed that the athlete was not only victorious, but also sexually desirable.⁵³ This was the image with which the viewer would be left; the athlete was worth remembering because he was represented as victorious and beautiful.

Viewers were vital to maintaining the memory of the victory by looking at the statue and recognizing the importance of the athlete and his glory. They became the intermediary figures in the preservation of the glory. Much as the statue was necessary to physically manifest the glory of the athlete, the viewer became the next agent in the dissemination of the memory. All the symbolic capital (*aretē*, *timē*, and *kleos*) had to be

⁵² Hyde 1921, 40.

⁵³ Steiner 1998, 133. This article deftly examines the erotic aspects of victor statues.

read by the viewer, who then could perpetuate the athlete's accomplishment. The signs residing in the statue needed an audience in order to complete their purpose.

Inscriptions on the base of the statue certainly assisted in this process of preservation. As mentioned previously, the distinction between athletes and gods or heroes often was difficult to ascertain visually, at least without athletic accoutrements.⁵⁴ This held true even for later statues that depicted victors in active poses where the similarities to divine statues would have been less apparent.⁵⁵ A typical inscription included the victor's name, patronymic, city, and the event won.⁵⁶ Here are two examples. The first comes from a limestone pillar from the mid-sixth century and the second was inscribed on a base for a statue of a youth from around 450-460 BCE.

Ἄριστις με ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Κρονίονι Φά|νακτι
 πανκράτιο|ν νικῶν τετράκις | ἐν Νεμέαι
 Φείδο|νος Φιὸς τῷ Κλεο|ναίῳ.

(CEG 362)

Aristis dedicated me to leader Zeus, son of Cronos,
 since he was victorious in the pankration four times at Nemea,
 son of Pheidon of Cleonae.

πύ[κ]τα[ς] τόνδ' ἀνέθεκε|ν ἀπ' εὐδόξιο [Κ]υνί|σκος
 Μαν[τ]ινέας νικῶν | πατρός ἔχον ὄνομα.

(CEG 383)

⁵⁴ Gardiner 1930, 61. This holds true even in distinguishing gods from one another. Archaic gods needed accoutrements in order for the viewer to identify them (Waldstein 1880, 168-69).

⁵⁵ As Hyde 1921 remarks, it is difficult to know for certain when athletic statues began to "move." His two classifications (at rest or in motion) present us with no difference in easier identification of the individual; that will always be unknown without the inscription. Athletic statues are easier to attribute when it comes to statues in motion, since theirs will suggest a particular event, usually with some athletic equipment pertinent to the victor's event (171).

⁵⁶ Smith 2007, 103.

Cyniscus, a boxer from famous Mantinea, dedicated this (statue) since he was victorious, having his father's name.

All the information provided permits viewers, at least those with a minimal level of literacy, to recognize the athlete. In the case of the youth's statue, the pose or other boxing attributes will help place the figure in a particular event, but the victor's identity depends upon the inscription. Not only does the inscription provide the name of the athlete, but it also proclaims his glory. Viewers learn the event he won, the reason for erecting the object, and whence his glory comes.

The significance of the statue depended, in some respect, upon words and a viewer.⁵⁷ Without this inscription, the individual's glory would be lost. The viewer could recognize it as a statue commemorating an athletic victory, but whose glory it represented would be forgotten. As Yi-Fu Tuan states, "Words are necessary to sustain the potency of a visual symbol."⁵⁸ Likewise, without the viewer who had the ability to continue the *kleos* of the athlete by reporting it, the inscription was powerless.⁵⁹ Each time a viewer stopped to look at the statue and read the inscription, the glory of the victor would be renewed through the viewer's engagement with the memory preserved in the image and words.⁶⁰

Victory odes use the *topos* that songs have the ability to overcome oblivion and preserve glory through light imagery. Pindar describes the ability of *aretē* to endure as a

⁵⁷ Tuan 1980, 466.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 467.

⁵⁹ Steiner 1998, 145.

⁶⁰ Kurke 1993, 146.

quality dependent upon songs illustrious in nature, κλεινοῦς ἀοιδῶν (*Pythian* 3.114). Pindar’s darkness motif representing the oblivion of forgetfulness—seen earlier in the passage of the man seething in darkness—cannot last when confronted with the image of light that permeates his poetry. Like *Olympian* 1’s fire, which stands out in the night, or the pyre for the Heraclids (*Isthmian* 4.65-66), victory odes pierce through the darkness carrying the glory of the athlete with them, thus preventing his *kleos* from fading from memory.⁶¹ Much like their statuary counterparts, odes have a very strong connection to memory.

The memory preserved in epinician odes needs to be represented as true. There is a concern with using true songs in order to immortalize the victor and his glory.⁶² Bacchylides frames the debt of praise within the framework of truth (σὺν ἀλα- | θείᾳ δὲ πᾶν λάμπει χρέος, *Ode* 8.20-21). As Segal suggests, ἀλήθεια (“truth”) bridges the past—the athlete’s victory—to the future, overcoming oblivion with a κλέος ἄφθιτον.⁶³ Truth mattered to Hesiod in his works, and he invoked the help of the Muses who had the ability to make a man sing false or true songs (*Theogony* 27-28). The epinician poets, realizing the importance of truth, either stressed true songs or looked to goddesses for help. *Ode* 1 by Bacchylides invoked Clio, while Pindar acknowledged that the Muses enjoyed singing of great contests (*Nemean* 1.11-12).⁶⁴ Here, Pindar took Hesiod’s truth-telling Muses and made them eager to sing of contests (ἀέθλων), thereby establishing

⁶¹ Kantzios 2004, 111.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 112

⁶³ Segal 1985, 200.

⁶⁴ *Nemean* 1.11-12: μεγάλων δ’ ἀέθλων | Μοῖσα μεμνᾶσθαι φιλεῖ.

contests as vehicles for conveying truth over time. He further bolstered this connection by calling Olympia the δέσποινα ἄλαθείας (“mistress of truth”) in *Olympian* 8.2. Pindar created a new marker for truth, and anyone who won at the games would be part of it. The victor is a worthy subject for song because of his relationship to truth. *Kleos* garnered from his athletic victory rings true and ought to be preserved. With truth, praise can and must be sung for the sake of memory.

While Pindar claims, with the help of the Muse, that he speaks the truth, and to some extent he does, we must remember that the truth Pindar espouses is actually “truth” as he shapes it. Surely, he is commemorating events that really did happen, but Pindar has been hired to create these poems. Pindar relies on “truth” to divert attention from the fact that he is working for profit, which had associations with deceit.⁶⁵ Instead of expressing various negative aspects associated with poetry for profit, Segal states, “Pindar’s art (as he asserts) serves a single, permanent goal,”⁶⁶ in this case, Truth. Pindar casts the victor in a flattering way despite the lack of truthfulness in the representation. Truth becomes Pindar’s guard against falsity by connecting truth with the divine. In other words, truth becomes a rhetorical tool for Pindar to legitimize his work.

Time also plays an important role in victory odes. The purpose of erecting a statue is to have a physical reminder that will last, something that the ode cannot replicate.⁶⁷ Instead, the poet must use ideas such as truth and time to remind the audience that the glory of the athlete should be remembered. Bacchylides’ *Ode* 3, despite gaps in the text,

⁶⁵ Segal 1986, 66.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁶⁷ Smith 2007, 92.

presents a man's *aretē* as something that does not die with the body, but is increased by the Muses, and by extension, song (90-93).⁶⁸ Despite the transitory nature of our physical being, time cannot vanquish a man's excellence. Pindar portrays time as the ultimate arbitrator of a man's future glory. Since truthful memory must be the preserver of *kleos*, Pindar states, ὁ τ' ἐξελέγχων μόνος | ἀλάθειαν ἐτήτυμον | χρόνος ("the only one who puts genuine truth to the test is time," *Olympian* 10.53-55). The enjambment of χρόνος emphasizes that only time can tell whose glory will remain. Time and truth are vital poetic methods for the continuation of the memory of a man's *kleos*.

This connection to memory once again places us within the dialogue of immortality, this time with cultic allusions. Poetry mediates between mortals and the divine in part by association with cult and ritual.⁶⁹ These epinician odes would have been performed in a public celebration upon the victor's return home. With this performance came other festival aspects such as those mentioned in *Ode* 3 by Bacchylides (15-16).⁷⁰ The victor's return was a cause for celebration, which had events nearly identical to those for festival days devoted to the gods. The *kleos* of the athlete, the song, and the festival temporarily lifted the victor to the position of the divine through cult practices.⁷¹ The lines between mortal and immortal became blurred through ritual and song. We must see

⁶⁸ ἀρετᾶ[ς γε μ]ὲν οὐ μινύθει | βροτῶν ἅμα σ[όμα]τι φέγγος, ἀλλὰ | Μοῦσά νιν τρ[έφει].

⁶⁹ Segal 1981, 79.

⁷⁰ This ode provides the image of sacrificial animals, which provided meat for all those attending the festival activities, piled upon altars.

⁷¹ Kantzios 2004, 114; Segal 1981, 81.

epinician odes as part of those rites, another medium through which the *kleos* of the athlete enters into the realm of immortality.

The epinician presentation of cultic immortality finds expression in mythic examples. *Isthmian* 4 uses comparisons to execute this. Unlike Heracles, Ajax could not achieve physical immortality: he was not the son of Zeus. Since his life was cut short through suicide, Ajax' excellence needed a medium in order to maintain it. Homer became the vessel that transmitted the corrected honor (ὀρθώσας ἀρετάν) of Ajax throughout the world (35-39).⁷² The cultic rites performed for the Heraclids demonstrated that, despite being the offspring of Heracles, they were mortal beings whose bodies could not last for eternity. Piercing through the dark night, the pyre with offerings metaphorically preserved the *kleos* of the dead with its flames wafting to the heavens, symbolically permitting them to enter the ranks of the immortals.⁷³ The conventions of the epinician song allow these images to allude to the “immortality” of mortal men and establish them as figures in cult rites. While these two examples do not involve athletic figures, their appearance in victory odes and their use by Pindar sets them up as models for athletic immortality.

Aspects of athletic commemoration also correspond to cult practice, all of which tie into the preservation of the victor's *kleos*. The similarity of athletic victor statues to those of the gods no doubt reminded the viewer of cult statues. In fact, the athlete, his family, or his home polis erected victor statues as a dedication—the verb most often used

⁷² Pindar goes on to say, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἔρπει, | εἴ τις εὖ εἴπη τι (40-41).

⁷³ Segal 1981, 77-81.

in inscriptions was ἀνέθηκε—for the victory.⁷⁴ Viewers would return to the statues dedicated at Olympia or other sites every time the games convened at a predetermined date and time, just as with rituals. Through the viewing of the statues, the remembrance of the past and the continuation of memory through the present ensured the future life of the athlete and his *kleos*. Songs achieved the same result, because their very reason for existence was to recall a past victory for those in the present. Epinician odes created a link with the past by recalling the victorious ancestors of the living athlete. Here was a way for the living to contact the dead, or even the gods, through the medium of song. As Segal suggests, Pindar, in a vivid analogy, offers up his poems as libations (*Olympian* 6.91 and 7.1-11; *Isthmian* 6.1-3).⁷⁵

These items of commemoration closely parallel the reality of hero cults focused around athletes. The increase of hero cults, particularly those of athletes, appears to be a phenomenon of the late sixth and early fifth centuries BCE (the formative years of Greek athletics).⁷⁶ This connection between athlete and cult is not random; moreover, all the *stephanitic* games have a mythic origin in hero cults.⁷⁷ Often an archetypal story

⁷⁴ Whether or not these statues are votive offerings is debated in Hyde 1921, 38-39. Hyde suggests that early victory statues were not votive, but instead were property of the gods in whose area they were erected. He does note that this is not the case by the time Pausanias visited Greece in the second century CE. Pausanias delineates between statues dedicated to gods and those which were awarded to victors (οἱ δὲ ἀνδριάντες τῶν νικῶντων ἐν ἄθλου λόγῳ σφίσι καὶ οὗτοι δίδονται 5.21.1). Rouse 1902 suggests that they were most likely votives, particularly those erected in the victor's home *polis* (168). This debate supports the idea of the ambiguity inherent in many victor statues. The statues suggest divine and human at the same time, not surprising due to the anthropomorphic nature of their gods, but an important observation nonetheless.

⁷⁵ Segal 1985, 208.

⁷⁶ Lattimore 1988, 252. For example, Herodotus 5.47 mentions the cult of Philippos of Coton: διὰ δὲ τῷ ἑωυτοῦ κάλλος ἠνείκαστο παρὰ Ἐγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἠρώϊον ἰδρυσάμενοι θυσίῃσι αὐτὸν ἰλάσκονται.

surrounded athletic hero cult. These stories consisted of some wrong done to the honor of a victor or his statue.⁷⁸ In these stories, statues of the victors play an important role—the troubles resulting from dishonoring the victor are not usually resolved until the statue is respected. The pairing of word and image in cult seems to have been used to assist in the process of preserving the memory of the athletic victor, as with statue and epigram, or in the formation of a cult involving an athlete. Even Cleobis and Biton, described as ἀεθλοφόροι (“prize bearers”), were remembered in both story and statue, as told in Herodotus 1.31.2-5.⁷⁹ This close connection of statue and story should come as no surprise since both were heading towards the same goal. They were works commissioned to celebrate a victor.

Although epinician odes and statues preserve the victorious athlete, it is in their execution that a strained relationship forms. In fact, there seems to be contention over which is the better form of commemoration. Pindar began his *Nemean 5* by slyly denigrating the craft of ἀνδριαντοποιοί (“statue-makers”). He denies that he is of that profession, one that creates static works unable to move from their bases. Instead, his

⁷⁷ Currie 2005, 57.

⁷⁸ Fontenrose 1968 lists the similarities between the stories of four famous athletes who became objects of hero cults: Kleomedes, Guthykses, Oibotas, and Theagenes. All these accounts somehow involve the harming of the athlete’s honor. Another important theme is the victor statue and the power it sometimes possesses. See also Currie 2005, 130-133.

⁷⁹ The brothers, besides being athletic victors, perform a feat of great strength by pulling the wagon in order for their mother to reach the festival for Hera on time. Their action can be cast in an athletic light where they are competing on course, not against others, but time itself. As they cross the “finish” line, they are surrounded by the townspeople, and received the praise of the men. With their mother pleased with her sons, she asked the goddess to give her sons τὸ ἀνθρώπων τυχεῖν ἄριστον ἔσται (1.31.4). The nature of their fate without a doubt produces a κλέος ἄφθιτον and makes them immortal. Dying in the temple, the men are commemorated with statues at Delphi, a Panhellenic site with the potential to reach a wide audience, who then can spread the brothers’ *kleos* throughout the Greek world. Cleobis and Biton, despite all of their other accolades, garnered this honor ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων γενομένων (1.31.5).

work is active, ready to leave on any vessel departing from Aegina (2-3).⁸⁰ Segal sees Pindar's description of mobile words as a way to explore the idea that, by their very nature, words, unlike statues, can be used to examine deeper issues. Statues stand on their bases like lumps of bronze unable to discuss moral issues, or say much of anything. Much like Pindar, Segal portrays statues as less ambiguous forms of commemoration, something steady and permanent and only accessible to those who travel to specific locations where the statues have been erected.⁸¹ Their manifestation does allot them something that song cannot: a physical presence. Plastic commemorations locate the memory of an athletic victory in a specific place, thus creating a *permanent* visual reminder of the *kleos*, at least until it wears away. Epinician odes, for all their complexities and nuances, cannot be molded into any solid form.

The shortcomings in each of the commemorations do not make one better than the other; instead, they utilize each other's conventions to enhance their commemorative function. Earlier, we saw how statues and epigrams worked together to identify the athlete. Similar information on statuary inscriptions also appeared in epinician odes. Granted, their presentation is not as straightforward as those on statue bases, but the same data is used. Since the intended audience of the epinician ode knew for whom the poem was written, Pindar, Bacchylides, or other poets did not have to present the victor's statistics in the same way as the craftsman chiseling the inscription. Fellow residents

⁸⁰ Pindar's word choices here illustrate this dichotomy later scholars seem to accentuate. Segal notes that ἐλινύσσοντα, ἑσταότα, and the intensive αὐτᾶς all emphasize the immovability of statues in comparison to the movement granted to his γλυκεῖα ἀοιδά. The poet uses στειῖχε and διαγγέλλοισα to illustrate the movement capable by his words. They, unlike statues, can spread the news of a victory through space.

⁸¹ Segal 1974, 401-402, 409. He notes, "The changelessness of stone is not the fitting vehicle for the complex image of human reality which the poet has to depict" (410-411).

cheered on the hometown victor, so that information was less necessary, but was still important in order to fully preserve the athlete's glory. Only when the text set sail, as *Nemean 5* suggests, did the details of the victory play a more prominent role for the audience. This helped the listener understand the subject of the poem and associate the subject with a specific victory in the same way an inscription did for a statue.⁸² For example, here is Bacchylides' *Ode 6*:

Λάχων Διὸς μεγίστου
 λάχε φέρτατον πόδεσσι
 κῦδος ἐπ' Ἄλφειοῦ προχοαῖσ[ι νικῶν,
 δι' ὅσσα πάροιθεν
 ἀμπελοτρόφον Κέον
 ἄεισάν ποτ' Ἰολυμπία
 πύξ τε καὶ στάδιον κρατεῦ-
 σαν] στεφάνοις ἐθείρας
 νεανίαι βρῦοντες.
 σὲ δὲ νῦν ἀναξιμόλπου
 Οὐρανίας ὕμνος ἕκατι νίκ[ας
 Ἄριστομένειον
 ὦ ποδάνεμον τέκος,
 γεραίρει προδόμοις ἀοι-
 दाῖς, ὅτι στάδιον κρατή-
 σας Κέον εὐκλέϊξας.

Lachon has obtained the best *kudos* from greatest Zeus with his feet along the outpouring of Alpheus [the victories] through which young men whose heads were abounding with crowns previously have sung of vine-nurturing Ceos having won at Olympia in boxing and the foot race. Now, on account of victory, the hymn of Urania, queen of song, honors you, son of Aristomenes, swift as the wind, in songs before your house because having won the foot race you have brought *kleos* to Ceos.

This shorter ode provides the name, the event (foot race), the location (mentioned twice: by Alpheus and Olympia), and the athlete's home *polis*, Ceos. For the original audience,

⁸² Steiner 1993, 172.

these data were not needed, so they unfold slowly without the rapid progress indicative of victory epigrams. Bacchylides places the listener within the celebration by his use of the present verb, γερáρει. Lachon's victory was in the past, both within the narrative and grammatically, but the praise continues into the present as the ὕμνος offers honor for the athlete. Epinician odes use, yet adapt, the epigraphic identification strongly associated with victor statues, as Bacchylides' *Ode 6* shows.

Odes also have the listener rely on visual aspects seemingly more apt for statues. Deborah Tarn Steiner's work, *Images in Mind: Statues in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature and Thought*, responds to Pindar's comment that statues are stationary objects of commemoration. Steiner posits that poetry actually borrowed imagery from statues, which added a visual aspect to its representation. Although the odes of Pindar could travel far and wide, they did benefit from the visual reality of plastic monuments. Words used by Pindar, such as *kosmos* ("ornament"), *agalma* (here, "statue"), and *kalliston* ("most beautiful") allow him to suggest visual objects. These words create an image that then forges a physical monument in the mind of the viewer. As the process of visualization transpires in the audience's mind, the mentally created monument must compete with other stimuli, much as the row of victory statues inundates the visitor at the various athletic compounds. The image, whether physical or mental, must catch the eye in order for the viewer to stop, admire the work, and continue the process of commemoration.⁸³ Word and image work together to make the victor's achievement

⁸³ Steiner 2001, 259-262. Francis 2009 also explores the relationship between text and image. For the Greeks, both the visual and verbal are limited in their abilities, but rely on each other. Francis states, "without the image, the words would lose their meaning and purpose" (11). The audience of any epinician ode became a viewer since words express the visual (7).

stand apart, making his “statue” worthy of note, and ultimately continuing the *kleos* he won in his event.

In his effort, Pindar becomes a monument maker, despite his claims otherwise. Steiner notes that Pindar begins *Pythian 7* by laying a foundation upon which the rest of his song can build.⁸⁴ In *Nemean 8*, Pindar notes the relative ease with which he can erect a Muse’s stone monument to the deceased Megas (46-48). Since he presents the athlete at his moment of glory, “Pindar has taken the athlete’s body and displayed it in the manner of an *agalma* bound to delight those who play audience to his piece.”⁸⁵ He molds the victor in order to create an image for the listener, an image of a man at his peak of his glory and beauty, as discussed earlier. The statue maker and Pindar both sculpt the athlete into an idealized figure onto which his *kleos* can be placed. Once again, epinician poetry borrows aspects from victor statues in order to bolster the athlete and his achievement.

Whether or not statues are a better form of commemoration than odes is a moot point; what matters is their reciprocal relationship. Words and image, while they articulate commemoration in two different spheres of materiality, actually benefit when they build upon each other. A certain level of commonality occurs, as Steiner notes: “the power of words to generate images and of representations to embody words.”⁸⁶

Commissioned for the same reason, poets planted their works in the visual and ἀνδριαντοποιοί (“statue makers”) used words to label their permanent works of

⁸⁴ Steiner 2001, 261. Κάλλιστον αἰ μεγαλόπολιες Ἀθᾶναι | προοίμιον Ἀλκμανιδᾶν εὐρυσθενεῖ γενεᾷ | κρηπιδ’ ἀοιδᾶν | ἵπποισι Βαλέσθαι (1-4). *Krēpis* is the focus of Steiner’s interpretation.

⁸⁵ Steiner 1998, 139.

⁸⁶ Steiner 2001, 293.

commemoration. Both make the man something worth remembering.⁸⁷ As an object of aesthetic pleasure, his figure becomes an adornment for his *polis*, including the *kleos* embodied in the statue. Therefore, the mutual exchange of imagery between the two, and the conventions of each medium, strengthen their intended purpose: the maintaining and continuation of the victor's *kleos*.

Pelops in *Olympian* 1 provides a final example of a mortal who achieved immortality through his athletic achievement. Having won the first Olympic chariot race, Pelops became a great leader whose glory continued on long after his death.

νῦν δ' ἐν αἵμακουρίαις
 ἀγλαῖσι μέμικται,
 Ἄλφειοῦ πόρῳ κλιθεῖς,
 τύμβον ἀμφίπολον ἔχων πολυξενωτάτῳ παρὰ
 βωμῷ. τὸ δὲ κλέος
 τηλόθεν δέδορκε τᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἐν δρόμοις
 Πέλοπος, ἵνα ταχυτάς ποδῶν ἐρίζεται
 ἀκμαί τ' ἰσχύος θρασύπονοι·
 ὁ νικῶν δὲ λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βίον
 ἔχει μελιτόεσσαν εὐδίαν
 ἀέθλων γ' ἔνεκεν.

(*Olympian* 1.90-99)

Now he has been mixed in splendid blood sacrifices, reclining along the ford of Alpheus, possessing a frequented tomb beside an altar visited by many guests. The *kleos* of Olympian festivals gleams in the races of Pelops from afar, where swiftness of foot and bold toil of strength at its zenith contend. The victor, around his remaining life, has honey-sweet calm so far as the games provide it.

Pindar situates the audience in a specific spot where the memory can be located and recalled. While there is no statue in Pelops' likeness, he does have an altar as a

⁸⁷ "Like poems, the statues describe the personal excellence and superiority that achieved victory and justified a permanent memorial" (Smith 2007, 103).

physical reminder. The *kleos* in the poem shines forth like polished bronze for all to see. His use of the light metaphor allows the glory of the games to catch our eye and escape the dark oblivion of forgetting. Men at the top of their physical prowess—perfect models for statues—are competing for *kleos*. The use of the middle ἐρίζεται reflects the idea that these events are not for the joy of the sport, but for the chance of gaining *kleos*.⁸⁸ We are also reminded of the mortality of the athlete, for his days will be tranquil only as long as he lives. After his death, Pelops' glory will be kept alive through cult practice. The blood libations and visitors to the tomb have promoted this mortal victor to the domain of a hero or a god. Most importantly, a song has preserved this memory for the sake of continuing its life long after the subject of the account is dead.

Athletic competition provided a Greek athlete with more than physical activity. Competing in an event or entering a team of horses for the chariot races allowed a Greek male the chance to gain *kleos* by winning his event. Since the athlete had achieved something of note, he could commemorate the deed to let others know of it. It was through acts of commemoration, particularly victory odes and statues, that the memory of the athlete and his glory had the potential to remain long after his death. For a mortal man to stand out from the darkness of oblivion, he needed glory: *kleos* arising from his *aretē* exhibited in athletic contests. Both epinician odes and victor statues preserved the glory of the victor. From the manifestation of his *kleos* either in epinician odes or victor statues,

⁸⁸ Gerber 1982, 148 agrees with Gildersleeve 1899 that this verb should be taken as a middle and not a passive. Gildersleeve 1899 defines this verb as “the middle of reciprocal action, as if we had πόδες ταχέϊς ἐρίζονται” (137).

the athlete gained immortality. In doing so, the poet and the sculptor made the man immortal much as hero cults preserved the glory of a mortal hero.

Song had the ability to preserve the truthful glory of a man. Truth, at least the truth used as a rhetorical device by Pindar, allowed the memory of the victor to overcome the power of oblivion, a threat to the *kleos* of the athlete. By creating odes entrenched in truth that came from the divine, such as from the Muses, Pindar framed the victory as an event which not only was a necessary remembrance, but also one that could stand the ravages of time. The imagery utilized by Pindar portrayed the glory of victor as a blazing fire in the night, and, like the flames licking the sky, the victor could metaphorically ascend to the realm of the immortal gods, preserved with κλέος ἄφθιτον. Pindar's imagery also created allusions to cult practices, thus furthering the preservation of the athlete's memory. A few athletic victors did receive hero cult status, which placed them in the same ranks as mythical heroes such as Heracles. This comparison enhanced the glory and the immortality of the victor.

Statues could confer immortality on the athlete. Like odes, statues also aligned the athlete to cult practices. The similarities between early victor statues and those of the gods blurred the lines, at least artistically, between the human and divine. An athlete commissioned a statue in order to have a permanent embodiment of his *kleos*, but the form could not stand alone, as with the epinician odes. Without the label providing the athlete's name, patronymic, and the event won, his glory would be lost: the statue would just represent an unknown figure. The pairing of word and image was necessary in order to maintain the memory of the victor. The relationship between image and word played a

role in the formation of victory odes as well. In some of his poems, Pindar used the information found in the statuary epigrams, but adapted it for stylistic reasons. The pairing of word and image only increased the chances of survival of the victor and his *kleos*.

The remaining chapters discuss the acts of commemoration that originate from another type of *agon* in Greek life: war. Victory in battle offered Greek male citizens the chance to gain *aretē*, which garnered them eternal memory much as the athlete's victory did.⁸⁹ The subjects of commemoration become broader, as individuals receive praise as a collective unit. The singular nature of athletic competition, at least in the *stephanitic* games, now gives way to a cohesive fighting corps organized to protect the city from outside aggressors. With the soldiers' victory, the *polis* also obtains glory since the soldiers fought, possibly losing their lives, for the city. In fact, the praise seems to flow more freely for those who gave their lives during the course of battle. While the athletic victor himself hired craftsmen, either of odes or statues, the men commemorated in these last two chapters received their glory only after their death. Their home *polis* doles out the funds for commemorative monuments or issues the praise for its soldier citizens. Despite the change in venue from the *stadion* to the battlefield, there will be similar approaches to commemoration and the formation of an eternal memory. First, our attention shall turn to a battle that was decisive, at least in the minds of the Athenian victors, the one which took place at Marathon during the Persian Wars. This battle receives focus because of the change in how the Athenians commemorated it in the years

⁸⁹ The similarities between athletics and warfare go beyond the acquiring of *aretē*. See Pritchard 2009 for further examples.

after the battle. Originally, the forms of commemoration reflected traditional archaic practices, but starting in the 460s and after, the Athenians began using the battle and its representations to illustrate and assert their political power.

CHAPTER II

MEMORIES OF MARATHON

In the year 490 BCE, the invading Persian army engaged Greek forces consisting of Athenians and their ally, the Plataeans from Boeotia, on the plain of Marathon in Attica. Herodotus recounted the battle that ended in a victory for the Athenians and Plataeans in the sixth book of his *Histories* (102-117).⁹⁰ The defeat of a much larger army provided Athenians the opportunity to preserve a shining moment in the history of their *polis*. Actions taken right after the battle ensured that the battle site would stay in the memory of the citizens and the city. Accustomed monuments of victory and the burial of the war dead took place at the plain of Marathon, and these both altered the physical landscape and brought about conceptual changes in the minds of those visiting the site. By piling up the very earth of the site to construct a burial mound, the typical burial for war dead in this period, the Athenians' alteration of the landscape made their deceased soldiers a part of the location. The construction of a *tropaion* ("trophy") on the spot of the enemy's rout was another measure often undertaken by a victorious army. As a result of these changes, visitors to the site recognized that something worth remembering happened there. By increasing the sacred nature of the battlefield, later cult practices also influenced how the site was viewed. While the forms of commemoration at Marathon

⁹⁰ Schreiner 2004 and Mackenzie 1934 provide further descriptions of the battles.

were not all that unusual for battle site honors, they did mark out the space as a place deserving to be remembered.

Initial commemorations helped preserve the battle, but it was the actions taken some time afterwards that really allowed the war dead and the memory of the battle to exist into posterity. Rites and offerings for the dead in the burial mound, or *soros*, placed the dead in the realm of hero cult, but only after the *polis* granted them this honor. The cremated soldiers became objects of cult just as a victorious athlete did with the formation of or the allusion to cult practices. Every soldier in the *soros* received this honor since all the soldiers' names were inscribed on stelai atop the mound. At home, the battle of Marathon was linked to other great battles, battles carried out in the distant past of myth. This change, beginning in the 460s BCE, placed the battle and the war dead in the timeless narrative of myth, as it appears on the Stoa Poikile's mural, which depicts Marathon alongside the sack of Troy and the battle against the Amazons. The battle site even gained a new monument, a permanent marble *tropaion*, during this ideological reshaping of the battle, thereby shifting the site from one of temporary victory to that of an everlasting event in Athenian history. It was the reconfiguration of the battle site as a memorial and the change in interpretation of the battle that confirmed the immortality of the Battle of Marathon and the soldiers killed in the battle; and these actions made Marathon a complex *lieu de mémoire* whose meaning changed over time to fit the needs of the Athenians.

At Marathon, the *polis*, by marking a place with a monument or a memorial, preserved a triumph of its political and military strength. For the purposes of this chapter,

I shall use the term monument to refer to specific objects erected on the battle site, taking the term as Marita Sturken defines it: an anonymous object built to preserve a victory. Memorial will describe the battle site as a whole due to the names attached to it (i.e., the names on the stelai of the burial mound). The plain of Marathon, in antiquity, would have had names associated with the site; in order to provide clarity, I shall use Sturken's term memorial for the all the commemorations on the battlefield.⁹¹

Commemorations provide sites with a new intrinsic value, as they tie a memory to a physical location. The selection of a site, due to an important event occurring there, serves to maintain the glory attached to it. Herodotus wrote that in spite of their inferior number, the Athenians at Marathon fought the Persians in a manner worth preserving (ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου).⁹² Victory at Marathon offered the Athenians an opportunity to sustain a memory of an event outside of the borders of the *polis* by anchoring it to a physical location. Only those memories deemed important to the city-state had monuments and memorials created for them. This victory will be remembered by the society because it erected monuments and a memorial to preserve it.⁹³ Only a “commemorative vigilance,” a term used by Pierre Nora, on the part of the *polis* and its citizens could prevent the memory from fading as time advances.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Sturken 1991, 120-121.

⁹² 6.112.

⁹³ Mayo 1988, 72.

⁹⁴ Nora 1989, 12.

Before exploring the reconfiguration of the site and how the battle site was interpreted, it is necessary to visualize the location. Pausanias' account provides the most detailed ancient record of the layout of the battle site.

δῆμός ἐστι Μαραθῶν ἴσον τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέχων καὶ
 Καρύστου τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ· ταύτη τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἔσχον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ
 μάχη τε ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τινες ὡς ἀνήγοντο ἀπώλεσαν τῶν νεῶν.
 τάφος δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ στήλαι τὰ ὀνόματα
 τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκάστων ἔχουσαι, καὶ ἕτερος
 Πλαταιεῦσι Βοιωτῶν καὶ δούλοις...καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶν ἰδίᾳ μνῆμα
 Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος... πεποιήται δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον λίθου λευκοῦ.
 (Pausanias 1.32.3-5)

There is a *dēmos*, Marathon, that is an equal distance away from the *polis* of Athens and the *polis* of Carystus in Euboea. At this location in Attica, the barbarians landed, were conquered in battle, and lost some of their ships as they sailed away. There is, on the plain, a tomb of the Athenians on top of which stelai had the names of all the dead according to their tribes. There was another tomb for the Plataeans of Boeotia and slaves...and there is a memorial for a man, Miltiades, son of Cimon, in a separate place...and a *tropaion* of white stone has been made.

Although Pausanias visited Greece in the second century CE, his account is still used to understand the site in the period after the battle in the fifth century BCE.⁹⁵ The trophy of white stone—a replacement for an earlier version erected right after the battle—and possibly the monument to Miltiades were not immediate additions to the landscape, but the mounds certainly would have been.⁹⁶

While a typical burial for the dead at the site of the battle, the Marathon *soros* had some unique characteristics compared to other mounds from that period. The standard

⁹⁵ E.g. Jacoby 1944; Hammond 1968; West III 1969; Schreiner 2004.

⁹⁶ The monument to Miltiades certainly was a presence at the site, but since most secondary sources (e.g., Vanderpool 1966; Hammond 1968) mention it in passing, I will not focus attention on it.

nature of the Marathon burial seems at odds with Thucydides' comment in the second book of his history of the Peloponnesian War, particularly if taken at face value.⁹⁷

καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πλήν γε τοὺς ἐν
Μαραθῶνι· ἐκείνων δὲ διαπρεπῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναντες αὐτοῦ καὶ
τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν.

(2.34.5)

They [the Athenians] always bury those from wars in this place [the Kerameikos, where the public cemetery is] except those at Marathon. They made their tomb there since they determined the *aretē* of those men was distinguished.

Despite Thucydides' assertion otherwise, *polyandria* burial on the battlefield was the most common Hellenic burial practice, and certainly for the Athenians at the time of the Persian Wars.⁹⁸ The three features of this group burial uncovered by archaeologists made the tomb of the Athenians very similar in construction to those from the seventh and early sixth centuries, when cremation was the predominate treatment for the body, although the Plataeans and the slaves were not cremated.⁹⁹ A mound of dirt covered a cremation tray

⁹⁷ Here, Thucydides blurs the line between historical fact and his presentation of events. He provides an example of soldiers who offered up their lives, the very thing he will later have Pericles state in his funeral oration as the source of praise for those who act in that way (2.43.2), thus supporting the message of the funeral oration with an example from the past. To be sure, there were other Athenian battlefield burials, Plataea for one (Herodotus 9.85), but as Haruo Konishi noted, "Thucydides' emphasis is not on the fact that the burial at Marathon was the only exception, but that that exception most clearly demonstrated the Athenians' respect for human virtue. Whether there were other battlefield burials or not was not his concern" (Konishi 1980, 35 n. 19). I agree to some extent with Konishi's conclusion, but in light of ideological changes explained later in this chapter, there might be some shaping of the truth to reflect the new presentation of Marathon. Simon Hornblower translates the phrase "only after the battle of Marathon," and notes the troublesome nature of the phrase due to the other examples of battlefield burial (Hornblower 1991, 294).

⁹⁸ Jacoby 1994, 42.

⁹⁹ Whitley 1994, 215-217; Morris 1987, 21; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 79-80 describes the process of building a mound and mentions the burial of the Plataeans and the slaves (247). Notopoulos 1941 discusses the status of the slaves buried at Marathon.

holding the ashes of the deceased soldiers (two of the three features).¹⁰⁰ The last of the three features was an external trench for the placement of offerings. The presence of the tray and the trench set Marathon apart from other battle site burials in the fifth century, for a mound typically had one but not the other.¹⁰¹ Also unique to the Marathon mounds were the stelai placed on top of the *soros* mentioned by Pausanias. Separately, many of the components of the burial were aligned with other *polyandria* burials of the fifth century, but, as a composite whole, the *soros* appears to be unique.

An important aspect of the mound's distinctive nature lies in its bridging two types of Athenian burials. The *soros* at Marathon stands at a transitional point in Athenian burial practices. As a burial mound, it shows that the Athenians had not yet given up the practice of battlefield burials, thus continuing an established tradition.¹⁰² While the *soros* follows archaic practices, the stelai atop the mound were similar to the casualty lists characteristic of Athens' public burials in the decades after the Persian Wars.¹⁰³ Once the Athenians began bringing their dead back home for public internment, casualty lists, which bore the names of the war dead by tribe as on the stelai at Marathon,

¹⁰⁰ According to McKenny Hughes 1901, instead of digging up one spot and then piling it back up, soil was gathered from the area. This explains the pottery, shells, stones from the nearby shoreline found in it. Early excavations discovered pieces of pottery dated by style to be years earlier than the battle in 490. With the process used to build the mound now understood to utilize soil from all over the site, the existence of these objects can be explained (133, 136).

¹⁰¹ By 600, trenches began to disappear from mound burial, making Marathon a bit of an anomaly (Whitley 1994, 216, 218).

¹⁰² Jacoby 1944, 43.

¹⁰³ While the general scholarly consensus makes public burial a uniquely Athenian practice (e.g. Kurtz and Boardman 108), finds in Megara and Boeotia suggests that other *poleis* had public burials, although not to the extent that the Athenians did. See Low 2003. Casualty lists first appear in stone in 465/4 or 464/3 (Jacoby 1944, 41), which corresponds with Pausanias' claim that the tomb for the dead at Drabeskos was the first public burial at Athens (Jacoby 1944, 48). For further discussion of dating public burials refer to Jacoby 1944.

stood in the Kerameikos, the section of Athens where public burial took place. The dead Athenian soldiers' tomb at the site of Marathon both looked back to customary archaic, and even earlier, burials and forward to the Demosion Sema.¹⁰⁴ This hybrid is intriguing, but the explanation could be as simple as James Whitley's conclusion that the Marathon *soros* "may represent nothing more than an attempt to create an imposing and durable monument, while at the same time trying to accommodate both half-remembering ancient practices and current forms of honoring the dead."¹⁰⁵

No matter where this *soros* fits in the timeline of Athenian burial, its main goal was to tie the dead to a battle whose memory it was important to preserve. This tomb, and the one containing the Plataeans and slaves, changed the landscape of the site through an artificially constructed mound, but in the process bound the dead with the site. More than just an addition to the plain, there existed a connection between the land and the dead; these soldiers would spend the rest of time embraced by the earth of Greece.¹⁰⁶ The dead were now bound symbolically to the site of Marathon, and the immortality of the battle, coming from the act of commemoration, could be linked to the dead through this association. The monument of their glory, gained through the victory, was manifested in the *soros* as a physical reminder for future generations. This brings to mind an epigram written by Simonides for those Spartans who died at Thermopylae.

¹⁰⁴ Whitley 1994, 213, 230.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 228.

¹⁰⁶ These soldiers have returned to the earth from which their ancestors were said to have sprung. Demosthenes, in his funeral oration, mentions the tracing of ancestors to the land itself (ἀλλ' εἰς ὅλην κοινῇ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πατρίδα, ἧς ἀπόχθονες ὁμολογοῦνται εἶναι, 60.4).

τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων
 εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἂ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος,
 βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόνων δὲ μνᾶστις, ὁ δ' οἶκτος ἔπαινος·
 ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον εὐρῶς
 οὔθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρῶσει χρόνος.
 ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὄδε σηκὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν
 Ἑλλάδος εἴλετο· μαρτυεῖ δὲ καὶ Λεωνίδαας,
 Σπάρτας Βασιλεύς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπῶς
 κόσμον ἀέναόν τε κλέος.

(PMG 531)

For those who died at Thermopylae
 Their fortune is illustrious, their destiny, beautiful. Their tomb is an altar,
 a remembrance instead of weeping, their pity, praise. Neither will decay
 nor all-subduing time obscure such a shroud. This burial place of good
 men took as an inhabitant the good reputation of Greece. Leonidas, king of
 Sparta, bears witness, having left behind both a great everlasting honor of
aretē and *kleos*.

Although Simonides wrote this epigram for a different battle, the work possesses many conceptual similarities to the burial at Marathon. The tomb stood as a reminder (μνᾶστις) of the end of these men. Their deaths were not to be seen as lamentable, but as illustrious (εὐκλεῆς) and beautiful (καλός). The poem, recalling Pindar's obsession with time, stated that even time itself would not cause the ἐντάφιον to fade away.¹⁰⁷ Since Leonidas performed a great action, despite participating in a crushing blow to the Greek forces, he left behind as his memory both *aretē* and *kleos*, much as the men who died at Marathon exhibited great excellence, this time with a victory, and offering their bodies to defend

¹⁰⁷ David Campbell, in his commentary (Campbell 1982) on this epigram, says, “ἐντάφιον, found here first, is used in the plural of funeral offerings at S. *El.* 326 and elsewhere, and the meaning ‘such an offering (to the dead)’ fits the present passage well. In later Greek it is used of winding-sheets (*A.P.* 11.125, anon.) or funeral expenses (*Plu. Arist.* 27)” (384). I agree with Podlecki's decision to use “shroud,” particularly because the imagery formed by translating its as “shroud” can be extended to the idea of the earth as the funerary wrap for the soldiers (Podlecki 1968, 262). The word, as Steiner suggests, most likely refers to the monument created by the song (Steiner 1999, 387).

Athens. A physical marker helped preserve the glory of the Marathon dead: the *soros*. The mound displayed their *aretē* and *kleos*, and attempted to maintain them through time.

Also helping to permanently conserve the memory of the dead were the stelai placed on the *soros*. Every individual killed in the battle had his name inscribed on one of the ten stelai placed on the mound, one for each of the tribes in Athens.¹⁰⁸ As the athlete had his name engraved for posterity, the *polis* of Athens preserved the names of men who performed a great deed on the stone stelai. They also identified the mound of dirt as a tomb filled with the remains of the war dead. The stelai by themselves would seem like nothing more than a list of men; with its “label” the *soros* was surely not confused with a natural feature of the landscape. The pairing of name and physical reminder bolstered the memory of the dead for the purpose of prolonging it.

Before the building of the stone trophy seen by Pausanias, the site most likely had a *tropaion* consisting of a stump covered with Persian armor. This *tropaion* is not the same one mentioned in Pausanias’ account (this monument will be discussed later). In order to construct a *tropaion*, the victors took the armor of a defeated soldier—helmet, shield, spear, greaves, maybe a *chiton* and a mantle—and nailed it to a pole or tree trunk.¹⁰⁹ Constructed as a thank-offering to the god who lent assistance, most often Zeus Tropaeus, the trophy marked the location where the enemy suffered its defeat: the point where the tide turned, literally and figuratively, as its Greek origin from the verb *τρέπω* explains.¹¹⁰ While William C. West III suggested that with the *tropaion* the focus was on

¹⁰⁸ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 112.

¹⁰⁹ Stroszeck 2004, 310-311. Another option was to pile shields into a small mound.

overcoming the enemy army, not the victory per se, the trophy helped evoke the memory of an enemy defeat for those visiting the site. By extension, the visitors might also recall the great victory performed by the Athenians, so both the enemy's defeat and Athenian victory could reside in the same monument.¹¹¹

Unlike the mounds, the *tropaion* was not meant to exist permanently, but it did help memorialize the event nonetheless. The perishable wood reflected West's synthesis of the ancient sources that a *tropaion* should be made of non-permanent material in order not to arouse jealousies or hatred from the victory, something a permanent memorial could do.¹¹² Thus, the ephemeral quality of the trophy paralleled the Greek idea of the uncertain and temporary nature of success in battle.¹¹³ So by its very nature, this *tropaion* seems to express commemoration in a manner contrary to the other forms previously discussed. While statues or the burial mound provided media for the continuation of the memory, the *tropaion* temporarily preserved the glory of the event. Despite this, the trophy still ensured that the battle survived in the mind of the viewer. Any time a visitor came to the battle site, as Jutta Stroszeck notes, "the visibility of the trophy was of

¹¹⁰ Stroszeck 2004, 309-310; West III 1969, 12-13. As such, they differ from victory anathems *dedicated* after the battle in sanctuaries (Stroszeck 2004, 305).

¹¹¹ West III 1969, 9, 12-13. In depictions of the erection of a *tropaion*, Nike, the winged figure of victory, either brings the weapons to the pole or affixes them to it (Stroszeck 2004, 312). This strengthens the association between a *tropaion* and victory, at least visually. The message of the *tropaion* is more complicated, as I suggest. While West III sees the *tropaion* as representing the enemy's rout, Tonio Hölscher describes it as "a monumental, celebratory sign of victory" (Hölscher 1998, 157). Regardless, the *tropaion* is a complex image that commemorates both the weakness of the enemy and the superiority of the victor.

¹¹² West III 1969, 9. West cites Cicero, *De. inv.* 2.23.69, Diodorus 13.24.5-6, and Plutarch *Mor.* 273 as his ancient sources. He also notes that neither Thucydides nor Xenophon mention the use of permanent building materials for trophies built (9).

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 11.

immediate importance for the recognition of the victory.”¹¹⁴ This process of recalling, aided by the presence of the *tropaion* and the burial mounds, helped turn the mind of the viewer to the memory of the event and the men buried at the site. Therefore, with the creation of these works, the piling up of earth and the erection of a battle memorial, Marathon suddenly became marked as a new type of space, what Ian Morris called “the visible afterlife of victory.”¹¹⁵

These physical alterations, then, interacted with and benefited from the landscape. These objects—the mounds and the *tropaion* made from wood—became part of the landscape through the use of building materials taken from the site itself. Thus, these commemorations, carried out on the battle site shortly after the battle, incorporated the landscape into their construction. The memory, manifested in the field by the burial and Persian arms, appropriated the permanency of the landscape in order to achieve its purpose of preservation. Soldiers, victory, and monument became entwined with the landscape in the process of remembrance; the memory of Marathon took shape from a complex composite of all those aspects. As a result, the battle persisted in the collective memory of Athens through these physical acts of commemoration, and the memory was strengthened by its connection with the space in which the physical reminders were built.

In the discussion of the stable state of these monuments, it becomes clear that the *tropaion* does not quite possess the same ability as a burial mound or names etched in stone. As noted above, the *tropaion* actually has a transient character. The wood

¹¹⁴ Stroszeck 2004, 312.

¹¹⁵ Morris 1992, 289.

eventually rotted, and when it did, another would not be constructed. Therefore, the *tropaion* could only preserve the memory for a limited period of time. This reflected cultural attitudes to victory—the trophy took on an apotropaic air along with its reminder of the fleeting state of victory—but it also pointed out the authority of the Athenians. Through the erection of a *tropaion*, the Athenians demonstrated that they were in complete control of forming the battlefield memorial and the memory of the battle as they saw fit.¹¹⁶ Despite its transitory nature, the trophy provided a sign of the power of the Attic *polis*, not for the loss of life represented in the burial mounds. The soldiers' deaths were a blow for Athens, but their action was recast in order to distract from the fact that their lives had been lost. Instead of dwelling on the absence of the soldiers, their sacrifice for a victory would stand as an indication of fine character.¹¹⁷

These initial forms of commemoration helped preserve the battle, and the addition of a permanent trophy only accented the permanency of the victory's memory. Some time in the 460s, some thirty years after the battle, the *tropaion* of white stone mentioned by Pausanias was built.¹¹⁸ An approximately ten meter tall, unfluted column topped by an

¹¹⁶ Stroszeck 2004 concludes, “[t]he erection of a *tropaion* by one party means that it is in full command of the battle site” (310).

¹¹⁷ Their deaths were the means through which their *aretē* is displayed, but this became the pay off for their sacrifice. Granted, the deceased soldiers would never enjoy their successes as victorious athletes or surviving soldiers could, but death in battle practically guaranteed the preservation of their memory. We shall see how this concept is pushed to its furthest limit when the offering of the body, in the time of Pericles, is the greatest thing which any citizen can give.

¹¹⁸ Vanderpool 1966, 96, 105. The style of the capital places it sometime within 480-450 (Vanderpool 1966, 100). Vanderpool noted that this new *tropaion* is concurrent with the erection of Athena Promachos (Pausanias 1.28.2) and the Marathon monument at Delphi (Pausanias 10.10.1-2) (106). This was indicative of the re-conceptualization occurring in Athens at this time regarding the battle of Marathon.

Ionic capital replaced the wood and armor-covered *tropaion*.¹¹⁹ Instead of the temporary *tropaion*, which Stroszeck categorizes as a primary trophy, the Athenians now erected a permanent white marble column (Stroszeck's permanent trophy category).¹²⁰ While the wooden memorial allowed for a modest and temporary reminder of the victory, the marble column shifted the status to that of a permanent commemoration of the Athenian and Plataean victory.¹²¹ Marble would not decay as the wood did, so this new stone monument prolonged the memory of victory through a longer lasting medium and a change in the message of the monument.

The function of the previous *tropaion* was to emphasize the location where the battle turned in the favor of the victor, and while there was a message of victory in that trophy, the new marble column solidified the interpretation of the monument as one of victory. As a reminder of the battle, the new Ionic column pushed aside any association to the transitory nature of victory embodied in the primary trophy; the victory was now permanent.¹²² West III noted that with the erection of permanent monuments, a practice started with the monuments of the Persian Wars, the meaning of the *tropaion* was truly that of preserving the victory.¹²³ Even the figure topping the column, either a Nike or a

¹¹⁹ See Vanderpool 1966 for the reconstruction of the column from its remaining pieces used in a medieval tower.

¹²⁰ Stroszeck 2004, 303. Temporary trophies were erected right after the battle in the manner previously described, while the permanent trophies, usually constructed of bronze or marble, went up some time later.

¹²¹ West III 1969, 11. West III also states that, "In art, the trophy has become the symbol of victory" (14).

¹²² Hölscher 1998 also places this change in building material to the mid fifth century, although he deems the earlier *tropaion* a victory monument (157).

¹²³ West III 1969, 18; Stroszeck 2004, 309. Permanent trophies, as Stroszeck states, were usually for events whose "long-term results were anticipated by the end of the battle" (320). Marathon and the column erected

stone replica of a *tropaion*, as conjectured by Eugene Vanderpool, supports the belief that this column is now a permanent record of victory.¹²⁴ This new *tropaion* stood to permanently indicate a victory of the Athenians and Plataeans, instead of as a temporary trophy marking the rout of the enemy.

This permanent monument, part of a program of preserving the great achievements of the Persian Wars, became a symbol of Athenian greatness, one which Greek writers could utilize. Aristophanes mentions a *tropaion* in three of his works: *Knights*, *Wasps*, and *Lysistrata*. West III feels that, if Aristophanes were referring to a traditional form of *tropaion*, it would have been in a deteriorated condition by Aristophanes' time and would not be suitable for use as the Marathon trophy. While there might be some validity to his reasoning, Vanderpool's dating provides the most convincing evidence that Aristophanes must have been talking about a stone *tropaion*.¹²⁵ In the earliest of the three plays, *Knights* from 424, and the *Wasps* of 422, Aristophanes' similar word choice presented the *tropaion* at Marathon as the standard by which good actions were measured. In both plays, he uses the neuter plural adjective ἄξια to frame actions as things worthy of the trophy at Marathon (*Knights*, 1334; *Wasps*, 711).¹²⁶ The leader of the male chorus in *Lysistrata* motivates his fellow chorus members to act by

at Salamis are examples of this interest in using permanent monuments (Stroszeck 2004, 304). See West III 1969, 15-17 for a discussion of the column at Salamis.

¹²⁴ Vanderpool 1966, 106. The damage to the figure is too extensive to determine an exact identification.

¹²⁵ West III 1969, 12; n. 27.

¹²⁶ *Knights*: τῆς γὰρ πόλεως ἄξια πράττεις καὶ τοῦ Μαραθῶνι τροπαίου (1334); *Wasps*: ἄξια τῆς γῆς ἀπολαύοντες καὶ τοῦ ἔν Μαραθῶνι τροπαίου (711).

suggesting that if they do nothing, the *tropaion* at Marathon may as well not exist (285).¹²⁷

In these three examples, the Marathon trophy represents the battle site and its associations with Athenian greatness. Aristophanes appears to view the *tropaion* as a marker of victory, one which indicates the great achievement of the Athenians who fought there: the smaller Athenian force that repelled the large Persian army, and those who gave their lives and were buried in their own *soros*. The comic playwright mentions Marathon, because it has great symbolic capital for his audience, due to the prominence of its memory. Simply mentioning the *tropaion* recalls the victory, the burial mound, and the *tropaion*. The fear of *Lysistrata*'s male chorus not acting in accordance with those at Marathon is enough to threaten the very existence of the trophy, the loss of which could annihilate the memory of the battle as well. The marble column, standing in for the whole site, inspires the men to act in a manner appropriate for the descendants of the soldiers at Marathon.¹²⁸ Other later writers also rely on the *tropaion* at Marathon to suggest great Athenian achievement, for even many years later, the image of Marathon still remains important.¹²⁹ While Aristophanes never mentions the men buried at Marathon, the connection between them and the site, which is bound up in the image of the trophy, allows the men to continue to exist in the minds of the Athenians.

¹²⁷ μή νυν ἔτ' ἐν <τῇ> τετραπόλει τῷ μὸν τροπαίῳ εἶη.

¹²⁸ West III 1969, 13. Aristophanes makes the *tropaion* a didactic example of proper Greek male behavior for his audience. There is also an element of didacticism in Pindar and Bacchylides' poems.

¹²⁹ West III 1969 suggests that these later mentions of the *tropaion* took Aristophanes as a model (e.g. Plato, *Menexenus* 240d; Lysias, *Funeral Oration* 25; Fragment 88 B 2, Line 15, Diels-Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* Vol. II, p. 377 (14)).

Just as the erection of a permanent monument at the site at a later date nurtured an eternal memory for those buried in the *soros* many years after the battle, so too did cult practices performed for them. Actions taken at the mound shortly after the battle, mainly the construction of a *soros*, did create the groundwork of a cult for the dead, but what guaranteed the survival of the memory of the deceased was the adherence to cult rites.

The listing of the components of the burial mound included an exterior trench. Exterior trenches, which started to appear in the eighth century, held cult offerings, not grave goods; therefore they were not part of the funeral, but of cult practices.¹³⁰ Offerings most likely would have been given shortly after, or maybe during, the funeral, and the Athenians covered the trench after its first, and only, use.¹³¹ Besides the cultic implications suggested by the trench and the pottery found there, youths would travel every year from Athens to Marathon to place wreaths upon the tomb.¹³² An extant sacrificial calendar for Marathon shows that, eventually, animals became offerings for the dead there. While scholars still debate whether or not the rituals at Marathon were continuous or exactly when they were instituted, the Athenians, at various points in their history, traveled to Marathon in order to participate in rituals similar to those for cults,

¹³⁰ Whitley 1994, 217-218. Grave goods started to appear less and less frequently in burial mounds by 700 (Morris 1987, 22; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 73).

¹³¹ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 76. Interestingly enough, the trench at Marathon and the lekythoi in the cremation tray date from around the turn of the late seventh century (Whitley 1994, 216). Whitley's article on the Marathon tomb makes no mention of the trench being used continuously or the idea of a onetime use of the trench.

¹³² Ekroth 2002, 75; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 247.

with the result that the dead gained a form of immortality through Athenian ritual practices.¹³³

While the burial of the dead suggested a type of cult tomb, and although it became the focus of the cult, ultimately the practices were what granted the dead honor. The exterior trench was a distinguishing feature that suggested that it was a tomb with a cult, and one particular to Attica, but if we are to accept Donna C. Kurtz's and John Boardman's observation that the Athenians used it once, this practice did not ensure the continuation of the rituals, or the memory for that matter, of the dead.¹³⁴ The ritual of the youths returning to the *soros* helped maintain the memory of the dead. In this sort of practice, the tomb stood as the focus of the cult, not because it was a group burial with trenches, but because it held men worthy of honor.¹³⁵ With that being the case, Athenians made yearly visits to the site as part of their religious calendar.¹³⁶ The dead, through the rites performed for them, gained honor and persisted in the minds of the Athenians for years after their deaths.

¹³³ Ekroth 2002, 159-161. Ekroth states that the offering of wreaths stopped in late C3, but it started back up in 166 BC (77). Any animal sacrifice, which Ekroth describes on pages 159-161, might be a second century introduction (77) As to the uncertainty of continuous practice, see page 76, note 247 where Ekroth goes through the scholarly discussion. Currie 2005, 123-129 addresses some of the confusion surrounding the dating and the nature of the athletic hero cults.

¹³⁴ In the seventh century, the pairing of a tomb and a trench suggested hero cult, but after 600, with trenches start to disappear from the archaeological record, the two were not necessary to be considered a cult. Due to the decline in trench building, those buried at Marathon were members of a type of cult that was on the decline (Whitley 218, 225, 227).

¹³⁵ Ekroth 2002, 77; Whitley 1994, 213.

¹³⁶ By the fifth century, there was a growing involvement of the city in cult practices that had normally been the responsibility of the family, aristocracy, or private individuals (Whitley 1994, 227). This holds true especially for those who died in battle, which shall be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. The festivals of the Herakleia and Artemis Agrotera also had celebrations for the dead at Marathon (Currie 2005, 112).

Later generations also thought of the Marathon dead as heroes, thus increasing associations to cult practices. Pausanias' description of the Marathon plain notes:

σέβονται δὲ οἱ Μαραθῶνιοι τούτους τε οἱ παρὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπέθανον ἥρωας ὀνομάζοντες...

(Pausanias 1.32.4)

the people of Marathon honor both those who died in the battle naming them heroes...

Pausanias completes the τε καί construction by saying that the Marathonians also honored Heracles, who had important associations with the battle site, because the Athenians gathered their troops at a spot sacred to the hero (Herodotus 6.108). The information from Pausanias placed the dead in the same category as one of the great heroes of myth. This association carried great weight, for the pairing of the deceased and Heracles linked them ritually. Now, not only were the dead heroes in name, but they also joined the ranks of great heroes through ritual practice.¹³⁷

Their *soros* placed the dead within the context of earlier hero burials. Cremation of the dead soldier followed by the placement of the ashes in a burial mound harkens back to burials mentioned in the *Iliad*.¹³⁸ In the seventh book, Hector said that he would return the body of a vanquished foe to the Greeks for burial in a σῆμα, “tomb.” He noted that it would stand for future generations to see. This would remind them of the man buried there after having been killed by Hector (84-91).¹³⁹ Later, in Book 23, the *Iliad*

¹³⁷ Currie 2005 devotes a whole chapter to the heroization of those who died in battle (89-119).

¹³⁸ Whitley 1994, 228.

gave a step-by-step guide for building a burial mound. After Patroclus' funeral pyre had stopped burning, Achilles ordered that a mound be constructed after the bones of Patroclus had been collected for burial. The process of constructing the mound then followed (23.234-257). The type of burial allotted the dead at Marathon then sets them up to be considered heroes. In fact, the *soros*, as Whitley posits, was a proper burial for those who died in battle, both Homeric and those in the Persian Wars.¹⁴⁰

Despite the type of burial continuing a tradition of heroic burial, the *soros* was not enough to make the dead Athenians at Marathon heroes; instead, this privilege was conferred upon them by the city. Their status as heroes was established only after the *polis* determined the dead as such.¹⁴¹ This was done through “the ritual performance of the cult which demanded a knowledge of the names of the heroes,” an assertion of F. Jacoby.¹⁴² For performance of rites at Marathon, the names of the dead, a critical part of the process, were provided by the *stelai* with the names of the buried. Without these *stelai*, the beneficiaries of the cult offerings would not be known; only the state preserved these men through the inscribed names on the *stelai*.¹⁴³ This honor set these men apart

¹³⁹ The point being made in Hector's speech is not that the tomb will necessarily maintain the memory of the dead man, but rather the *kleos* of Hector: τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κλέος οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται (7.91). This being so, there is still a connection between the burial mound as a preserver of the glory and memory of an individual or event.

¹⁴⁰ Whitley 1994, 228.

¹⁴¹ Jacoby 1944, 38; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 298.

¹⁴² Jacoby 1945, 177.

¹⁴³ To further show the importance of names, heroes, either named or unnamed, did not play a part in Archaic Attica, but did in the Classical period. According to Emily Kearns, as cited in Whitley 1994, the total number of named hero cults, most of them local, reached 165 at that time (226).

from other dead due to the selective nature of state-sponsored heroizations.¹⁴⁴ By this time, the city-state had largely supplanted the aristocratic overseeing of cult—aristocratic cults had been on the decline since the seventh century—and had begun reorganizing and centralizing its cults.¹⁴⁵ The state honored these men and made the men into heroes.

Now that we have explored individual objects of commemoration at Marathon in their relation to preserving the memory of the dead and the battle, James Mayo's categorization of war memorials can help us view how the site works as an integrated whole. While Mayo explores the nature of political memory of modern war memorials, his discourse is still relevant to the understanding of the memorial site in the period after the Persian war. Mayo classifies memorials into four types: high use sacred; low use sacred; high utility non-sacred; and low use non-sacred.¹⁴⁶ Once identified by one of the four category types, the memorials' social purposes are divided into four more classifications (identity, service, honor, and humanitarianism), which Mayo ranks in relation to their social importance.¹⁴⁷ His classifications help to identify the type of war

¹⁴⁴ Kurtz and Boardman 1971 states, "[o]therwise a few classes of privileged people might be accorded burial or some form of *mnema* within a city's walls, or be allowed heroic status" (298). See also Currie 2005, 112-113.

¹⁴⁵ Whitley 1994, 226.

¹⁴⁶ Mayo 1988 divides sentiments between sacred and non-sacred with the difference lying in a moral message; the non-sacred sentiment merely recalls the past. Utilitarian use also forms two separate categories: high or low. For a memorial to be considered high use, it functions to commemorate and to fit public use unlike a low use memorial which only commemorates. A high use sacred provides a public service besides fulfilling a sacred function. A low use sacred memorial must emphasize a moral message without any additional aspects present that would conflict or confuse the message. The high utility non-sacred space category does not commemorate the war, but provides a service to the community. The final category, the low utility non-sacred, describes a private collection of war accoutrements (62-64, 69).

¹⁴⁷ At the bottom of the list is identity, followed by service, honor, and finally humanitarianism as the most important social purpose. Identity refers simply to labeling of the object or objects, while service is the public purpose of the object. Honor results from an outside entity bestowing it. Mayo points out that a

memorial and to understand how its social purposes changed both the physical space and political identity.

A site's meaning derives from both the sentiments and the intended utilitarian use assigned to the objects. In as much as the site did more than just recall the event, Marathon is a sacred memorial. Since the battlefield is shaped by the *polis* to reflect the glory of the victory and the dead, the individual memory becomes secondary to "[s]ome communal notion of good,"¹⁴⁸ a feature that separates the sacred from the nonsacred. Much as most war memorials, the Marathon battlefield is a "low utility" site because it does not provide a public service. Marathon exists as something more than a *lieu de mémoire* that attempts to offer immortality to the battle and the dead; we have started to see it become a symbol for the Athenians.¹⁴⁹ The battlefield with its monuments can preserve memory because it exists as more than a mere commemorative location.

The interaction of social purposes at Marathon yields powerful results for an Athenian formation of identity. The ritual practices, the offering trench, and the fact that the site does commemorate a victory allow it to provide the social purpose of service. Identity, the lowest of the four social purposes, is also present at Marathon since it enables visitors to recall the memory of the battle and the dead.¹⁵⁰ Honor, the final of Mayo's social purposes, influences how the dead were to be viewed. As previously

government usually offers this honor. As the highest on Mayo's hierarchy, humanitarianism attempts to look at war in a questioning manner and seek peace. (Mayo 1988, 64-67).

¹⁴⁸ Mayo 1988, 63.

¹⁴⁹ Mayo 1988 notes that symbolic meaning is a function of a low utility memorial (64).

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 65.

mentioned, “[h]onor can only be bestowed.”¹⁵¹ Honor can occur only when or where an outside entity decides that the event or person to be commemorated deserves it.

Marathon, at least in the minds of the Athenians, warranted this distinction, because the memory of the event was worth saving. The memory, then, becomes deeply connected to the site by the living.¹⁵² This is done from the honor inherent in the *soros*, *tropaion*, and rituals.

Although the physical monuments and actions suggest heroic status worthy of cult, it was the conferring of this status that provided the final push towards the formation of the site of Marathon and the dead as objects to be remembered forever. This was a decision manifested in action, but it existed as an idea within the mind of the Athenians; rituals were the physical enactment of the memory. With the commemoration of the Marathon dead, the dependence of the material monument on the conscious decision to honor the dead prolonged the memory of those buried in the *soros*. The interaction between word and monument in athletic commemoration now replaced words with a mental process that led to the bestowing of honor. For the Athenians, this relationship strengthened the memory of the dead and the battle. The eternal memory sprang from the monuments on the site and a mental re-conceptualization of what the battle and dead should mean. Aristophanes’ use of the *tropaion* in his comedies illustrated how the physical and the Athenian conception of the event could be used to advance a particular ideology for the city.

¹⁵¹ Mayo 1988, 65.

¹⁵² Nora 1989, 22.

Acts of commemoration for Marathon also arose within the vicinity of Athens in order to preserve the memory of the event for the city-state's residents. Due to the brevity of this study, I shall only mention a few, starting with a stele erected for the dead.¹⁵³ Unlike the stelai at Marathon, this monument had epigrams on it. Typically, an epigram would be located somewhere on the battlefield burial (one thinks of Simonides' epigram for the Spartans at Thermopylae [*Anth. Pal.* 7.249]), but there is a strong possibility that the mounds at Marathon did not have one because of the silence of Pausanias and later authors and compilers of Greek epigrams.¹⁵⁴ Instead, the stelai held the names of the dead, an inversion of the later practice where the names of the dead appeared on lists in the public cemetery. The epigrams in Athens presented the men who fought there in a similar manner to Simonides' poem discussed earlier. The text is now very fragmentary and reconstruction is uncertain, but it is clear that the first epigram begins with ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ἀρετῆ ("the *aretē* of those men"). This monument acted like a burial site epigram where the reader learns of the excellence of those who fought. The battle site stelai at Marathon preserved the glory of the men by recording their names, but the one at Athens reminded the viewer why those men should be remembered.¹⁵⁵

As previously mentioned, around the time that the *tropaion* became a permanent marble column, the Athenians began to reshape how they thought about the Battle of

¹⁵³ See Oliver 1935, Oliver 1936, Jacoby 1945, and Merritt 1962 for further discussion of the monument and its epigrams. Oliver 1936 has an artist's reconstruction of the stele. Two other monuments built in Athens in commemoration were a column erected for Callimachus built around 489 (Raubtischek 1983), the bronze Athena (Athena Promachos) mentioned in Pausanias 1.28.2.

¹⁵⁴ Oliver 1935, 199; Jacoby 1945, 176 n. 79; Stroszeck 2004, 318.

¹⁵⁵ Benjamin D. Merritt reconstructs the first epigram this way, "The valor of these men will shine as a light | imperishable forever, | No matter to whom in the deeds of war the | gods may grant success; | For they on foot and on swift-sailing ships | Kept all Greece from seeing a day of slavery" (Merritt 1962, 296).

Marathon. To the Athenians, this battle became very important in asserting a political identity, because it was a victory for which only they could take claim. The victory came with the help of the Plataeans, but the Persian defeat was at the hands of the Athenians, and no other Greek *polis*.¹⁵⁶ Since this battle allowed the Athenians an example of the greatness of their men and city-state, the preservation of it ensured immortality for those buried at the site. These men entered the ranks of the heroes of myth by means of their glory and excellence. Therefore, Marathon is unique in that it is one of the first contemporary battles to be depicted in such a manner.¹⁵⁷

Athenians commenced an ideological overhaul of the battle by depicting it in conjunction with formative battles of the mythic past. The Stoa Poikile, built in the 460s during Cimon's building program, represented an Amazonomachy, the Ilioupersis, a battle that was possibly the Battle of Oinoe, and the Battle of Marathon. In the building, contemporary events existed in the same realm as the mythic, a placement that allowed viewers to understand how to interpret the battle and those who died there.¹⁵⁸ From this example, Athenians could see their ancestors as part of a long history of epic battles, something that the current generation should attempt to emulate. Interestingly, the Stoa Poikile's representation of the Battle of Marathon worked as an epinician ode in order to "frame the central passage which typically celebrates his [the victor's] ancestor's triumphs or contemplates the significance of the victory from the standpoint of myth as

¹⁵⁶ West III 1969, 17; Stroszeck 2004, 309.

¹⁵⁷ Hölscher 1998, 166-167.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 166. For a description of the Stoa Poikile, see Stansbury-O'Donnell 2005.

paideia.”¹⁵⁹ Athens utilized Marathon to form the idea of proper Athenian behavior for its citizens and any other potential viewer of the painting. This new ideology of Athenian power and identity stemming from Marathon occurred in other spots as well; it was not simply a movement focused in Athens.¹⁶⁰

The monuments for Marathon, both those erected immediately after the battle and those erected in the 460s and after, either took on new public meanings or were funded by the *polis*. In either case, the city-state had control over how Marathon was to be remembered. The *tropaion*, previously a temporary monument erected for a victory by a collective decision of the army, now stood as a monument that the city had approved.¹⁶¹ With the rise in prominence of the public burial, the *soros* at Marathon held soldiers who serviced the *polis*, who then could be used by Athens to define and motivate its citizens. The men, battlefield, and monuments all stand as an extension of Athenian greatness; these were the type of men and victories which Athens produced. No longer just commemorations of a battle and its dead, these monuments become political because they express a collective Athenian identity.¹⁶²

One outcome of this change was the transition of control over burial from the family and aristocracy to the city-state. State-funded public burials replaced the

¹⁵⁹ Francis and Vickers 1985, 391-392.

¹⁶⁰ The statues dedicated at Delphi from the spoils at Marathon consisted of Miltiades, the victorious general at the battle, and various gods and heroes (Pausanias 10.10.1-2). Also at Delphi were the Athenian treasury (Pausanias 10.11.5) and the Athenian Stoa (Hölscher 1998, 168).

¹⁶¹ Hölscher 1998, 157.

¹⁶² Whitley 1994, 213.

traditional role taken in funerary practices by aristocratic families.¹⁶³ Much as the stele atop the *taphos*, public funerary monuments in the city began to list the dead not by families, but by tribes; tribal cults appeared with more frequency. This shift was not sudden, and the burial mounds at Marathon stood between archaic battlefield burial mounds and the new public burials. As the city began to assert itself as an independent unit, the creation of memorials allowed Athens to validate and give itself meaning through displays of its power.¹⁶⁴ The city now oversaw the preservation of memory, at least in the case of men commemorated in public monuments; the immortality offered the Marathon dead was conferred by the city. Their *aretē*, demonstrated by their great deed, benefited the city and the individual. Ultimately, the focus returned to the city, since it was Athens that produced the men buried at Marathon. This process was articulated well in the funeral orations given at the public funerals, the focus of the next chapter.

The Battle of Marathon offers a complex case study of Greek war commemoration. At first, this site typifies expected practices for battlefield commemorations: the *soros*, a *tropaion*, both intending to preserve the victory of the Athenians and Plataeans—slaves, too—for later generations. As the *polis* begins to take a more active process in the commemoration, illustrated by the erection of the permanent *tropaion* in place of the more traditional temporary one, the focus turns to how those men and that battle are an expression of Athens' greatness. This is not to suggest that with the increased role of the city there emerged new forms of commemoration—even the marble

¹⁶³ Jacoby 1944, 62; Whitley 1994, 227; Low 2003, 99; Stupperich 1994, 93.

¹⁶⁴ Nelson and Olin 2003, 7.

tropaion is reminiscent of Callimachus' column in Athens—for the change occurs in how the city-state starts using Marathon as a display of its political power and identity.¹⁶⁵

Instead of the individual athlete expressing his glory, something from which his home *polis* can benefit, at least marginally, the soldier's *aretē* directly contributes to the glory of Marathon and Athens.

Immortality for the dead at Marathon stemmed from the reconfiguration of the battlefield, along with the conceptualization of what Marathon should be and how to present it for others to see. While parts of the burial mound suggested cult activity and the conferment of hero status, it was the conscious decision of the living to maintain rituals at the site that granted those rituals and status to exist. The battle site contained reminders of the battle, but its memory depended upon a commitment of the community to preserve and maintain it; the rituals and monuments were just physical manifestations of this decision. The use of the physical acts of commemoration and the *polis*' choice to confer cult and hero status bound the memory to the location, which enabled the actions of the dead to survive farther into posterity.

With the next form of commemoration, the funeral oration, we shall see the influence of the *polis* once again at work. By the time Pericles gave his funeral oration in the first year of the Peloponnesian War, 431/0 BCE, Athens no longer performed battlefield burials. The war dead returned to the *polis* for public burial at a city-state funded funeral. In this speech, Pericles conferred everlasting praise upon the war dead,

¹⁶⁵ See Raubitschek 1983 for further information on Callimachus' column. Hölscher 1998 does an articulate job of expressing this point. Artistic changes during the period do not directly correlate to political changes and were not specifically Athenian.

but only after a long discussion of Athenian characteristics. Immortality for the dead came from his praise of their *aretē*, but their actions, unlike the excellence of the athlete, made them part of a collective unit, not an individual. Certainly, their names were preserved on the casualty lists, but the funeral oration did not mention any specific individual.

Instead, the *polis* stood apart. Pericles devoted the majority of the speech describing what made Athens better than other Greek *poleis*. He selectively presented Athens in an idealized manner in order to leave an Athens worthy of remembering for posterity. Through the creation of Pericles' Athens, the audience learned that the men being commemorated died in order to save a great *polis*. All its characteristics made it a city-state worthy of their lives. The dead received their praise by that action; bodily sacrifice led to honor granted by the city. Due to their actions, the *polis* appropriated the dead, thereby adding them to the memory of the city that Pericles preserved. This was done not through physical monument, but through the use of *logoi*: the speech of Pericles and the words written by Thucydides.

CHAPTER IV

ATHENS: MONUMENT OF *LOGOI*

In the funeral oration in the second book of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, one might expect Pericles to focus on the war dead, but instead, he spends the greater part of his speech commemorating Athens.¹⁶⁶ By extolling the characteristics (τρόποι) of Athens, he both praises the city and creates an ideal, even eternal, Athens for his audience. Pericles' praise of Athens shapes it as the sort of city for which men would be willing to risk their lives. This process of commemoration establishes a reciprocal relationship between the *polis*—the one crafted by the words of Pericles—and the men who die for it. Citizens, by offering their bodies, are promised ageless praise (ἀγήρων ἔπαινον, 2.43.2) from the city, thereby gaining immortality. How the oration articulates this commemoration does not rely on physical moments, but rather on the use of *logoi* ("words") in the funeral oration; the words of Pericles' speech and the text of Thucydides are media for this commemoration. While the speech plays down the role of material commemoration, there still exists an internal interaction between *erga* ("deeds") and *logoi*. Yet this relationship, much as the one between statues and odes, depends upon a symbiotic link. This struggle is finally decided in favor of an eternal memory formed by words, one that preempts any physical object or action. As a result of

¹⁶⁶ Thucydides writes that the man selected by the *polis* to deliver the oration would talk about the praise of the buried (λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινον τὸν πρέποντα 2.34.6), but as we shall see, Pericles discusses the city at great length.

this resolution, Pericles' carefully crafted description of Athens becomes the main focus of his oration, the source for soldiers' immortality, and a monument of *logoi* for all time.

Within the narrative, Thucydides has Pericles speaking to the crowd. However, the reader must not forget that the speech is not an exact record of the speech given by Pericles; rather, Thucydides, as he claims, holds as closely as possible to the general sentiment of the things actually spoken (ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων 1.22.1). The question is, then, to what extent are we to see the intrusion of Thucydides into this speech? Unfortunately, there is no definitive answer to this dilemma despite scholars' attempts otherwise.¹⁶⁷ While this point is an important one to consider for the student of historiography, it bears no direct influence on the structure of this chapter's argument. This study considers the oration as a melding of historical reality and literary device and focuses on what is being said.¹⁶⁸ For this reason, Pericles will be used when talking specifically about the historical figure in the act of speaking, while authorial intent will be ascribed to Thucydides.

From the beginning of the speech, it becomes clear that those fallen in battle will not be the main focus of the speech. After explaining his deviation from the customary approach and the difficulties handicapping him, Pericles begins not with the recent dead,

¹⁶⁷ Turasiewicz's brief listing of various scholars' interpretations seems to place the speech in Thucydides' voice, not Pericles'. Turasiewicz later goes against the scholarly consensus by denying that the oration was written after 404 BCE, when Athens no longer had any sort of power, as the oration does not conceal the fact that it praises the actions of Athens. "Thus it remains to be assumed that Thucydides only wanted to show the ideological program of Pericles: because he puts real praise of Athens into his mouth, it is to be concluded that he abstained from voicing his own reflections and experiences: he suppressed completely his own feelings, and turned out to be disillusioned enough to unveil the way of thinking of the Athenian leader" (38).

¹⁶⁸ This reflects the intentions that Thucydides himself sets up within Chapter 22 of Book 1 (ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἔμοι ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστ' εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται).

but with the ancestors of the Athenians, who are, of course, also dead. This short praise only leads to the main focus of the oration: the things that make Athens great (ἐπιτήδευσις, “attention to [a pursuit]”; πολιτεία, “constitution of a state”; τρόποι).¹⁶⁹ Only after that does Pericles finally turn to praising the dead, the reason that a funeral was being held in the first place. While the dead would eventually get their praise, the first and most prominent focus is praise for Athens.

This praise, for both the city and the dead, exists on two levels: the real speech of Pericles and Thucydides’ literary work. Within the context of the speech, the speaker is following custom (νόμος) to grant praise and honor to the dead. Moving beyond the historical reality of this funeral oration, Thucydides uses praise within this speech to valorize those being eulogized. It is a stock characteristic of ancient historians to single out certain historical figures to assign them worth.¹⁷⁰ The historian selects which events or people are noteworthy, and, therefore, worth remembering. While Pericles no doubt praised the city and the dead, Thucydides’ inclusion of the oration in his work preserved the commemorated dead for future generations. Here, Thucydides’ and Pericles’ valuation passes over the deceased to select Athens as the object most worthy of praise.

By focusing on the *polis* of Athens, this oration in fact becomes a eulogy for the city itself. No specific individual is distinguished by name, yet the *polis* is referred to

¹⁶⁹ For the praise of the ancestors, see 2.35-36. Pericles limits his discussion of the ancestors to their action of handing down a free land. He has more to say about the current generation’s fathers, but only how they defended Greece from the barbarians and how they had expanded the empire. This stands in contrast to the funeral orations of Lysias and Plato’s *Menexenus*, an oration that provides insight for the structure of funeral orations, even if we are to take it as a parody of the genre. Those two works devote long passages to the deeds of Athenian ancestors (Lysias 3-66; *Menexenus* 237b-244d).

¹⁷⁰ Immerwahr 1960, 261.

repeatedly. Pericles elucidates the character traits and actions that set Athenians apart from other Greeks. Their ease in governing, love of beauty, and desire for wisdom do not hinder their courage; these things make them just as brave as those who spend all their time in rigorous training (39.1).¹⁷¹ Pericles' listing of these Athenian *tropoi* takes up, as he says, αὐτῆς τὰ μέγιστα (the greatest part of this [eulogy], 42.2), allowing the listener or reader to know the intended subject of honor. After this, his praise alights upon the dead, but only in the context of their sacrifice for the city. Even when he turns to address the living relatives of the deceased, Pericles urges them to produce more children, which, although they will fill the void left by the dead, seem to provide a bigger benefit to the city by preserving and protecting it.

καρτερεῖν δὲ χρῆ καὶ ἄλλων παίδων ἐλπίδι οἷς ἔτι ἡλικία τέκνωσιν
ποιεῖσθαι· ἰδίᾳ τε γὰρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων λήθη οἱ ἐπιγιγνώμενοί τισιν
ἔσονται, καὶ τῇ πόλει διχόθεν, ἕκ τε τοῦ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ,
ξυνοίσει·

(44.3)

It is necessary for those who are still of the age to bear children to be steadfast in the hope for other children. For those who are born after will both privately help forget those no longer living and, for the *polis*, will be a benefit in two ways: not being left bereft and for the purpose of security.

According to Pericles, the *polis* will benefit more than the private individual from any new children born. The family only finds solace for their grief through forgetting the dead, while the *polis* gains new soldiers for its army.

Since the city appears to be the subject of the eulogy, its positive characteristics, presented by Pericles, must be brought to the fore. A few of the traits have already been

¹⁷¹ Unless otherwise noted, the selections come from Book 2.

mentioned, and there is no shortage of those provided by Pericles. The nature of the city allowed goods and foreigners to enter in an open and free manner, just as all citizens conducted their public and private affairs freely (39.1). When they conquered a people, the Athenians did not torment their subjects, but treated them well.¹⁷² Pericles discussed the empire (ἀρχή) of the Athenians and its treatment of others in a way that reflected their *tropoi*. In essence, he was defining the *aretē* of Athens, this time not through concrete deeds, as with athletic or battle commemorations, but with attitudes and behaviors that set Athens apart from other Greek *poleis*.¹⁷³ In fact, as a result of its *aretē*, made obvious through its *tropoi* and its empire (*archē*), Athens was the only city that surpassed all reports of its stature (41.3): reality exceeded reputation.¹⁷⁴ So great were the characteristics of Athens that all of Greece should look to it as a *παίδευσις* (education). Pericles praised the city in such a way that its residents, neighbors, and foreigners would remember Athens for its outstanding attributes.

This remembrance depends not on how Athens really was, but on how it was presented in the funeral oration, as a collective memory for listeners and readers. In a similar vein to the epinician poet's molding of the victorious athlete, the oration, as Nicole Loraux notes, "expresses what the city wants to be in its own eyes rather than

¹⁷² Pericles' statement here seems at odds with the Athenian position presented in the Melian Dialogue (5.84-116). We must remind ourselves that these characteristics are part of Pericles' rhetoric.

¹⁷³ Loraux 2006, 114 goes so far as to suggest that the *aretē* of political and military matters was the primary mode for Athens as a model *polis*.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 132.

describing what it is in reality.”¹⁷⁵ Particular memories had to be carefully selected, since poorly thought out ones could have conjured up the wrong sort of associations, which would have been harmful to the collective memory that the speech sought to construct.¹⁷⁶ These separate memories were pieced together to create one predominant vision of Athens, one that reinforced the ideals espoused by Pericles and Thucydides. Due to Pericles’ status as an important political and military leader, the city selected him to give the eulogy (34.6). The male voting population elected him into a position where he could create his Athens, one that would reflect his and the citizens’ conception of their *polis*.¹⁷⁷ The creation and preservation of memory in the funeral oration was directly related to power: those in control could determine what was or what was not to be remembered.¹⁷⁸

Much as the individual dead are secondary to the city, the individual memory is second to the collective memory. Any recollections of the individual cannot be expressed in the oration’s “official” memory of Athens, because they distract from the focus of the oration. Instead, the varying memories are replaced by one overarching memory through repetition. Public events, such as the public procession and funeral at which Pericles spoke, provide an outlet to press the collective memory upon the attendees. Over time, the repetition of these events merges every individual’s recollection of the event with one

¹⁷⁵ Loraux 2006, 251 (translated by Alan Sheridan). Certainly, the athlete had won his event, but the representation was the product of the poet who attempted to construct the athlete in a manner that would put the victor in a very positive light.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 196.

¹⁷⁷ Ideology plays a heavy role in this as the Athens of the oration reflects “the political, cultural and economic forces which cohered at that moment to produce a vision of the way a (dominant) society perceived and represented itself to itself” (Mitchell 2003, 448).

¹⁷⁸ Mitchell 2003, 443.

collective memory that is supported by the *polis*.¹⁷⁹ This process also holds true for the oration, which Thucydides includes in his written history; a reader can return to the work as often as he or she wants. Repeated participation in public rites and the re-reading of Pericles' funeral oration in Thucydides' written text would allow the collective memory to supplant all others.¹⁸⁰

One outcome of the individual being supplanted by the collective is the uniting of the various residents of the Athenian *polis*. In order for the Athens of Pericles' speech to influence the listeners, they all had to believe that they belonged to the same *polis*. Political units such as the Greek city-state, like the modern nations discussed by Benedict Anderson, are institutions constructed to bind groups of people together.¹⁸¹ The unity of this group may be imagined, but it does exist in the minds of the citizens of the *polis*.¹⁸² The community envisioned by Pericles' oration presents a single, unified Athens to a citizenry that may not have met, nor might ever meet.¹⁸³ Despite this, Athens becomes an important place for people around Attica to centralize identity as a member of the *polis*.¹⁸⁴ This imagined city-state sets the framework in which the oration can express an idealized Athens.

¹⁷⁹ Mitchell 2003, 443.

¹⁸⁰ Loraux 2006 talks about repetition in this way, "In the historical excursus of the funeral oration, we find not the unfolding of a continuity but the repetitive and exemplary enactment of a single arete" (193).

¹⁸¹ Anderson 1991, 6-7.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁸³ Osborne 2001, 7.

¹⁸⁴ Anderson 1991 discusses pilgrimage sites where "centrality was experienced and 'realized' " (53-54). This is certainly the case with Athens.

Pericles' praise directed attention towards the immortality of Athens. Loraux, in her seminal work, *L'Invention d'Athènes: Histoire de l'oraison funèbre dans la "cité classique,"* saw the function of Pericles' oration, and the genre of the funeral oration in general, as a way to maintain the city as a thing of permanence.¹⁸⁵ Pericles devoted time to praising Athens in order to craft it as a *polis* deserving to be remembered, one whose *tropoi* provided the proof of its greatness. The characteristics listed by Pericles have led to Athens being a *polis* that that will be something for future generations to look at in wonder. As Pericles states in 41.2:

καὶ ὡς οὐ λόγων ἐν τῷ παρόντι κόμπος τάδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἔρων ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια, αὐτὴ ἡ δύναμις τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τρόπων ἐκτησάμεθα, σημαίνει.

That these things [previously stated] are not a boast of *logoi* for the present more than they are the truth of the matter, the city-state's strength, which we have acquired from our *tropoi*, itself proves.

The Athens envisioned by Pericles in his speech was powerful from its *tropoi*; this was rooted in truth (ἀλήθεια)—at least as Pericles presented it—and made his *polis* worth preserving. The preservation of Athens and its *tropoi* by Pericles overcame the threat of the contingency of chance.¹⁸⁶ This speech glorified Athens to present the *polis*, defined by its *tropoi*, at a particular moment frozen in time, which could last even after the

¹⁸⁵ Loraux 2006, 409.

¹⁸⁶ Grethlein 2010, 109.

destruction of the Athenian empire.¹⁸⁷ In fact, Pericles believed that signs of Athenian greatness would last well into the future.

μετὰ μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ οὐ δὴ τοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν
 παρασχόμενοι τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα θαυμασθησόμεθα, καὶ οὐδὲν
 προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ὀμήρου ἐπαινέτου οὔτε ὅστις ἔπεισι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα
 τέρψει, τῶν δ' ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἢ ἀλήθεια βλάψει...

(41.4)

Since with great proofs we present our strength not without witness, we will be a source of wonder to the present and future generations. We have no need for the praises of Homer or anyone who will delight for the moment with words; the truth will strike at the deeper meaning of the matter...

It is with proof (μετὰ μεγάλων σημείων) that Athens stands as something for the ages.

The signs are enough for posterity, for the works of the poets cannot get to the truth; the city is enough.

The speech adds to the praise of Athens by extolling the city's character within the dialogue of *erga* and *logoi*. The relationship between these two concepts appears in the Homeric tradition, extending all the way through epinician poetry (Chapter 1) to the historical forerunner of Thucydides, Herodotus.¹⁸⁸ *Ergon*, in Herodotus' *Histories*, refers to either a deed or a monument constructed for an individual or event; these things help perpetuate the greatness of the incident or person after the fact. From Herodotus'

¹⁸⁷ Loraux 2006, 129. Thucydides' strategic placing of the oration right before the plague which overturned most of the *tropoi* praised by Pericles not only strengthens the suggestion that the eulogy was meant for Athens, but also shows that Thucydides wanted his reader to remember Athens at the peak of its *aretē*. Contemporary readers also would have benefited from this memory of Athens as the political situation had drastically changed from the power held at the time of Pericles. This memory of Athens found in Thucydides can and did survive both the plague and the destruction of an Athenian *archē*.

¹⁸⁸ Loraux even goes so far as to say that this relationship between words and deeds shaped the "whole human experience" in the classical period (Loraux 2006, 44).

introduction, it becomes clear that these *erga* will figure heavily in his history.¹⁸⁹

Observing the monument or deed allows the viewer to marvel at and remember the person commemorated. Herodotus' *erga* involve the active process of seeing a monument and preserving the memory of the person.¹⁹⁰

Thucydides approached the idea of *erga* differently. While Herodotus used the word to refer to accomplished deeds, Thucydides used it to discuss an activity. This change in the meaning of the word moved the emphasis from a concrete monument to the consideration of actions done by people; Thucydides' use of *erga* went for something deeper. By focusing on actions and not accomplishments, he sought to look for the "truth," instead of fame and glory for one particular individual.¹⁹¹ It becomes clear by examining the speech that Thucydides had Pericles do just that. He praised Athens, not individuals, for its actions and attitudes.¹⁹² In order to do this, he relied on *logoi*, thereby creating a relationship between them by using words to shape deeds.

¹⁸⁹ Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέως ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι (Prologue).

¹⁹⁰ Immerwahr 1960, 263-265.

¹⁹¹ This is in opposition to epinician odes where truth would contribute to the fame and *kleos* of the athlete. Of course, this truth is the one established by Thucydides.

¹⁹² Immerwahr 1960, 276, 279-285. "In summary, up to this point, Thucydides shows us a radical reinterpretation of traditional historical terminology and imagery, such as we had found in Herodotus. Greatness and the noteworthy (ἀξώλογον) are for him intellectual terms, and instead of an admiration for objects he exhibits a profound awareness for the truthful and the pathetic. In none of this does he show any overt preoccupation with fame" (Immerwahr 1960, 281).

Throughout the funeral oration, there is contact between the two (*logoi* and *erga*); despite the early prominence of *erga*, *logos* becomes the “winner” by the end.¹⁹³ Pericles first determines that *erga* are what make men good (ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ γενομένων, 35.1)—that is why the funeral is taking place: to praise the *aretē* of the dead manifested in their actions. This praise for the memorialized falls right in line with other acts of commemoration that we have seen. It is through performing *erga* that the process of commemoration begins. From there, objects of commemoration preserve the *kleos* or *aretē* of the person or persons.¹⁹⁴

Since Pericles states that through *erga* men become great and their honor apparent, one would expect him to list the specific deeds of the Athenians, but, as mentioned earlier, he lists their *tropoi*.¹⁹⁵ Instead of providing concrete examples of victories, laws, or individuals that have made Athens the best of all Greek cities, the *logoi* take the form of generalized characteristics and habits of Athenian greatness.¹⁹⁶ The manner in which the Athenians conduct themselves reflects “who,” not “what,” Athens is.¹⁹⁷ This cannot be done through pointing to specific monuments, but can only be done

¹⁹³ Before turning to the living relatives, Pericles shows that he subordinates the role of physical deeds or monuments: καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ’ ἐκάστῳ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδιδαιτᾶται (43.3).

¹⁹⁴ Immerwahr 1960, “Visible traces of men’s deeds are the guarantee of their greatness,” (269) and I would add their potentiality for everlasting remembrance.

¹⁹⁵ This is not the case in Lysias’ oration or even in Plato’s *Menexenus*. These two orations list various battles throughout Athenian history from the mythic (Amazonomachy [Lysias 4]) to historical (Persian Wars [Lysias 20-47; *Menexenus* 239d-241c]).

¹⁹⁶ Pearson 1943, 407.

¹⁹⁷ Zumbrunnen 2002 uses Hannah Arendt’s explanation of identity which he uses to explore this speech by Thucydides. Arendt classifies “who” someone is as the personal identity formed from one’s words and

with *logoi*.¹⁹⁸ Even in the praise of the Athenians' ancestors, Pericles opts to gloss over their great actions since he is μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος (“not wishing to speak at great length among the presence of those who know” 36.4). This omission makes sense for the narrative reality of Pericles, but it also fits within the larger *logoi/erga* theme worked out by Thucydides. Actions make people great, but the generalized words about them will help present the Athens depicted in the funeral oration. Therefore, the audience becomes familiar with Athens through the actions of its citizens, memorable ones not in the sense of great achievements, but in how they interacted with themselves and others, an interaction which words described.¹⁹⁹

There is a complex interaction, then, between words and actions. While actions help form the characteristics that Pericles describes at length, words are needed to express them. Pericles praises the citizens of the *polis* for thinking with reason (λόγῳ) before heading out into any type of action (40.2). In fact, Pericles describes the Athenian understanding of this relationship in this way:

οὐ τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις βλάβην ἡγοούμενοι

(40.2)

[We, the Athenians] considering that words are not a harm for actions

deeds. In order to identify “what” someone is, we are to use “ ‘qualities, gifts, talents, and shortcomings.’ ” 470. Taking this as a guide, Zumbrunnen sees, and I agree, the oration as describing “who” Athens is.

¹⁹⁸ Pericles does mention laws which Athenians follow, but there is no specific law which he presents to the crowd. He even speaks of unwritten laws that men are afraid to break out of shame (37.3). A generalizing inclusion of games and sacrifices held throughout the year also keeps Pericles from getting specific. Even comments on monuments set up by the Athenians (41.4; 43.3) do not reference specific ones. This adds a generic feel to the oration, a genre known for its generalities. Loraux 2006, 120.

¹⁹⁹ E.g., 37.2-3 and 39.1.

Words are not a hindrance for actions; moreover, using words can assist in the articulation of the actions as well as help preserve them. This tendency of thinking and talking before acting is, according to Pericles, typical of Athens and sets the *polis* apart from the rest of Greece. Words and actions can exist without each other as Pearson points out, but as we shall see, *logos* takes the predominant position despite being the less tangible of the two.²⁰⁰

The use of time by Thucydides also plays an important role in the formation of Athens' memory. As he expounds on the virtues of the city and its citizens, Pericles speaks about the present power of the city. The present has benefited from receiving the rule (ἀρχή) from the ancestors (described in 36.1-4), but it is the present generation that has made the city prepared for all things, both in war and peace (36.3). Each generation has added to the *archē*, but as the focus quickly shifts from one generation to the next, the “past yields to the present,” as Dora C. Pozzi says.²⁰¹ Pericles, in essence, looks to the past only to amplify the current generation, and is willing to talk about the past in very broad strokes, even glossing over most of the ancestors' glorious deeds.²⁰² Thucydides' use of the aorist signals this emphasis on the present with indebtedness to the past.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ “...for it is the cardinal doctrine of the funeral speech that *logos*, though sometimes inadequate without *ergon*, is never unnecessary” (Pearson 1943, 404). Shrimpton 1995 pushes this idea even further as “a speech or statement can exist as a thing (γνώμη) outside of the words in which it is expressed.” (54). See also Pearson 1943, 406. In this conclusion there are hints of the discussion regarding Pindar's praise of words.

²⁰¹ Pozzi 1983, 223.

²⁰² Loraux 2006, 172. ὦν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν κατὰ πολέμους ἔργα, οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτίθη, ἢ εἴ τι αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν βάρβαρον ἢ Ἑλληνα πολέμιον ἐπιόντα προθύμως ἡμυνάμεθα, μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος, ἐάσω (36.4).

Egbert J. Bakker develops the idea, here talking about the introduction to Thucydides' history, but his argument holds true for the entire work.

Thucydides' ξυνέγραψε, a third-person aorist verb, spans past and present, signaling that the writing event was not simply completed in the past but has yielded the concrete result which is now in the readers hand...the aorist ξυνέγραψε presents Thucydides' writing as a reality in the present, a present that is a projected future beyond the historian's lifetime.²⁰⁴

As noted in Bakker's quote, the future also matters in the funeral oration. Actions of the present, Pericles' narrative present, will hopefully extend into the future, thus making the "now" an "always."²⁰⁵ The very actions and characteristics Pericles discusses influence how readers understand Athens at the pinnacle of its power. They are presented with a future of Athens that *can* exist, at least in the context of Pericles' speech.²⁰⁶ The audience's memory of Athens is directly shaped by the Athens formed by Pericles. All those characteristics point to the nature of the city and citizens which the audience and readers should remember. Therefore, the present of the oration offers a collective memory by those in power wanting to leave their image of Athens for future generations.²⁰⁷ This becomes an everlasting memory handed down through the process of

²⁰³ There are many examples of this use of the aorist in the funeral oration, and I have selected a few to illustrate the point. The verb παρέδοσαν in 36.1 shows that the *archē* was and still is free due to the actions of the ancestors. All the actions performed by Athenians displayed the power of Athens and will be monuments of wonder for later generations (παρασχόμενοι, 41.4). In 42.2, the *aretē* of the dead honored (ἐκόσμησαν) the city even after their deaths.

²⁰⁴ Bakker 2007, 120.

²⁰⁵ Loraux 2006, 42.

²⁰⁶ Zumbrennen 2002, 585.

commemoration. Thucydides' motivation here should not surprise an astute reader, as Thucydides informs him or her of the permanency that he intends for his work in his opening chapters.

κτῆμά τε ἐς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν
ξύγκειται. (1.22.4)

It is composed as a possession for all time rather than a declamation for listening to on the spot.

In praising the city, Pericles rarely uses physical moments to assist in the creation or preservation of the collective memory of Athens. As he stood atop a platform and surrounded by public reminders of the men who offered their lives for Athens, Pericles had ample opportunity to point out examples to the crowd, especially when monuments could help preserve memory and tie it to specific places.²⁰⁸ Instead, he kept the proof (σημεῖον) quite general, and in the realm of *logoi* and *tropoi*, something more befitting a memory which Jacqueline de Romilly would call “une manifestation collective et publique.”²⁰⁹ This collective memory benefits from not being associated with one particular monument or person. Instead it turns the focus onto the city itself. This is not to say that Thucydides does not refer to the specific tomb in which the dead are buried, but he does so in order to contrast what he believes to be the more important monument.

²⁰⁷ Unfortunately, the future of the funeral oration did not come to fruition as the description of the plague shows the reader. The plague, in Thucydides' account, shatters Athenian virtues as it drives the citizens to act in ways opposite to the characteristics of the funeral oration (51-53). Readers, as so often in Thucydides, are asked to look at the accounts in relation to each other in order to understand the significance of each individual incident.

²⁰⁸ Mitchell 2003, 444.

²⁰⁹ de Romilly 2005, 246.

καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ
 δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι ἀεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔρου καιρῷ
 ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται.

(43.2)

The physical location of the tomb is not one to which their memory is tied, but to any time that one recalls the actions and words of those that have died.

Herein lies what I believe to be the whole purpose of this oration. Athens becomes a memory, but in the speech carefully crafted by Thucydides, Pericles' idea of what Athens is and should be results in the creation of Athens' ultimate monument: Athens itself.²¹⁰ Pericles' predilection for using *logoi* over *erga* in the construction of memory creates an Athens built by words and other abstract actions. The preservation of the dead is determined, not by a stele with their names on it, although this does help, but by an unwritten memory (ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ' ἐκάστῳ τῆς γνώμῆς μᾶλλον τοῦ ἔργου, 43.3) which can exist anywhere. While he prefers this unwritten memory to any type of physical tomb, especially since monuments can lose their significance over time, the unwritten memory can only exist in the hearts of those remembering it, and only as long as they live.²¹¹ In order to preserve the unwritten memory of words in Pericles' speech, then, the transmission of this memory from one generation to the next is necessary.

²¹⁰ de Romilly 1990 notes that despite the general nature of the sentiments, it is not left to a spontaneous speech: "...c'est bien la pensée elle-même qui est générale, mais le surgissement de la généralité et des principes pour chaque pas franchi n'est point l'effet du hasard; et ce crépitement de sentences n'est point commandé par la fantaisie: il obéit plutôt à un goût, voire à une mode, qu'avait lancée l'épanouissement récent de la rhétorique..." (76).

²¹¹ Mitchell 2003, 446.

Athens is created and left to future generations by the λόγοι with which Pericles erects his monument.

Everything that Pericles addresses in the oration functions to preserve Athens for future generations, the main purpose of a monument. The list of its *tropoi*, the glory of the ancestors, and the *aretē* of the dead all are composite aspects of Athens, which, when taken together, help form the Athens that Pericles wants his audience to remember. Its presentation in the funeral oration becomes the memory of Athens. Even the discussion of the dead contributes to the creation of Athens as a monument: αἱ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀρεταὶ ἐκόσμησαν (“the excellence of these men [the dead] and those like them decorated [the city],” 42.2). Their excellence, an abstract concept able to be told only through words, adorns the city’s memory as the names of the deceased mark a public tombstone. Much as Herodotus talks of wondrous monuments (Prologue), Pericles sets Athens up as a wonder for the present and coming generations. Instead of the concrete objects favored by Herodotus, Pericles creates immortality for the city by erecting his own everlasting monument through his words.

At the same time that Pericles erects his Athenian monument of words within his speech, Thucydides crafts his own monument of *logoi* with the speech itself. As his opening chapters state, Thucydides’ work is to be for all time, a conservator of the events in his history. Inclusion of an incident or account marks it as an event to be remembered; Thucydides does this by writing them down, as the opening line of his work shows, Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων (“Thucydides, the Athenian, wrote down the war of the Peloponnesians and the

Athenians,” 1.1). The text of the speech becomes the object/monument to which the memory is attached in the narrative shaped by Thucydides.²¹² Pericles’ speech, on the other hand, preserves the memory by using the spoken word. By adding Pericles’ speech to his history, it becomes part of Thucydides’ larger record of the Peloponnesian War, his monument of words, going from spoken *logoi* to that of written *logoi*.

With the eternal memory of the city formed from the interplay of various factors (*logoi, erga*, past, present, future), the source of praise for the war dead is better understood. The soldiers’ praise stems not from a victory, but from dying. With no big battles or trophies set up in the first year of the war, their deeds did not place them in the same ranks as the dead at Marathon or other successful battles, but as we have seen, their sacrifice was to preserve Athens.²¹³ In lieu of bringing harm or shame upon the city and its *aretē*, the soldiers offered the finest thing that they could: their bodies.²¹⁴ Their praise, unlike that of the athlete or victorious army, comes from willingly ending their lives, thus stopping any opportunities for achieving more glory. Their death is the display of their *aretē*, which brings them praise, but more importantly, these soldiers died for a particular reason. The excellence of the men comes not from the deed itself, but from another abstraction, the motivation for action.²¹⁵

²¹² Grethlein 2010, 117.

²¹³ Bosworth 2000, 6.

²¹⁴ οὐκ οὐκ καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τῆς σφετέρως ἀρετῆς ἀξιοῦντες στερίσκουσιν, κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῆ προΐεμενοι (43.1).

²¹⁵ Konishi 1980, 35; Loraux 2006, 149. “Pericles shows that the essential thing lies not in the *ergon* but in the intention that motivates it” (149) (translation by Alan Sheridan). The Greek: δοκεῖ δέ μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν...ἢ νῦν τῶνδε καταστροφῆ (42.2).

The necessity of preserving Athens, as Pericles presented it, demonstrated why soldiers were so willing to die for the city. Pericles constructed Athens in a way that justified the motivation of those who were being commemorated at the funeral. All the positive attributes ascribed to Athens provided proof of the city's stature; it was not just patriotic boasting.²¹⁶ In Pericles' summation of the praise for Athens, he stated:

περὶ τοιαύτης οὖν πόλεως οἶδε τε γενναίως δικαιούντες μὴ
ἀφαιρεθῆναι αὐτὴν μαχόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν, καὶ τῶν
λειπομένων πάντα τινὰ εἰκὸς ἐθέλειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κάμνειν. (41.5)

Then, *for such a city* those men, who deemed not to be deprived of the city right, nobly died fighting, and every one of those who remain wish to toil on behalf of it.

The city was so great and its residents had so much to lose (42.1) that men both living and dead considered it the proper thing (δικαιοῦντες) to act, even at the expense of their own lives, in order that Athens continue and not be lost.

In giving their lives for the preservation of Athens and the Athenian empire, the dead are given ageless praise by the *polis*. While the orator helped preserve the dead by honoring them, he only did so because the *polis* determined them fit for praise. This praise changed how they were to be remembered, since their dutiful service for the state blotted out any faults they might have had as private citizens (42.3). The city's praise recast these men in the way in which it wanted posterity to remember them. The fallen soldier emerged good (ἀγαθός) and at the peak of his *aretē*. The city had now become the ultimate authority of memory. A hired sculptor or Pindar no longer mattered in the

²¹⁶ καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἅμα ἐφ' οἷς νῦν λέγω φανεράν σημείους καθιστάς (42.1).

preservation and distribution of praise, since the city now decided what memories ought to be saved from the darkness of oblivion.²¹⁷

Immortality, which is solidified in the funeral oration, is the supreme honor granted to the war dead, thereby marking them as special, but with an almost faceless anonymity. These men now join the ranks of a selective group whose immortality is kept alive through the praise from the *polis*.²¹⁸ Unlike the regular dead, these men receive the honor of a public funeral with its oration and cult worship, further preventing them from being forgotten.²¹⁹ Thucydides writes that a public funeral with all its rituals is held in the Kerameikos anytime the need arises (34.7). In this commemoration, the memory of the dead enters the public memory in the same way as that of those who died at Marathon. Offerings would be brought during public festivals for the dead, as done for other objects of cult worship. While individual names would have been inscribed along the Demosion Sema, their honor was collective in the oration.²²⁰ Pericles mentions none of the dead by name; instead he praises them as a unit with the same list of defining characteristics (42.2-4). What their names were mattered less than the fact that they were Athenians who

²¹⁷ Loraux 2006, 27.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 167-68; Monson and Loriaux 1998, 287; Bosworth 2000, 6.

²¹⁹ Loraux 2006, 71. The honors given to the dead in Pericles' oration are similar to those granted Tellus, Solon's happiest man in Herodotus 1.30.4-5. After taking up arms in order to protect Athens and having routed the enemy, Tellus died in a fine manner in battle (*ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα*, 1.30.5). Solon explains further, *καί μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίη τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῆ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως* (1.30.5). This unknown man, although Solon provided his name—there is no certainty that he was a real person—served his city in a manner as those commemorated in the funeral oration. He even received a public burial. The Athenians also honored him greatly. The only difference between Tellus and the men of Pericles' speech is that Tellus, like those men at Marathon, was buried on the very spot where he died.

²²⁰ Loraux 2006, 75.

had offered their lives for the good of the *polis*. Despite this lack of singling out, praise still connected itself to the dead.

The dead men's offering of their bodies for the benefit of the city demonstrates the reciprocal relationship between the *polis* and the dead that is found in the funeral oration. Scholars have noted the give and take relationship between the *polis* and its citizen body.²²¹ As one gives, the other receives something in return. Within the context of the funeral oration, this is most clearly seen by the honor given to the dead. Lionel Pearson notes that through praising the city, the main thrust of the oration, the dead also share in that praise because their courage furthers the Athenian tradition (collective memory) and, at the same time, displays Athenian ideals.²²² Their courageous actions feed into the official memory that Pericles provides; their individual action gives way to the collective memory.

In the process of praising the dead, the city also received praise. The *polis* benefited from the *aretē* of its war dead by showing what type of men Athens produced. As the reputation of its residents improved, so did the city's; the *polis* took on the reputation of the dead to further its own status. The symbolic capital that accrued from commemorating those who exemplified Athenian values provided Athens with praise. The *polis* could appropriate the positive qualities embodied by the war dead by burying them at public expense.²²³ There arises a circular system, since the excellence of the

²²¹ E.g., Pozzi 1983; Monson and Loriaux 1998; Loriaux 2006; Balot 2001.

²²² Pearson 1943, 407.

²²³ Loriaux 2006, 52.

dead, which bolsters Athens' situation, comes from Athens, making the *polis* the determiner of its own glory.

Even Pericles' advice to the relatives reinforces this relationship. He urges those still in their childbearing years to produce more children. While these children will help calm the private grief, Pericles sees them serving the *polis*. The void left by the dead will be filled, and in doing so, the city will be more secure (44.3). All this sacrifice and expression of Athenian *tropoi* bolsters the image of the city, making it one for which citizens are willing to give their bodies in warfare.

As is clear to any reader of the funeral oration, the *polis* is its main focus. Thucydides had Pericles create an ideal Athens, one for which its citizens were willing to die. He does this through the interplay of *logoi* and *erga*, with words being the preferred method as they are more apt to commemorate the *tropoi* that Pericles mentions. Instead of listing great deeds of the *polis*, Pericles describes its *tropoi*; these characteristics make Athens a thing worth preserving. This makes a memory that is commemorated through *logoi*, both the spoken words of Pericles and the written *logoi* of Thucydides. The speech, since it is a public commemoration, now becomes part of the collective memory. In expressing the collective memory conveyed through words, the audience of the oration would have learned how to act in a manner befitting Athenian citizens: offer their lives for the *polis*.

Through this sacrifice, the dead receive everlasting praise, praise which then connects them to the collective memory. Their praise comes from Athens, which honors them for offering their lives for the sake of the *polis*. Through this action, which displays

their *aretē*, the dead and Athens enter a reciprocal relationship in a similar manner to the one between *logoi* and *erga*. Athens rises in prestige because it produces men who are willing to die for the *polis*; their deaths exemplify what is so great about Athens. By dying, the men enter into the timeless continuum of Athens and its history. Immortality stems from the commemoration for both the dead and the *polis*. Instead of monuments of stone or bronze, Pericles, within the structure of the speech, creates a monument, and this monument is Athens. Meanwhile, Thucydides records the speech, thus making his text the monument to which the memory of Athens and the dead are attached.

The funeral oration was unique in that it did not preserve the names of the men it intended to commemorate. All the other acts of commemoration listed the name or names for future generations. Granted, the men discussed in the oration had their names listed on the casualty lists, but in Pericles' speech, they have been assimilated into the *polis*. In the generic nature of the funeral oration, there is no place for the individual. For the athlete, his glory set him apart from his fellow competitors, and the commemorations for him also singled him out. Much as the *soros* at Marathon sits between two kinds of burial, the commemoration of the Marathon dead bridges the collective and the individual. Certainly, a group of men achieved the victory, but there was an effort to preserve the memory of each man by recording his name on the *stelai*. The forms of commemoration take on a collective or individual focus depending on the person supporting the commemoration. While the burial has elements of the individual, the site, taken as a whole, emphasizes the group victory. Unlike the victor statue or epinician ode, the funeral oration diverts the attention from those commemorated. The men get their praise,

but it comes from the *polis*, the entity which funded the funeral. Instead of seeing the suppression of the individual as a result of the increasing control of the *polis*, we should see it as a process of the commissioner expressing his or her memory of the event.

In spite of the difference in media of these forms of commemoration, they are all working towards the same goal. This also means that similar conventions help create immortality for the commemorated. There are allusions to cult, either explicit or through poetic imagery, to suggest that the dead are part of practices which intend to make the memory of the men last after the end of their mortal lives. Pericles' funeral oration does not have strong references to cult, but we must keep in mind that this speech is one event within a larger festival meant to honor the war dead in a way not granted to the "normal" dead. There is also an emphasis on overcoming time, which aids in prolonging the memory. Pindar comments on the destructive power of time, especially for things untrue, at least according to the rhetoric of the poet, but offers his poems as a vehicle to combat time. The Athenians, in the years after the Battle of Marathon, place the battle within the timeless realm of myth, and this ideological change ensures its survival for posterity. Even Pericles' speech, as part of Thucydides' record for all time, looks to the future. Athens will continue to thrive due to the sacrifice of the dead. By emphasizing this action, Pericles forms an Athens which can last in the words of Thucydides. This Athens is not the real Athens, but then, neither are the depictions of the athletic victor or the Marathon dead. The commemorated become representations, not accurate ones, but idealized ones for future generations.

Especially important in the preservation of memory is the relationship between word and material reminder. At first the relationship appears to be hostile, particularly in Pindar and Thucydides. As the exploration of these acts of commemoration unfold, it becomes clear that the interaction between the two actually attempts to increase the longevity of the memory. The memory of the dead in Pericles' speech is important because they had performed great deeds; without those actions, their praise could not exist. The *logoi* of Pericles' speech actually become a monument: Thucydides' physical text that preserves the memory of the dead. Pindar's attitude toward statues seems critical, especially in *Nemean 5*, but relies on visual imagery to construct his odes for his audience. An athletic statue has real meaning for the viewer only when the label that records the name of the athlete is added. The battlefield at Marathon incorporates the necessity of the labeling, at least for the burial mounds. For about thirty years after the battle, the site had physical monuments, but starting in the 460s, an ideological overhaul of the battle and a new monument on the site changed how Athenians understood the battle. The relationship between word and material reminder stems from a reinterpretation of the victory, one that influenced how the battle was represented. In Greek acts of commemoration, the use of word and physical objects bolster the immortality offered to the commemorated.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: LEST WE FORGET...

Acts of commemoration attempt to do more than just preserve a memory. In the conservation of that memory, the subjects of commemoration receive immortality. This is done through stylistic choices in the different forms of commemoration. By associating men with heroes, through burial type, or by using imagery that suggests cult practices, as in Pindar's poetry, Greek forms of commemoration offer everlasting life.²²⁴ Through victory odes, statues, trophies, or funeral orations, Greeks offered those who had performed impressive deeds a physical manifestation for their *aretē*, a characteristic deserving of remembrance, thus preserving the memory of the men and their *aretē*. The form of commemoration, whether through words or tangible media, connects the memory to a specific location or item, thus ensuring the longevity of the memory.²²⁵ Any time one encounters an ode or stone monument, the memory of the commemorated person resurfaces. Oblivion, brought on by death, time or even forgetting, threatens memory, but the acts of commemoration protect the memory and grant it life beyond that of the person or event represented.

This does not mean that these acts ensure the survival of the memory. If a society feels that the memory is not worth remembering, the monument commemorating it is no

²²⁴ For more on the relationship between Pindar and cult practices, see Currie 2005.

²²⁵ Osborne 2001, 3 states that places with symbolic meanings become a continuity and part of the collective memory of a society.

longer important and can fall into neglect. Monuments only last as long as a society maintains a commemorative vigilance.²²⁶ The conscious destruction of monuments, e.g. by invaders or new political orders, also damages the preservation of a memory. Much as the construction of monuments reflects the power of the society erecting them, the act of dismantling them also demonstrates the power of the ones engaging in the process.²²⁷ Societies commemorate in order to remember, but nothing can guarantee that the object of commemoration can survive exterior threats, such as deliberate destruction, the natural erosion of time, or even neglect.

Throughout this study, I have focused on what these acts of commemoration meant to those who created them, without consideration of alternative interpretations. Acts of commemoration do possess different meanings, often at the same time. The site of Marathon has varying interpretations. While the Plataeans were not buried with the Athenians at Marathon, theirs was the only other Greek *polis* honored there. At the same time that this memorial cemented the bond between Athens and Plataea, other city-states found themselves excluded; those *poleis* might see the monuments in the plain of Marathon as visual reminders of the debt owed to Athens, not as the commemoration of a glorious victory over barbarian forces.²²⁸ While Greece benefited from the outcome of Marathon, only Athens could use the battle and its monuments as evidence of its power, potentially leading other *poleis* to interpret the site as an expression of the oppressive power of Athens, particularly by those opposed to the growth of its empire in the second

²²⁶ Nora 1989, 12.

²²⁷ Osborne 2001, 20.

²²⁸ The Persians, of course, would have their own interpretation of the battle site.

half of the fifth century.²²⁹ These meanings could even change over time, as is true for all objects of commemoration, due to new ways of approaching the commemorated events coming to the fore.²³⁰

Commemorating, then, is an act that has a complex afterlife. Intended to preserve the memory of a person or event, acts of commemoration actually take on multivalent interpretations. The athlete or *polis* could use the commemoration to display his or its achievements, thus preserving for future generations a moment when his or its *aretē* was at its height.²³¹ This is not a “true” representation of the event or person, but one that demonstrates behaviors that the society determined worthy of preservation. Due to the nature of monuments and other forms of commemoration, the meaning of the commemoration can and does change over time, despite the monument’s timeless associations.²³² These acts of commemoration, at least the ones that survive, influence how we understand the society that performed them, allowing them to survive even longer.

²²⁹ Hölscher 1998, 169-171 suggests that the Athena Lemnia statue and Hermes Propylaios statue show the power of Pericles and Athens within the Delian League. These figures can represent the protecting power of Athens for its allies as well as be a manifestation of the imperialist intentions to its opponents.

²³⁰ Mayo 1988, 73 lists three changes to history that can affect the meaning of war memorials over time: an enhancement of an established historical interpretation due to new evidence; interpretations of the past change how history is viewed; an event is not considered important or forgotten completely.

²³¹ Grethlein 2010, 113 notes that *aretē* is a source of continuity in funeral orations, and to which I wish to add other forms of Greek commemoration.

²³² Nora 1989, 19: “For if we accept that the most fundamental purpose of the *lieu de mémoire* is to stop time, to block the work of forgetting, to establish a state of things, to immortalize death, to materialize the immaterial—just as if gold were the only memory of money—all of this in order to capture a maximum of meaning in the fewest of signs, it is also clear that *lieux de mémoire* only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications” (19).

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