FIFTH CENTURY B.C.E. WAR MEMORIALS IN PAUSANIAS' PERIEGESIS

by

ALLENE MCDANIEL SEET

(Under the Direction of Naomi J. Norman)

ABSTRACT

In my thesis, Pausanias' *Periegesis* will form the base for an exploration of the context and meaning of fifth century B.C.E. Greek war memorials in the landscape of

Greece in the second century C.E. By examining the context and function of war

memorials in Pausanias' Periegesis along with their material remains, I hope to draw

conclusions about the different intentions of commemorating war, as well as the

significance of a war memorial's topographical location. Understanding these

connections will lead to a wider understanding of the social memory of war in Greece,

and particularly in Roman Greece of the second-century C.E. as constructed by

Pausanias.

INDEX WORDS:

Pausanias, Persian Wars, Peloponnesian Wars, war memorial,

Marathon, Salamis, Plataea, Athens

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DEDICATION

A μνῆμα for Papaw, USMCR.

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INTRODUCTION

I argue in this thesis that Pausanias' focus on fifth century B.C.E. war memorials in the *Periegesis*, and those of the Persian Wars in particular, is both a product of and a deviation from second century C.E. Atticism and the philhellenism fostered under the Roman emperor Hadrian. Thus, it is essentially an innovative text that strives to honor the commemorative traditions of Classical Greece while simultaneously creating a niche for Pausanias to legitimize his narrative through integrating famous λ όγοι ("stories") and θ εωρήματα ("sights") of major fifth century events, such as the Persian Wars.¹

Pausanias travels throughout mainland Greece and the Peloponnese, providing a a topographical narrative of whatever is ἀξιοῖ θέαν ("worth seeing"). Also of paramount importance are the stories and monuments which, according to Pausanias, are μάλιστα ἄξια μνήμης ("most worth remembering," 3.11.1). Memory is a tricky concept in Pausanias—after all, how can a Greek from Asia Minor writing in the second century C.E. accurately present memories from the fifth century B.C.E.? This desire to preserve the past, and to reclaim the unattainable, permeates Pausanias. This is seen through his many descriptions of fifth century B.C.E. war memorials, and especially in his descriptions of Persian War battlefields. As Susan Alcock has noted, descriptions of these battlefields and their memorials are scattered throughout the *Periegesis*. Battlefield memorials "convey a particular emotional charge," and are thus heavily susceptible to the formulation and re-formulation of memories.² Pausanias' text reflects this mobility.

¹ I am expanding upon Hutton's idea that this deviation from Attic trends makes Pausanias' text especially unique (2005).

² Alcock 2002:75-82

Thus, this thesis proposes a theoretical framework for reading Pausanias as a record of the social memory of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, as seen through war memorials and legend. Through Pausanias' description of these memorials, we see the historical transference of social memory, defined by Fentress and Wickham as "...an expression of collective experience: social memory identifies a group, giving it a sense of its past and defining its aspirations for the future...[that] often makes factual claims about past events." Nora, in turn, spoke of the "enormous distance" between memory, "the kind of inviolate social memory that primitive and archaic societies embodied, and whose secret died with them" and history, which transforms memory and is more dutiful and selective as opposed to "social, collective, and all-embracing." Attempts to retrieve this archaic memory inevitably result in artificial reconstructions of past experience, which is something that we see in Pausanias' description of the Athenian Agora, for example.

Pausanias' use of this kind of archaic memory gives his text a museum-like quality.

In Chapter One, I discuss the language Pausanias uses to describe fifth century B.C.E. war memorials in Athens, concentrating on those in the Agora and Demosion Sema. An examination of Pausanias' description reveals that memorials and spolia celebrating the victories of the Persian Wars were reserved for the city center, while the loses of the Peloponnesian Wars were, in most cases, relegated to areas outside the city. Chapter Two uses Nora's distinction between memory and history to analyze Pausanias' description of fifth century B.C.E. war memorials outside of Athens, and in particular locations where major battles of the Persian Wars occurred. Chapter Three presents a short case study of Agora S166, the statue of Hadrian mentioned by Pausanias

³ 1993:25-26.

⁴ Arrington 2010.

at the beginning of his description of the Athenian Agora (1.3.2). It is especially striking that Pausanias mentions an imperial Roman portraitin the midst of his description of the Agora, a description that emphasizes fifth century B.C.E. commemorative monuments. According to Pausanias, the statue of Hadrian stands besides a statue of Zeus Eleutherios and in front of the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, which was built sometime after the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C.E. I examine how Pausanias uses the connection between the statue and the cult of Zeus Eleutherios in the commemorative context of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. By examining the context and function of war memorials in Pausanias' *Periegesis*, draw conclusions about the different commemorative intentions embodied in Persian and Peloponnesian War memorials, as described by Pausanias. Understanding these connections will lead to a greater understanding of the social memory of war in Greece, and particularly in Roman Greece of the second century C.E. as constructed by Pausanias.

CHAPTER 1

FIFTH CENTURY B.C.E. WAR MEMORIALS IN ATHENS

This chapter focuses on the language Pausanias employs to describe monuments in Athens commemorating the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. Pausanias describes the tomb of the Aeginetan War dead along the Demosion Sema as a τάφος (1.29.7). but says that soldiers from Drabescus "are buried" (ἐτάφησαν, 1.29.4-5). Pausanias characterizes as μνημα the collective burial of the Athenian war dead at Athens (1.29.4), while the Cleonians who perished at Tanagra merely "lie" (κεῖνται, 1.29.7). I argue that Pausanias deliberately employs specific terms in order to cast the war memorials of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars in a particular light, and that these terms are neither technical nor generic terms for war memorials. I also argue that Pausanias' text reflects the tendency to glorify and recast the Persian Wars in terms more relevant to Roman Greece, a rhetorical trend typical of the second century C.E.⁸ Examining how Pausanias presents ancient Greek war memorials in relation to cities as a whole informs our understanding of how later Greeks related to the war memorials of the fifth-century B.C.E.

For the Greeks, their victory in the Persian Wars symbolized the triumph of freedom (eleutheria) and law (nomos) over slavery and eastern despotism. 9 It is difficult to overemphasize the enormity of what was also an ideological battle, particularly for the

⁵ c. 491 B.C.E. ⁶ c. 464 B.C.E.

⁸ See Alcock 2002: 74-86, "Persian War Blues." See also Spawforth 1994b:233-243, and Hutton 2005:49,52 for Pausanias' "antiquarian interest in the past" that binds him to Atticism as he rejects it. ⁹ Green 1996:xiv.

fledgling Athenian democracy. ¹⁰ For Athens, a city that claimed many Persian War victories for itself, it legitimized and proved that democracy was superior to authoritarianism. Marathon in particular had a tremendous psychological impact upon Athenian consciousness, while Thermopylae became a rallying cry for the Spartans. ¹¹ The display of Athenian strength in the Persian Wars led to the emergence of Athens as a credible counterpart to its polis rival, Sparta. As the reputation of Athens grew and the administration of the Delian League increasingly came under Athenian control, ¹² her relationship with Sparta soured and the resulting discord laid the foundations for the Peloponnesian War. ¹³

Whereas the Peloponnesian War was a divisive symbol for the Greeks, the Persian War functioned as a unifying symbol and a "constellative myth" telling how the Greeks defeated the barbarians and preserved freedom. ¹⁴ Pausanias' *Periegesis* is a testament to the endurance of this myth, though it resonated differently for Greeks in the second century C.E., who evoked the memories of major Persian War battles such as Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea in order to identify themselves with the past glories of

¹⁰ Ibid. 3.

¹¹ Ibid. 5. For Thermopylae as a Spartan rallying cry, see Steinbock 2013: 110. It is striking that Pausanias does not discuss the war memorials at Thermopylae, known from Herodotus (7.228). As scholars like Hutton and Alcock have noted, this may be explained by the fact that Pausanias did not travel as far north as Thermopylae (Hutton 2005:13 notes that Pausanias omits Thessaly and Macedonia to the north, so it is not illogical that he would also omit Thermopylae in his text). However, Pausanias does mention in his description of Mothone that he knows from personal experience that the bluest water comes from Thermopylae.

¹² Kallet 171-72, 76.

¹³ Thucydides mentions that "what made war inevitable was the growth of Athenian power and the fear which this caused in Sparta" (1.23). Trans. Rex Warner, 1954.

¹⁴ See Spawforth 1994 for the Persian Wars as a "unifying symbol," and Alcock 2002:74 for the Persian Wars as a "constellative myth."

Greece and legitimize their elite social ranking.¹⁵ What Spawforth calls "Persian War mania" may very well be, in addition to Pausanias' personal interest, why war memorials from the fifth century B.C.E. figure so prominently in the *Periegesis*.¹⁶ We also see in Pausanias the historical transference of the collective memory of the Persian Wars from the fifth century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. through the attention he pays to war memorials erected during the fifth century B.C.E.

Description and Analysis of War Memorials in and nearby the Agora

The Athenian Agora and the Demosion Sema, the road leading northwest toward the Academy, contain several memorials which commemorate Greek victories against foreign enemies and monuments to the war dead. It was logical for Pausanias, who entered the city from the direction of the Piraeus and Munychia ports to the southeast (1.1-5), to describe the Demosion Sema near the end of Book I, after he discussed the Agora. He also had an ideological basis for this topographical organization: the commemorative monuments in the Agora portray victories, while the state tombs of the war dead along the Demosion Sema portray defeats.¹⁷ In other words, Pausanias' emphasis on this distinction reflects the idea that, in order to merit a monument or statue in the Agora, one had to have glorified Athens through military victory or democratic policy.¹⁸ In order to merit a burial along the Demosion Sema, soldiers had to have died in

¹⁵ Alcock 2002:74-86, Arafat 2010:201-202, Spawforth 1994b. Steinbock 2013:87 points out that this trend of using the Persian Wars as political capital began as far back as the fifth century itself, as evidenced by the speech of the Plataean diplomats (Thuc.2.71.1).

¹⁶ Alcock 2002:75-82.

¹⁷ Arrington 2010: 191-193.

¹⁸ A quote from Lycurgus neatly sums it up: εὐρήσετε δὲ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἀθλητὰς ἀνακειμένους, παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς τὸν τύραννον ἀποκτείναντας ("You will find that in other cities, [statues of] athletes are set up in the agora, but in your city [statues of] worthy generals and the tyrannicides have been set up," Lycurg. *Leok*. 51).

battle—but these battles, in contrast to those commemorated in the Agora, were not championed as paradigmatic of Athenian military supremacy in the Greeks' collective consciousness. ¹⁹ Statesmen buried along the Demosion Sema, such as Cleisthenes and Pericles, also had to have contributed significantly to Athenian progress and preeminence. ²⁰

Although Pausanias enters Athens from the southeast and could have continued into the Agora by following the Panathenaic way, he chooses instead to begin his description of the Agora at its main entrance to the northwest, where the Stoa Basileus and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios are located.²¹ Thus his description of the Agora mimics how a fifth-century Athenian would normally move through that space. With the addition under Augustus of the Roman agora 150 meters to the east, the original Agora lost its commercial function and became instead the intellectual center of Athens.²² Pausanias focuses on the buildings of the original Agora, and completely omits any description of the Roman agora,²³ as though the agora of the fifth century B.C.E. was still thriving in its old form.

¹⁹ This is not to say that these soldiers were looked down upon; that is obviously not the case. But even in Pausanias there is a clear difference between the credit that it given to the Marathonomachoi (1.29.4), for example, and the men who died during the Sicilian Expedition (1.29.11).

²⁰ Cleisthenes initiated democratic reform at Athens c. 507/08 B.C.E. He organized Athenian into tribes according to deme, and also advocated for popular participation in Athenian political affairs by increasing the number of the Boule from four hundred to five hundred (Ober 1989:70-75). Pericles was an influential Athenian general and statesmen during the Peloponnesian War.

Figure 1,2: the Athenian Agora during the fifth century B.C.E. and second century C.E. (Travlos).

²² Camp 1986: 184.

²³ He does mention Roman buildings in the old agora, however, but rarely describes them in detail. A good example is Agrippa's Odeun, which Pausanias mentions "briefly and incidentally in connection with the statues" (Wycherly 1959: 25). Susan Buck Sutton's essay "A Temple Worth Seeing: Pausanias, Travellers, and the Narrative Landscape at Nemea" makes a distinction that is relevant here: when Pausanias ignores Roman monuments and concentrates on ruins, he is consciously removing himself from one world and placing himself in another (186).

Rather than trace Pausanias' exact route through Athens,²⁴ it is more useful to consider the type of space which Pausanias creates, and how war memorials function within those spaces. Pausanias' agora of the second century C.E. functions primarily as a memorial space, a museum of Athens' past deeds and glorious victories.²⁵ This is seen through the number of monuments and paintings depicting past wars and individual generals which Pausanias describes. Various Roman embellishments, such as the portrait of Hadrian near the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (1.3.2), point towards a Roman reimagining of a Greek civic space.

Pausanias notes this statue of Hadrian and Zeus Eleutherios (1.3.2) after pointing out the Stoa Basileus (1.3.1). Presumably these statues stand in front of the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, which Pausanias does not specifically mention.²⁶ It is strange that Pausanias delays his description of the shields of Athenian warriors hung in the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios until Book Ten, when he mentions that Sulla's men plundered them in 86 B.C.E. (10.21.5-6).²⁷ The cult of Zeus Eleutherios was supposedly established after the Battle of Plataea in 479 B.C.E., when the allied Greeks defeated Xerxes' forces after the invasion of Athens in 480 B.C.E. The epithet Zeus Eleutherios refers to the continued preservation and protection of Athenian freedom, and the significance of a foreign enemy

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²⁷ Nor does Pausanias mention them in his brief account of Sulla's capture of Athens (1.20.5-7). According to Pausanias, the shield of a youth named Cidias, who died while defending the pass at Thermopylae against the Gauls in 279 B.C.E., was dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios. Shields like Cidias' were on display in the stoa.

²⁴ Vanderpool 1949.

²⁵ Alcock 2002: 51-58.

²⁶ The "stoa [which] has been built behind, bearing images of the gods who are called the twelve" (στοὰ δὲ ὅπισθεν ἀκοδόμηται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς τοὺς δώδεκα καλουμένους, 1.3.3) likely refers to the Altar of the Twelve Gods and not the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. ὅπισθεν, then, would refer to Pausanias himself and not the statues of Zeus and Hadrian. On the walls of the Altar of the Twelve Gods were paintings by Euphranor depicting Theseus giving democracy to the Athenians and the cavalry battle at Mantinea in 362 B.C.E. between Grylus and Epamonidas. Here, Pausanias' description blends more recent historical events (Mantinea) with those of the distant past (i.e., other buildings in the Agora, such as the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, the Stoa Poikile, and the Naos Eukleias, that commemorate fifth century battles). Pausanias depicts these paintings as one of the many examples of Athenian military strength.

stripping away that protection—quite literally, as Pausanias tells it—cannot be overstated. The stoa may have become an administrative building by this time, but it is clear that it functioned on some level as a war memorial for Athenian men who died at Plataea and after while defending Athens.²⁸ Given Pausanias' predilection for fifth century war memorials and the attention he pays to the painting depicting Marathon in the Stoa Poikile, there is no clear explanation as to why Pausanias omits these details about the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. Perhaps Pausanias did not find anything "worth seeing" in the stoa itself, since the shields were gone by the second century C.E.; yet, one would think that Pausanias would find the details concerning the stoa's original function worth mentioning.

The Bouleuterion contains a painting by Olbiades of the Greek general Callipus, who staved off the Gallic incursion from Thermopylae in 279 B.C.E (1.3.5). ²⁹ Nearly two hundred years after Leonidas and the Spartans defended the pass at Thermopylae from the Persians, an encroaching foreign army once more forced the Greeks to defend the same location. Although the spirit of *eleutheria* previously championed was, according to Pausanias, "completely broken" (κατεπεπτώκει...ἄπαν, 10.19.12), Greek forces rivalling those of Leonidas staved off the Gallic army, lead by Brennus (10.20.1). Through Pausanias' constant referral to the battle of 279 and its associated images, we get a glimpse of how the memory of *the* Battle of Thermopylae was passed down and

²⁸ Some of the thoughts in this paragraph about the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios previously appeared in another paper of mine from 2012, "The Memory of Ruins: Preservation and Memories of Defeat in Ancient Athens and Modern Society." Camp 2010: 106-107. Camp suggests the administrative function, due to the close proximity of other administrative buildings in the Agora, such as the Metroon.

²⁹ Pausanias says that the bouleuterion is $\pi\lambda\eta\sigma$ (ov ("nearby," or "close to") the Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν, or the Metroon, which functioned as the city's archives and a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods (See Camp 2001:182). Πλησίον, as Hutton 2005:13 points out, is just one of the generic pronouns Pausanias frequently employs to describe generic movement and spatial relations between monuments.

re-fashioned by later Greeks.³⁰ I have emphasized so far that Pausanias highlights monuments commemorating the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars; admittedly, Pausanias' descriptions of the paintings from the Altar of the Twelve Gods and the Bouleuterion commemorate battles much later than the fifth century. However, especially in the case of the Bouleuterion, famous battles from the fifth century serve as narrative scenery for Pausanias' descriptions in a blending of recent historical events with those of the distant past.³¹ The painting by Olbiades, a memorial of the battle in 279 B.C.E., would have provided another opportunity for curious observers to contemplate the ability of Greeks to overcome barbarians and defend freedom.

After observing the Tholos, Eponymoi, Temple of Ares, Odeum, and various statues of notable Athenians and other figures, ³² Pausanias arrives at the ναὸς Εὐκλείας (1.14.5). ³³ As noted by Pausanias, this temple is an ἀνάθημα, or a "dedication" erected by the Athenians after their victory at Marathon, and is the only temple built from the spoils of Marathon that Pausanias mentions in his description of Athens. ³⁴ As such, it is a fascinating example of a sacred building (*naos*) that doubles as a de facto war memorial. This building—like the tombs for the war dead that I consider at length in this thesis—plays a significant role in creating and maintaining the social memory of the Greek

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³⁰ Pausanias describes the battle of 279 B.C.E. at 1.4.2-4, and mentions that the Gauls used the same path as that revealed to the Persians by Ephialtes in 480 B.C.E. to cross Oeta undetected. He also draws comparisons between the combat methods of the Gauls and Persians (10.19.10-11). As at 10.5-6, in his description of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios at 1.3.3 and the Bouleuterion at 1.3.5, Pausanias recasts the battle in 279 B.C.E. using the battle of 480 B.C.E. as a narrative frame (1.4.1-6).

³¹ Such as the battle of Mantinea, c. 362 B.C.E. (depicted on the Altar of the Twelve Gods), and the Gallic invasion, c. 279 B.C.E. (depicted on the Bouleuterion).

³² Tholos (1.5.1), Eponymoi (1.5.2-1.8.3), Temple of Ares (1.8.4), Odeum (1.8.6, 1.14.1; Pausanias divides his description of the Odeum with a discursus of Pyrrhus and the ascendancy of the Epeirots. Statues of various historical and mythological figures are interspersed throughout.

³³The Temple of Glory was located near the Eleusinium.

³⁴ Arafat 2010:203. The Temple of Athena Areia at Plataea was also built from the spoils of Marathon (9.4.1-2).

victories of the Persian Wars.

Pausanias' opinion of the Naos Eukleias starts as an aside, but illuminates our understanding of how the memory of Marathon and the Persian War in general functions in the *Periegesis*:

φρονήσαι δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῆ νίκη ταύτη μάλιστα εἰκάζω: καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰσχύλος, ὥς οἱ τοῦ βίου προσεδοκᾶτο ἡ τελευτή, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐμνημόνευσεν οὐδενός, δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτο ἥκων ἐπὶ ποιήσει καὶ πρὸ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσας: ὁ δὲ τό τε ὄνομα πατρόθεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψε καὶ ὡς τῆς ἀνδρίας μάρτυρας ἔχοι τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἄλσος καὶ Μήδων τοὺς ἐς αὐτὸ ἀποβάντας. (1.14.5)

I think that the Athenians are proudest of this victory [at Marathon] in particular, and indeed, even Aeschylus, when the end of his life was expected, remembered nothing of other matters...having fought in the naval battles before Artemisium and at Salamis: but he wrote the names of his father and his city, and that he had witnesses of his courage on the battlefield at Marathon, and that he had [as witnesses] those of the Medes who disembarked against him...

As Pausanias tells it, Aeschylus remembered Marathon as his defining moment up to his death.³⁵ Pausanias also believes that the Athenians perceived Marathon as their greatest victory; Artemisium and Salamis were also significant battles,³⁶ but Marathon held a special place in the Athenian psyche. Pausanias, the recipient of transmitted memories, is clearly aware of this memorial tradition. It colors how he presents other war memorials in the *Periegesis*.³⁷

35 See Billows 2010: 34-55 on Aeschylus, Aristophanes, and the Marathonomachoi.

³⁶ Artemisium occurred c. 480 B.C.E., during the second Persian invasion of Greece. Salamis also occurred in 480 B.C.E. See Strauss 11-30 and 73-92 for the battle at Artemisium and the lead-up to Salamis, and 157-210 for Salamis itself.

³⁷ By the second century C.E., the battle of Marathon was largely a myth, having been mixed with and distorted by over five hundred years of changing history and memorial traditions. Pausanias' description is also affected by the interweaving of history and mythic stories, such as the story of Aeschylus' participation at Marathon, described here.

Pausanias also describes the paintings in the Stoa Poikile that commemorate various battles (1.15-16).³⁸ The first painting he mentions, an image of the Athenians and Spartans fighting at Oenoe.³⁹ depicts the moment before the start of the battle and the display of heroic deeds. The second painting depicts Theseus fighting the Amazons with the Athenians; the third painting shows the victorious Greeks at Troy along with Ajax, Cassandra, and others. The fourth painting illustrates the Greeks fighting at Marathon, with the Plataean, Boeotian, and Attic contingents coming to blows with the Persians; the Persians, located at the center of the painting, are being slaughtered by the Greeks as they attempt to flee through the marsh and into the Phoenician ships that are shown at the edge of the picture. In addition, Pausanias mentions several portraits in the stoa: Marathon himself, 40 Theseus returning from his *katabasis*, Athena, and Herakles, whom Pausanias remarks the Marathonians were the first to worship as a divinity (1.15.3). After his brief digression, Pausanias returns to his description of the painting of the battle at Marathon, and singles out the figures of Callimachus the Athenian polemarch, Miltiades, and Echetlus. 41 Similar to the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, shields are also on display at the Stoa Poikile (1.15.4). According to inscriptions on some of the shields, they were taken from Scionean and Spartan forces taken prisoner after the Battle of Sphacteria in 425 B.C.E. Pausanias relates another important detail, namely that the shields had been covered with

³⁸ See Billows 2010: 33 for the Stoa Poikile and the "glorification of Marathon." See also Massaro 1978.

³⁹ The date is unknown, but possibly occurred sometime during the 1st Peloponnesian War.

⁴⁰ The deme's eponymous hero.

⁴¹ In his description of the battle of Marathon, Pausanias says that a man "rustic in appearance and dress" is said to have appeared in the fray, killed many Persians with a plow, and then disappeared after the battle. A god ordered the Athenians to honor this man, Echetlus, as a hero (1.32.5). The associations between Callimachus, Miltiades, and Echetlus are clear, but those between Miltiades and Echetlus are even more so. Elsewhere, Pausanias calls Miltiades εὐεργέτης πρῶτος κοινῆ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ("the first benefactor in common for all Hellas", 8.52.1). Arafat suggests that Pausanias is consciously elevating Miltiades to hero status. He also points out a bronze statue group at Delphi of Miltiades, Athena, Apollo, Theseus, and Eponymoi built from the spoils of Marathon (10.10.1-2), which may be contemporaneous with the painting of Miltiades on the Stoa Poikile (Arafat 2010:204).

pitch to preserve the leather: "...τὰς δὲ ἐπαληλιμμένας πίσση, μὴ σφᾶς ὅ τε χρόνος λυμήνηται καὶ ὁ ἰός..." ("...and the shields have been smeared with pitch, lest time and rust damage them," 1.15.4) In other words, the Athenians took care to preserve the enemy shields as artifacts, as tangible reminders of Athenian dominance over the Spartans, who prided themselves on being militarily superior to the Athenians.⁴²

Elsewhere in his description of Athens, Pausanias shows an awareness of events and legends associated with the Persian Wars. At 1.18.2, for example, Pausanias identifies the spot on the Acropolis slope where the Persians ascended and killed the Athenians seeking refuge there. These Athenians who had fortified the Acropolis, according to Pausanias, "πλέον τι ἐς τὸν χρησμὸν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰδέναι νομίζοντας" ("…believed that they knew the oracle better than Themistocles did, Hdt.7.143.1)⁴³ Within the Sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, Pausanias sees a marble statue of Persians raising a bronze tripod; these are "ἄξιοι θέας," or "worth seeing" (1.18.8). Spoils from the Persian War that are on display at the Temple of Athena Polias include the breastplate of the general Masistios, who commanded the Persians at Plataea, and a weapon that supposedly belonged to Mardonius (1.27.1-2).⁴⁴

Statues, or εἰκόνας, of Miltiades and Themistocles near the Prytaneum have been altered (μετέγραψαν) to depict a Roman and a Thracian (1.18.3). The verb reflects the

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⁴² Donald Kagan points out the "stunning ramifications" of this naval victory, in which 420 Spartan warriors were captured: "We may marvel that so fierce a military state as Sparta should have been willing to seek peace merely to recover [them]" (143).

⁴³Herodotus mentions the oracle's ambiguous reference to a "wooden wall" by which the Greeks would ultimately conquer the Persians. Themistocles interpreted this as referring to the ships of the Athenian navy, while others believed it referred to the wooden fortifications of the Acropolis.

⁴⁴Pausanias seems to doubt this, but relays the information nonetheless.

common Roman practice of altering inscriptions on Greek statue bases "so as to pass off the statues for portraits of later personages." The politics of altering statues, and particularly portraits, is replete with meaning. Both were likely noblemen who wanted to be associated with Miltiades and Themistocles. Pausanias does not relay further information on the altered inscription, and the "Roman" and "Thracian" remain nameless; what is important for Pausanias is that both statues are still recognizable as two major Athenian figures in the Persian Wars, despite the alteration of their inscriptions.

Description and Analysis of War Memorials in the Demosion Sema

Monuments that more accurately reflect a modern conception of "war memorial" appear in the Demosion Sema where Athenians erected tombs and inscribed casualty lists of men who died in battle. ⁴⁹ Pausanias begins his description of these monuments by

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⁴⁹ Image 2. "Confusion arises because there was no separate word to designate what we call a warmemorial" (Pritchett 1974:259).

⁴⁵ Frazer, vol. 2, pg. 174, 1.18.3. Frazer places both statues in the "Theater," but it is not clear whether he means the Theater of Dionysus of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, both which lie on the south slope of the Acropolis. Pausanias takes interest in this practice elsewhere, as Frazer notes: a statue, originally of Poseidon, near the temple of Demeter in Athens has a Roman inscription identifying the statue as someone else (1.2.4). At Corinth, the inscriptions of bronze statues depicting the daughters of Proteus have been altered to refer to other women (2.9.8). Also at Corinth, Pausanias mentions a statues of Augustus that may have originally depicted Orestes (2.17.3). At Mantinea, the inscription on the tomb of Podares, a local hero, was changed by a descendant 3 generations prior to Pausanias' visit (8.9.9).

⁴⁶ As Frazer points out, Cicero disliked the practice although he desired to be commemorated at Athens (*ad Atticum* vi.1.26), and Dio Chrysostom condemns it (*Or.*xxxi). See Flower 2006 for a survey of erasure in Roman epigraphy, esp. Chapter 2 ("*Did the Greeks Have Memory Sanctions?*"), which discusses the reshaping of civic memory through the Roman alteration of Greek public inscriptions.

⁴⁷ The desire to associate one's self with mythological or historical heroes is also seen through the examples in footnote 35, particularly those at 2.17.3 and 8.9.9. Regarding the Thracian, statues of foreign noblemen are not without precedent in the Greek landscape, nor are monuments dedicated to them. The Philopappos Monument is a prominent example (1.25.8). See Hutton 2005: 1, 30-32.

⁴⁸ Two things may be happening here: first, as already mentioned, somebody is trying to associate themselves with Miltiades and Themistocles by altering the original Greek inscription. Second, although the inscription has been altered, there is no mistaking that the εἰκόνας themselves still depict Miltiades and Themistocles. The original Greek statues would have been in bronze, so the faces could not have been recarved. Regardless, here we have the individual appropriation of statues which are clearly not Roman.

nothing that "Άθηναίοις δὲ καὶ ἔξω πόλεως ἐν τοῖς δήμοις καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς θεῶν ἐστιν ἱερὰ καὶ ἡρώων καὶ ἀνδρῶν τάφοι…" ("And the Athenians have even outside the city, in the demes, and upon the roads sanctuaries of heroes and the graves of men…" 1.29.2). Pausanias immediately makes another significant distinction concerning the war memorials along the Demosion Sema:

ἔστι δὲ καὶ πᾶσι μνῆμα Ἀθηναίοις ὁπόσοις ἀποθανεῖν συνέπεσεν ἔν τε ναυμαχίαις καὶ ἐν μάχαις πεζαῖς πλὴν ὅσοι Μαραθῶνι αὐτῶν ἠγωνίσαντο: τούτοις γὰρ κατὰ χώραν εἰσὶν οἱ τάφοι δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κεῖνται τὴν ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν, καὶ σφῶν ἐστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις στῆλαι τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἑκάστου λέγουσαι (1.29.4).

And there is even a memorial for all the Athenians who died in sea and land battles, except the men who fought at Marathon: for these men, there is a tomb on the field because of their bravery, but the others lie buried along the road to the Academy, and upon their tombs stand stelai telling the names and the deme of each man.

For Pausanias, there is a difference between the memorials of soldiers who died and are buried on the battlefield, and the memorials of those buried at home.⁵⁰ Pausanias neatly divides these categories into the Marathonomachoi, and everyone else; legendary men who are memorialized for their sacrifices, and men who are memorialized for their defeats.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Alcock 2002: argues that battlefield memorials have an intrinsic significance. See also Pritchett 1985:249-51. It is also largely a matter of burial conventions, but Pritchett argues that seeing the matter as an Athenian versus Spartan convention is an "oversimplification." Also according to Pritchett, distance was not a factor in whether Greeks were buried on the battlefield or at home. Arrington 2010:203 assumes that this means a cenotaph, or an empty tomb, for the Marathonomachoi stood at this point along the road to the Academy. Although erecting cenotaphs at home for dead soldiers whose bodies were never recovered was also a customary practice (See Pritchett 1985:257-59), I do not think that the absence of the Marathonomachoi from the Demosion Sema precludes the existence of a cenotaph. This would be placing a war memorial commemorating a victory in an area preserved for memorials of defeats, per Arrington's argument.

Thucydides 2.34 makes the same distinction: "Here the Athenians always bury those who have fallen in war. The only exception is those who died at Marathon, who, because their achievement was considered absolutely outstanding, were buried on the battlefield itself." Trans. Rex Warner, 1954. Jacoby 1944:40, noting that the Plataean dead were also buried in Plataea and not the Kerameikos or Demosion Sema, asserts that the Marathonomachoi were not the exception to the Greek tradition of burying soldiers on the battlefield. Pausanias, however, does seem to present the Marathonomachoi in this light.

This passage is also significant for the terms it introduces. The general meaning of μνῆμα is "monument," but it can also mean a "memory" or a "record of a person or thing." So a tomb or war memorial referred to as a μνῆμα has an obvious etymological connection with memory that a word like τάφοι does not. Pausanias himself does not refer to the entire Demosion Sema as a μνῆμα, but a collection of τάφοι (1.29.2); yet scholars often use μνῆμα as a collective noun for the whole area. Thus, while either word can call to mind a particular monument, they also refer to a wider area designated for the display and recollection of memories relating to the glory of the state. Elsewhere in Pausanias, μνῆμα denotes a single tomb or memorial that either contains the remains of multiple individuals, or a single individual. When a μνῆμα also denotes a πολυανδρεῖον in Pausanias, as with the memorial of the Achaian dead at Gortys-Megalopolis (8.28.7), the most likely explanation for Pausanias' word choice points to the etymological connection with memory.

⁵² Liddell and Scott 1139.I-II.

⁵³ Arrington 2010:180. Arrington describes in detail a passage from Isocrates 8.85-88, in which "[the] use of the word τάφος rather than μνῆμα to describe the tombs removes even the graves' etymological relationship with memory." He also notes Dem.18.208, in which the orator refers to public graves as μνήματα, and the dead as κείμενοι. Arrington compares this usage to Men.242c, where the dead are τιμηθέντες ἔν μνήματα.

⁵⁴ Pritchett 1985: capitalizes the noun, so that Mvῆμα stands in for the Demosion Sema, whereas in Pausanias this distinction is less prevalent. Jacoby 1944:41, ft. 13 connects the singular μνῆμα with the Demosion Sema from Pericles' funeral speech, but also notes that it can refer to a single tomb as opposed to the many, as at Pausanias 1.29.4.

⁵⁵ Pritchett 1985:145.

⁵⁶ A πολυανδρεῖον (the dead from the Sicilian Expedition, c.415-13, located at Argos, 2.22.9; Argive soldiers who died at Hysiai, located at Kenchreai, c. 669, 2.24.7; the Oresthasian dead, c.659, located at Phigaleia, 8.41.1; the Theban dead in battle v. Alexander, c. 335, located in Thebes, 9.10.1; and the Theban dead from Chaironeia, c. 338, located at Chaironeia, 9.40.10). I am heavily indebted to Pritchett's charts from 1985:148-149, and 152-53 (Tables 3-6), where he points out the usage of different terms for "war memorial" in Pausanias.

 $^{^{57}}$ At 3.14.1, μνημα denotes the tomb of the Spartan general Pausanias, and that of Leonidas.

⁵⁸ See also 6.20.6 (the Arcadian dead located at Olympia), and 10.36.10 (Trojan War dead, located at Antikyra).

⁵⁹ Arrington 2010:180 and Jacoby 1944:41. Arrington brings up the intriguing point that, if $\mu\nu\tilde{\eta}\mu\alpha$ is equated with memory, than using τάφος instead of $\mu\nu\tilde{\eta}\mu\alpha$ could indicate forgetting; this is the case at Isocrates 8.85-86, 88 (179-180). I suspect that Pausanias' use of $\mu\nu\tilde{\eta}\mu\alpha$ is somehow connected to the

τάφος in Pausanias. ⁶⁰ Memorials as a whole imply defeat, or a loss of some sort, but can also imply resilience. ⁶¹ A simple verb such as κεῖνται does not have the undertones which $\mu\nu$ ημα, τάφος, or even πολυανδρεῖον carry, even though at 1.29.4 he uses all these words in connection with burial and war memorials. A guide's use of the deponent κεῖνται seems more like a casual observation than a demonstrative recommendation by a guide to see a particular memorial up close.

Inscribed casualty lists (στῆλαι τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἑκάστου λέγουσαι), occur throughout Pausanias and have an entirely different dynamic than war memorials dedicated to individuals. ⁶² The stelai, as monuments specifically tied the annual Athenian ceremony of honoring the war dead, convey "courage and sacrifice, alternately marking and eliding defeat to create a visual rhetoric of collective resilience and continuous struggle." Moreover, the stelai turn individual men into a group of not merely soldiers, but of Athenian soldiers, while the sheer number of the names on the stelai forms a visually compelling monument. This group dynamic, as opposed to a form

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63 Arrington 2010:183.

language of memory in funeral orations, such as that of Pericles. Take, for example, this statement of Pericles: "ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῆ οἰκεία σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή, άλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῆ μὴ προσηκούση ἄγραφος μνήμη παρὶ ἐκάστφ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδιαιτᾶται" ("For famous men have the whole earth as their memorial: it is not only the inscriptions on their graves in their own country that mark them out; no, in foreign lands also, not in any visible form but in people's hearts, their memory abides and grows..." Thuc.2.43.4, Trans. Warner, 1954). Here τάφος is a general word for "tomb." Tombs can have inscriptions that honor the dead, but what is "unwritten"—memories that exist independent of these monuments—is. I believe, what lends μνήματα their intangible quality. ⁶⁰ τάφος seems to be more of a base-line noun for "tomb." Although μνῆμα holds a special connotation (as mentioned above), I see it as an off-shoot of τάφος; thus, any word that can mean "tomb" in a particular context can stand in for the more general τάφος. For example, take the μνῆμα καί τάφοι of the Greeks at Plataea (9.2.5): κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον μάλιστα τὴν ἐς Πλάταιαν τάφοι τῶν πρὸς Μήδους μαχεσαμένων εἰσί. τοῖς μὲν οὖν λοιποῖς ἐστιν Ἔλλησι μνῆμα κοινόν: Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων τοῖς πεσοῦσιν ἰδία τέ είσιν οι τάφοι καὶ ἐλεγεῖά ἐστι Σιμωνίδου γεγραμμένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ("And right at the entrance to Plataea are the tombs of those who fought against the Persians. There is a common memorial for the rest of the Greeks: but for the Spartans and Athenians who died, there are separate tombs and elegies of Simonides inscribed upon them").

⁶¹ Arrington 2010: 194-95.

⁶² Arrington 2010, esp. 182-87. He notes that the headings of these stelai often included battlefield locations, and in some cases lacked a patronymic.

commemorating an individual, reflects a profoundly democratic ideology.⁶⁴ Rowlands, discussing the potential of war memorials to represent trauma as sacrifice, asserts that "one of the features of nationalist war memorials has been their capacity to turn traumatic individual deaths into acts of national celebration and heroic assertions of collective value."⁶⁵ The fact that individual memorials appear in the Demosion Sema among casualty lists creates an even stronger sense of collective identity.

Pritchett counts a total of 28 memorials along the Demosion Sema, 23 of which commemorate Athenians. Athenians. Athenians fine tunes Pritchett's numbers and notes that 20 out of these 28 belong to the 5th-century B.C.E., and only 7 commemorate military defeats in which Athens and Athenian allies sustained heavy casualties. Pausanias says that the grave (τάφος) of Thrasybulus (whom he calls "in every respect the best of the famous Athenians, who came after and before him" (ἀνδρὸς τῶν τε ὕστερον καὶ ὅσοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγόνασιν Ἀθηναίοις λόγιμοι τὰ πάντα ἀρίστου, 1.29.3) was the first to be seen. After a brief digression on Thrasybulus' deeds, he mentions the graves (τάφοι) of Pericles, Chabrias, and Phormio. He says nothing about these three tombs, moving instead to the "monument for all the Athenians who died in sea and land battles, except the men who fought at Marathon" (1.29.4). Concerning this monument, Pausanias says that first were buried the soldiers unexpectedly killed in Thrace by the Edonians during the Battle of

⁶⁴ Ibid. 187. On the monumental size of many lists, see pp. 194-195. Arrington notes that the casualty list for the Athenian dead of Marathon, located at Athens (Pausanias does not mention it), was nearly 5 meters long (*IG* I3 503/4).

⁶⁵ Rowlands 1993:30. This celebration, however, may be tempered by what Rowlands calls the "frightening anonymity" of casualty lists.

⁶⁶ Pritchett 1985: 145-151, esp. Tables 3-4 on pp. 148-49. At pg. 146, however, Pritchett does note the difficulty in attempting to determine the exact number of memorials which Pausanias mentions. ⁶⁷ Arrington 2010:191-92.

⁶⁸ 1.29.3.4. See also Pritchett 1985: 145.

Drabescus, c. 464 B.C.E. 69 Pausanias uses the plural ἐτάφησαν to denote what is probably a πολυανδρεῖον. He does not describe the memorial in any way. ⁷⁰ but mentions an alternate legend that says the soldiers were struck by lightning and briefly remarks on the merits of the generals Leagrus and Sophanes.⁷¹ Pausanias counts this Thracian expedition in c. 465 B.C.E. as the third expedition outside of Greece that was undertaken by Athenians alone, after Iolaus' campaign to Sardinia and the campaign to Ionia. Pausanias then mentions a στήλη decorated with fighting horsemen in front of this memorial; this stele was erected for Melannipus and Macartatus, who died fighting the Lacedaemonians near Tanagra (1.29.6). This may have been a private memorial.⁷² Arrington, who posits that Melannipus and Macartatus may have been traitors, sees redemption through military glory in this particular monument.⁷³ Nearby are the τάφος of the Thessalian cavalrymen who were killed when King Archidamus invaded Attica for the first time in 431 B.C.E., the τάφος of the Cretan bowmen, ⁷⁴ and the μνήματα for Cleisthenes and for Athenian cavalrymen who died with Thessalian allies (1.29.6). Except for the μνημα of Cleisthenes, all the monuments described at 1.29.6 honored more than one individual. Pausanias mentions no στῆλαι τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἑκάστου λέγουσαι, although we might expect each to have an inscribed casualty list.

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⁶⁹ Paus.1.29.4-5, Hdt.9.75, Thuc.1.100.3 and 4.102.2, Diod.11.70.5. Arrington 2010:191 estimates that nearly 10,000 Athenians and allies were killed.

⁷⁰ Arrington 2010:185 notes that these lists had an austere appearance for most of the 5th century B.C.E., but sculpture begins to appear on casualty lists around the last third of the century.

⁷¹ The lack of visual detail in Pausanias' description is one example of Pausanias using θεωρήματα as a catalyst for λόγοι. Perhaps this is also why Pausanias uses a verb instead of a noun to denote the memorial. ⁷² Arrington 2010:? For private burial. Pritchett 1985:148, ft. 161 notes a fragment from the Agora that dates another battle of Tanagra to c. 410. For the fragment, see Bradeen 1974: no. 375.

⁷³ Arrington 2010:205. According to Plutarch, Cimon had been accused of sympathizing with the Spartans (*Kim.* 17.4-5). Melanopus and Macartatus, possibly companions of Cimon, fought in order to prove Cimon's loyalty to the Athenians, who may have set up the stele as a gesture of remorse. So there is both a thematic and spatial juxtaposition between the two monuments.

⁷⁴ 1.29.6. Pritchett 1985: 149-51 posits a date of c. 414 for the Cretan bowmen (possibly during the Sicilian Expedition?), while R. Stupperich maintains that Cretan bowmen fought at the Battle of Salamis in 480 B.C.E.

At 1.29.7, Cleonians who died at Tanagra in 457 B.C.E. "lie" (κεῖνται) near the the τάφος of the Athenians who died during the war with Aegina, the only war memorial along the Demosion Sema which dates to before the Persian Wars (1.29.7).⁷⁵ Pausanias also mentions—seemingly in the same breath— the burials of the Athenian dead from Olynthus in 349 B.C.E., the coast of Caria in 429 B.C.E., the war with Cassander in 304 B.C.E., and the Argives from Tanagra (1.29.7-8). He gives no clear topographical location for these burials, mentioning only that they are buried (ἐτάφησαν) somewhere near the monuments mentioned at 1.29.6. It appears, then, that Pausanias uses ἐτάφησαν to refer to three different war memorials of different historical periods and circumstances. It is as if Pausanias is attempting to mention as many memorials with as few words as possible, glossing over those monuments that do not particularly interest him.

What does interest Pausanias is the casualty list with elegiac epigrams that commemorates, on the same stele, Greeks who died "…in Euboia and Chios…and the farthest regions of the Asian land, and in Sicily" (1.29.11). He spends some time describing this stele, after briefly mentioning that success in battle is often dependent on Good Fortune, as exemplified by those who died at Corinth in 394 B.C.E. This stele is notable for its range of geographic locations, from Asia to Sicily. Unfortunately, Pausanias does not make clear which battles are involved: is the Sicily referred to at 1.29.11-12 the same as at 1.29.13? ⁷⁶ Clearly he is not interested here in the chronology,

⁷⁵ Directly after this monument, Pausanias mentions a decree that allowed the names of slaves who fought in battle to be inscribed on stelai along with other Athenian war dead. It is unclear whether this stele is associated with the war memorial previously mentioned, or another unidentified battle (see Pritchett 1985:146).

⁷⁶Pritchett 1985:148, Table 3 dates these conflicts to c. 412 B.C.E., as does Bradeen 1969:158. The 1964 Loeb edition of Pausanias (per Thuc.8.5-6) tentatively dates this monument to c. 445 B.C.E. At 1.29.13 is another casualty list commemorating those who died in the Sicilian Expedition of c. 414. This expedition, led by Alcibiades, was a stunning loss for the Athenians. It likely would have evoked images and stories similar to Thucydides' description: "[it was] the most calamitous of defeats; for they [the Athenians] were

rather he is interested in the locations where battles occurred. Pausanias makes a point of mentioning that the list includes the names of generals, except for Nicias, as well as the names of private soldiers, including Athenians and Plataeans side by side. 77 He goes on to report that Nicias is omitted from the stele because, unlike Demosthenes who negotiated the surrender and then tried to commit suicide, Nicias voluntarily surrendered. This act made him, in Pausanias' words, an unworthy soldier and thus excluded from the list.

Pausanias provides no other details about the names or elegiac verses on the stele, but immediately turns to another list that combines casualties from multiple battles and possibly time periods (1.29.13). On this list he finds the casualties from Thrace and Megara, ⁷⁸ Mantinea, ⁷⁹ and "οί πρὶν ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφικέσθαι Δημοσθένην Συρακουσίων κρατήσαντες" ("the men who overpowered the Syracusans before Demosthenes came to Sicily"). Pausanias would seem to be connecting the "Sicily" from both lists to the illfated Sicilian Expedition c. 415-413, but never explicitly says. 80 Arrington notes that, along with Sicily, the battle at Mantinea was a tremendous loss for the Athenians: approximately 700 Argives and allies, 200 Mantineans, and 200 Athenians perished.⁸¹

In the same general area were buried (ἐτάφησαν) the dead from the Hellespont, Chaeronea, Amphipolis, Delium, and Cyprus (1.29.13).82 No casualty list is specifically

utterly and entirely defeated...their losses were, as they say, total; army, navy, everything was destroyed..." (7.87, Trans. Warner, 1954). Thucydides discusses the expedition and polyandreion at 7.21-25. See also Diod. 13.8.33, and Plut. Nik. 21-30.

⁷⁷ Except for Nicias, who accepted the Syracusans' terms of surrender (1.29.12). Pritchett 1998:44-53 discusses the expedition.

⁷⁸ Pritchett 1985:148, Table 3: c. 447 B.C.E.

⁷⁹ Ibid. c. 418.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 147 notes that the possible dates covering the dead range from c. 447-418, and 414. He posits a lacuna in Pausanias' text at 1.29.13.

⁸¹ Arrington 2010:191. As opposed to the approximately three hundred Spartans who died, and no allies. See Thuc.5.65-74 and 5.76, and Diod.12.78-79.

⁸² Hellespont (c. 409), Chaeronea (c. 338), Amphipolis (c. 442), Delium (c.424), and Cyprus (commanded by Cimon, c. 449). Arrington estimates that nearly 600 Athenians died at Amphipolis, and nearly 1,000 at

mentioned, but its presence can be inferred from the mention of a list at the beginning of the section (ἐπ' ἄλλη στήλη). As for the dead from Coroneia. 83 Pausanias says of their memorial: "you may note why it is dear that those men are buried along this road" (ἴστω δὲ ὅτω φίλον κειμένους σφᾶς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην). 84 The dead of Eurymedon also lie (κεῖνται), 85 though Pausanias says that these men "τὸ μέγα ἔργον ἐπὶ τῆ πεζῆ καὶ ναυσὶν αὐθημερὸν κρατήσαντες" ("won a great battle upon land and sea on the same day," 1.29.14). The fact that Pausanias' description skirts over the extent of the losses further emphasizes the distinction between the Demosion Sema as an area reserved for commemorating defeats, and the Agora as an era reserved for commemorating victories 86

Τάφος, μνημα, ἐτάφησαν, κεῖνται: each of these words, used throughout 1.29 to designate one or more war memorials, has a slightly different dynamic. These memorials do not necessarily have to contain the remains of the dead, but Thucydides reports that it was Athenian custom to transport the cremated remains of soldiers to the Demosion Sema (2.34). Modern perceptions of war memorials tend to cloud our understanding of ancient ones, as modern graves of soldiers are usually independent structures distinct from inscribed casualty lists, such as the Vietnam Veterans' war memorial in

Delium (191). Pausanias uses the same verb to refer, without any descript topographic location, to all five

⁸³ c. 446 B.C.E. The Boeotian cities regained autonomy after the Athenians' loss (Arrington 2010:191). ⁸⁴The sense is that, if you want to see them, they are here, but I have already enumerated their deeds. 85 c. 468 (?) B.C.E.

⁸⁶The elision of defeat is a common occurrence in communal settings for war memorials. In general, the location of the Demosion Sema outside of Athens acts as a topographic framing device that "facilitated forgetting defeat," as opposed to celebrations of victory such as the funeral oration and victory monuments, "socio-cultural framing devices" located within the city proper. Tombs of the war dead within a larger memorial setting blurs distinctions between battles, chronology, victory, and loss. This has the effect of underemphasizing both victory and defeat, so it comes as no surprise that Pausanias' text reflects this dynamic. (Arrington 2010: 194, 196, 203.) There is always the question of how to what extent these monuments were still visible to Pausanias, and how this effected his description. For a modern study on the intersections of memorials and forgetfulness, or elision, see "The Art of Forgetting," ed. Forty and Kuchler, esp. Part III: War Memorials.

Washington, D.C.⁸⁷ In Pausanias' description of the Demosion Sema at 1.29, we see that ancient Greeks interacted with all types of war memorials within one space. The dynamics of inscribed casualty lists combine with war memorials dedicated to individuals in a setting that honors the war dead as much as it symbolizes painful defeats from Athenian history. This elision, discussed by Arrington, manifests itself in the selectivity of Pausanias' description. Pausanias devotes more time to certain memorials, such as the στήλη of men who died in Euboea, Chios, Asia, and Sicily (1.29.11), likely because of the images and stories they evoke. Battles of the fifth century B.C.E., such as these, particularly stand out in Pausanias' description of the Demosion Sema, although Pausanias mixes them in with earlier and later battles with little or no effort to address chronological gaps.

Although the Demosion Sema was located outside of Athens' monumental city center, Greeks would have seen the war memorials periodically, forming and re-shaping memories of individuals and events. 88 Tombs—and inscribed casualty lists in particular—were visual objects that could be generally comprehended from afar by their size and shape, but needed to be examined up close to convey the full range of their meaning. 89 In the area of the Demosion Sema Pausanias only mentions one memorial dating to the Persian War period. 90 The rest of the fifth century B.C.E. monuments

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⁹⁰ Jacoby 1944:49.

⁸⁷ A relevant comparison to the inscribed casualty lists of the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial is Arlington, Virginia's Arlington National Cemetery; both are different forms of commemoration, kept separate from each other. For the background and subsequent reception of the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial in Washington, DC, see: National Public Radio, Studio 360's American Icons: The Vietnam Veteran's Memorial. 4 October 2013.

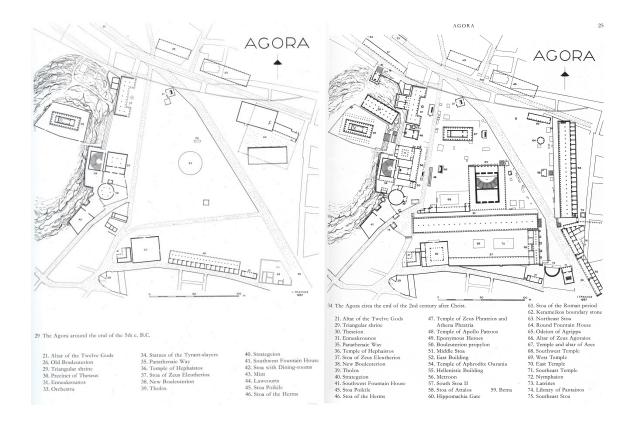
Arrington 2010:109 mentions mourners who would "gathered at the lists"; see also 194, 202-203. Arrington 2010 provides a thorough background on the materiality of the Athenian casualty lists. The full range of the meaning of the lists is, I believe, variable; not every Greek visiting them would have had a personal connection, nor would a visitor to the tombs of the war dead need a personal reason to visit after the annual ceremony (Low 2012: 32-33).

commemorate battles that occurred roughly during the period of the Peloponnesian War; these memorials, however, do not have the same pathos associated with memorials belonging to the Persian War. 91 Pausanias makes a point of mentioning how the Marathonomachoi are not buried along the Demosion Sema with the other war dead, but on the field of battle where they perished. Marathon was a relished victory. Its absence from the Demosion Sema is felt all the more poignantly because the monuments there that are associated with the Peloponnesian War commemorate instead bitter defeats. 92 The commemoration of victories was reserved for the city center, such as the Stoa Poikile painting depicting Marathon and the Spartan shields on display there, which advertised the Athenian victory at Sphacteria. 93 Pausanias devotes considerably more effort and visual detail to these war memorials. Concerning the casualty lists, Pausanias is more interested in where these soldiers fell; he has little personal stake in individual names or minute details. This emphasizes the contrast between visual images, artifacts, and the "frightening anonymity" of extensive and impersonal casualty lists, as well as the different types of audiences that each type of memorial speaks to.

⁹¹ The Persian Wars were generally seen as a victory for all Greeks, most of whom banded together to defeat the barbarians (though rivalries were, of course, still present). Greeks fought Greeks during the Peloponnesian Wars, however; there was no united front against an outside, eastern force.

⁹² Arrington 2010.

⁹³ It is interesting that the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars were both commemorated here because, as we have seen, war memorials in Athens honoring soldiers from the Peloponnesian War tended to be relegated to less public locations. Sphacteria, however, was a victory for the Athenians; thus, it was put on display where all could see. (Arrington 2010: 202-203).



Figures 1, 2
Side by side comparison of the Athenian
Agora in the fifth century B.C.E. and the
second century C.E.
Travlos 1980, fig. 29 and 34

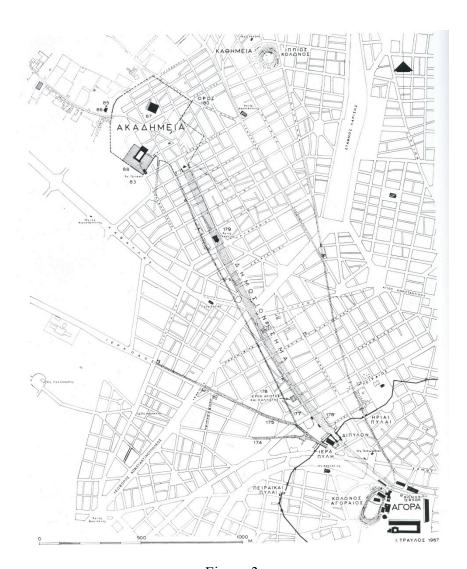


Figure 3 General Map of Demosion Sema and Environs Travlos 1980, fig. 417

CHAPTER 2

WAR MEMORIALS OUTSIDE ATHENS

Athens is remarkable for the number of fifth century war memorials. Indeed, outside of Athens, in the entire text of Pausanias there are only twelve other war memorials mentioned and these range in date from 669-222 B.C.E. ⁹⁴ I examine only those from the fifth century, especially war memorials located on major Persian War battlefields. ⁹⁵ Pausanias is particularly interested in battlefield memorials, which "mark the site where the commemorated events took place and derive their sacredness from their location." ⁹⁶ Battlefield memorials are also typically located away from major urban centers, such as Athens, and thus require more effort to visit. ⁹⁷ Pausanias devotes the bulk of his attention to Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, while his descriptions of the memorials at Megara and Argos, where no battles occurred during the Persian or Peloponnesian wars that acquired Marathon's legendary status, receive less detail. Pausanias' description of the war memorials at Sparta is slightly different. He treats the city much like he treats Athens, although Pausanias' description does not present the organization of Sparta's war memorials in quite as delineated a way as those of Athens.

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⁹⁴ Pritchett 1985:152-53, Tables 5-6: Marathon (1.32.3), Megara (1.43.3), Sicyon (2.7.4), Argos (2.22.9), Kenchreai (2.24.7), Thyreatis (2.38.5), Colophon (7.3.4), Gortys-Megalopolis (8.28.7), Phigaleia (8.41.1), Plataea (9.2.5), Thebes (9.10.1), Chaeronea (9.40.10). Pritchett's tables omit the individual tombs of the Spartan generals Leonidas, Pausanias, and Eurybiades (3.14.1, 3.16.6), as well as the memorial to Miltiades at Marathon (1.32.4).

⁹⁵ Marathon (1.32.3), Salamis (1.36.1), and Plataea (9.2.5).

⁹⁶ Azaryahu 1993: 85.

⁹⁷ Alcock 2002: 76: "...[they] require more intense and focused observance and grant a more intense and focused experience. The strength of memory they provoke is thus, potentially, more inceidiary in nature, making them particularly strong indicators of commemorative trends."

In each description, Pausanias focuses his attention on war memorials from the fifth century B.C.E., consciously removing himself from a Roman reality and inserting himself into the Classical past. Like his description of the Agora, this often creates a fabricated version of the site and how its war memorials were encountered. This chapter uses Nora's distinction between memory and history to examine Pausanias' descriptions of war memorials outside of Athens with this conscious fabrication in mind, and to explore Pausanias' reasons for fixating in the second century C.E. on what are essentially fifth century B.C.E. material expressions of victory, grief, and remembrance.

Marathon

In 490 B.C.E., the Athenians, aided by a contingent of Plataean hoplites, fought the Persians on the plain of Marathon. Nearly 10,000 Greek hoplites armed with bronze shields and spears defended an untold number of light-armed Persians, in a victory that came to symbolize traditional Greek values of public service, piety, and ἀρετή. 98 Several days after the Athenians arrived to defend Marathon, the Persians sent a squadron of ships and cavalrymen around Cape Sounion, presumably to attack Athens from the Bay of Phalaron, and leaving their troops reduced. The Athenians, sensing opportunity, attacked. Miltiades modified the traditional phalanx formation by separating it into a center, left, and right wing, leaving the center lines reduced and vulnerable to pressure. The center held against the Persian onslaught, while the augmented Greek flanks overwhelmed the Persian flanks and turned inward to reinforce the weakened Greek center. The Persians were left to flee to their ships through the Great Marsh. Nearly 6,400 Persians died. Remarkably, only 192 Athenians perished, who were then buried on the

⁹⁸ Green 2006: 39

battlefield and an enormous tumulus, called the Soros, was mounded over them. The Greeks erected a white-marble tropaion at the edge of the Great Marsh, where the greatest number of Persian casualties occurred. Athens was saved, and Greek freedom preserved—momentarily at least. 99

Pausanias describes the deme of Marathon as being equally distant from Athens and Carystus (1.32.3), an unexpected way to locate the location of the battle he focuses on in his description of Athens. 100 He further defines Marathon as "the very spot of Attica [where] the barbarians disembarked, [where] they were overcome in battle, [where] the Greeks destroyed some of their ships as the Persians were putting to sea" (ταύτη τῆς Άττικῆς ἔσχον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ μάχη τε ἐκρατήθησαν καί τινας ὡς ἀνήγοντο ἀπώλεσαν τῶν νεῶν, 1.32.3). Pausanias is merely pointing out an overall view of Marathon, and does not specify where within the deme the Persians disembarked and were slaughtered, although we understand it to be somewhere near the Great Marsh. 101 The very fact that Marathon is where this momentous battle occurred makes it worth seeing and writing about; but Pausanias' description of Marathon itself and the war memorials to the Athenian and Plataean dead is short compared to his description of those in Athens.

After Pausanias situates Marathon in its geographic and historic context,

⁹⁹ Green 2006: 30-40 and Billows 2010: 203-233; Hdt.6.102-117. Pritchett 1960: 142-43 hypothesizes that the Soros was raised where the heaviest Greek casualties occurred, yet both Green and Billows maintain that Greeks sustained their heaviest losses during the battle's final phase, when Greeks tried to set fire to and capture the Persian ships. Van der Veer 1982:290 posits that the Soros is located at the very spot where the Persians nearly broke through the center of the Greek line. For recent reconstructions of the battle, see Doenges 1998 and Hammond 1968. For topographical surveys of the battlefield, see Van der Veer 1982 and Pritchett 1960. See Evans 1993 for a study of Herodotus' narrative of the battle.

¹⁰⁰ Hdt. 6.99 mentions how, before Marathon, the Persians sailed around the Greek islands seeking troops and hostages. The Carystians flatly refused, but relented after the Persians besieged their city (see also Green 2006: 30). It is unusual to us that Pausanias gives Marathon's relative location between two different cities without any measurements.

¹⁰¹ Pritchett 1960, cf. the painting of Marathon in the Sroa Poikile (1.15-16), which depicts the Persians being slaughtered as they flee through the marsh.

he proceeds to describe the battlefield war memorials of the men who died at Marathon:

τάφος δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ στῆλαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ φυλὰς ἑκάστων ἔχουσαι, καὶ ἔτερος Πλαταιεῦσι βοιωτῶν καὶ δούλοις: ἐμαχέσαντο γὰρ καὶ δοῦλοι τότε πρῶτον. καὶ ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἰδία μνῆμα Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος, συμβάσης ὕστερόν οἱ τῆς τελευτῆς Πάρου τε ἁμαρτόντι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς κρίσιν Ἀθηναίοις καταστάντι. (1.32.3-4)

And there is a tomb for the Athenians on the plain, and upon this tomb are stelai bearing the names of each man who died according to his tribe, and there is another for the Plataeans of Boeotia and the slaves: for even the slaves fought then, for the first time. And there is a memorial by itself for a man, Miltiades, although his end came later, after he failed at Paros, and after he was brought to court by the Athenians because of this.

Here, a τάφος could mean a simple memorial, such as those along the Demosion Sema, but it most likely refers to the famous Athenian πολυανδρεῖον, or Soros built by Athens after the battle. Although Pausanias seems to use the terms τάφος and πολυανδρεῖον indiscriminately when referring to war memorials in his text, Billows believes this particular use of τάφος in place of πολυανδρεῖον is surprising. Why would he mark this battlefield memorial as a τάφος and not a πολυανδρεῖον? Billows argues that this use of τάφος could reflect—however distantly— how the Athenians at Marathon fought in regiments according to tribes. Indeed, various synopses of the battle highlight the fact that the army fought $\kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \phi \nu \lambda \dot{\alpha} \zeta$, and the casualty list reported by Pausanias makes the same point. Herodotus mentions that the war archon Callimachus commanded the Athenians' right wing (6.111), and Billows reminds us that Callimachus was "at the head of the *Aiantis* tribe, which took the position of honor on the far right." The Leontis and

¹⁰² See Frazer's map or the plain of Marathon (v.2, 32.3).

¹⁰³ 2.22.9 (dead from Sicily at Argos), 2.24.7 (Argive dead from Hysiai at Kenchreai), 8.41.1 (Oresthasians at Phigaleia), 9.10.1 (Thebans [v. Alexander] at Thebes).

Frazer, vol. 2, pg. 443, 32.3. For the arrangement of Athenians at Marathon, see also Herodotus 6.111. For the deployment of Athenian lines according to tribes, see also Billows 2010:217, 221.

Antiochis tribes, likely commanded by Themistocles and Aristides, held the Athenian center where the bulk of the fighting occurred.¹⁰⁵

Frazer, referring to the custom of inscribing the casualty list according to tribe, suggests that men organized by φυλαί would have had a "stronger esprit de corps" than those organized by common citizenship. While both τάφος and πολυανδρεῖον are singular nouns, τάφος is not a collective plural. Why then does Pausanias use it to refer to the burial of the 192 Athenian dead? Perhaps it reflects Frazer's idea of the Athenian esprit de corps at Marathon, but a stronger argument can be made that the term πολυανδρεῖον specificly refers to Cleisthenic tribal organization. However, although Frazer's reasoning is sound, Pausanias does not seem to be particularly concerned with pointing out how casualty lists are organized, except for those at Marathon. Nor does his description of the battle betray any sense that the Athenians fought according to tribes, as the description of Herodotus does. I argue that Pausanias' use of τάφος instead of πολυανδρεῖον reflects this lack of interest.

Pausanias says that the Marathonians "worship the men who died in the battle, and call them heroes" (σέβονται δὲ οἱ Μαραθώνιοι τούτους τε οἳ παρὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπέθανον ἥρωας ὀνομάζοντες, 1.32.4). They also worship Heracles, in whose sanctuary the Athenians encamped before battle. ¹⁰⁸The Soros (1.32.3) represents this heroic status

¹⁰⁸ Van der Veer 1982: 294.

¹⁰⁵ 2010: 217. Billows estimates that four tribal regiments would have made up each wing of the Athenian army, strengthened on the left wing by 600 Plataeans.

¹⁰⁶ Frazer, vol. 2, pg. 443, 32.3.

¹⁰⁷ In his description of war memorials along the Demosion Sema, Pausanias only mentions that the names of the dead are inscribed by deme: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κεῖνται τὴν ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν, καὶ σφῶν ἑστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις στῆλαι τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἑκάστου λέγουσαι ("And others are buried along the road to the Academy, and upon their tombs are stelai telling the name and deme of each man," 1.32.4). In the other examples discussed in this thesis, Pausanias does not specify how the lists are organized.

through its evocation of archaic burial practices, ¹⁰⁹ a detail which Pausanias does not clearly state, but which 1.32.4 inadvertently suggests. The archaeological remains of the Soros contain three major components, as Whitley enumerates: 1) a sacrificial pit or "exterior trench" for offerings, which contained human and animal bones, and blackfigure sherds, 2) a cremation "tray" 1m above the sacrificial pit and 3m below the surface of the tumulus containing bones and sherds of black-figure lekythoi decorated in a style popular during the early fifth century B.C.E., and 3) the tumulus mound. ¹¹⁰ These remains are similar to those found at another archaic burial at Vourva, dating to the late seventh or early sixth B.C.E., and reminiscent of burial practices described in Homer's *Iliad*. ¹¹¹ As a monument, the Soros looks backward to a Cleisthenic conception of collective identity and sacrifice, and also an epic, aristocratic past that no longer represents Greek reality. ¹¹² Just as Pausanias consciously evokes and memorializes a lost Greek past, so does the Soros.

There is another τάφος dedicated to the Plataeans and the slaves who fought with them at Marathon, but these are separate from the Athenian τάφος and its σ τῆλαι. Pausanias does not mention how far apart they are from each other. There is a similar lack of topographic indication for the μ νῆ μ α of Miltiades, mentioned at 1.32.4. Miltiades did not die at Marathon, but in Athens a year later, of gangrene contracted during his disastrous attempt to subdue Paros. Yet he was still largely defined by his actions at

¹⁰⁹ Whitley 1994: 215-16.

Whitley 1994: 215-16, 228; Pritchett 1960: 141; Marks 2010:15-19. The tumulus was originally excavated by Heinrich Schliemann (*Das sogennante Grab der 192 Athener in Marathon*, ZfE 16 [1884] 85-88) and Stais (ArchDelt 1890, 65-71 and 123-32; ArchDelt 1891 34-67 and 970). The burials of Patroclus and Hector reflect these burial practices (*Il.*23, 24).

Whitley 1994: 213-16. For an analysis of heroic tomb-cults, see Antonaccio 1995.

¹¹² Whitley 1994:227-28.

¹¹³ See Herodotus 6.111.3.

¹¹⁴ Herodotus 6.136.

Marathon, 115 and a memorial was established for him upon the plain. Although Pausanias seems to indicate that the μνημα is located somewhere near the τάφος of the Athenians, its exact location has not been securely identified. 116 Billows sees the establishment of the μνημα as an attempt by Miltiades' son Cimon to glorify himself through the memory of his father, ¹¹⁷ while Ameling posits that Pausanias describes the μνῆμα here in order to contrast it with the τάφος of the Athenians. 118 I believe it likely that Cimon established the μνημα in his father's memory, and that the placement of the μνημα near the τάφος of the Athenians made this even more symbolic.

It is also notable that, while Pausanias does note the general placement of the tomb ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ("on the plain"), he mentions nothing about the tumulus rising to a height of nearly 30 feet. This would have been plainly visible from the sea, and likely from any point at which Pausanias may have entered Marathon. ¹¹⁹ This τάφος had been monumentalized long before Pausanias visited Marathon, as the στῆλαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ φυλὰς ἑκάστων ἔγουσαι clearly indicate. 120 If the length of the base of the Marathon casualty list in Athens is any indication, ¹²¹ we may assume that the multiple στῆλαι reported by Pausanias were of a similar size. Pausanias' description of the lists and the Soros does not convey the size of either.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. Herodotus mentions friends of Miltiades defending him against attacks in Athens, "ever calling to mind the fight at Marathon and the conquest of Lemnos."

¹¹⁶ Van der Veer 1982:308, n.68.

¹¹⁷ Billows 2010:34. Herodes Atticus, who claimed to be descended from Miltiades and Cimon, acted similarly by building his villa upon the Vrexisa Marsh near the plain (Ameling 174, 179; Tobin 1994: 217, 282-83 assigns the villa's location here). In doing so, he draws a connection between himself and both figures.

[§] Ameling 2010: 178.

Frazer, vol. 2, pg. 433: "It rises from the plain a mile from the foot in the hills, half a mile from the sea, and about three-quarters of a mile north of the marsh of Vrexisa. It is a conical mound of light, reddish mould, about thirty feet high and two hundred paces in circumference..."

120 Billows 2010: 33-34. See Steinhauer 2004-2009:680 for the text of a fragment from the Marathon Soros.

¹²¹ Arrington 2010:1945-95; it measures more than 5 meters long.

Before Pausanias notes the white-marble tropaion at the edge of the Great Marsh and the remains of the stables of Artaphernes' horses, ¹²² he introduces a story that mixes legend with outright fantasy:

ἐνταῦθα ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα καὶ ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων ἔστιν αἰσθέσθαι: καταστῆναι δὲ ἐς ἐναργῆ θέαν ἐπίτηδες μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῷ συνήνεγκεν, ἀνηκόῷ δὲ ὄντι καὶ ἄλλως συμβὰν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν δαιμόνων ὀργή. (1.32.4)

There, through the whole night you can hear horses neighing and men fighting. And it is impossible for whoever expressly sets out to see the vision to derive good from it, but the spirits are not angry at the man who is ignorant and those who otherwise come there by chance.

This story is intriguing for a variety of reasons, the main one being why Pausanias chooses to include it in his description of Marathon. Pausanias is a man who has "expressly set out to see the vision," and he may be expecting to forge a sense of personal connection to Marathon by visiting the plain where the Athenians fought their most glorious battle, and by being one of the few privileged pilgrims who is granted access to its intangible past. The story gives the reader a sense of "being there" at Marathon on the day of the battle. It also has the effect of contrasting the materiality of the $\tau \dot{\alpha} \phi \sigma \zeta$ of the Athenians, Plataeans, and slaves, and the $\mu \nu \ddot{\eta} \mu \alpha$ of Miltiades with the ephemeral and otherwordly nature of "sounds" and "visions." This story, more than any other aspect, highlights the artificial nature of Pausanias' description of Marathon as a realm of memory. Pausanias is not describing anything real, yet includes this story to create a sense of authenticity and continuity between what is unattainable—that is, the

¹²² Artaphernes was one of the Persian commanders at the battle of Marathon.

¹²³ Sutton 2003:185: "The meditative qualities of ancient places could be fitted to the ponderings of a variety of travellers, ranging from those who employed ancient Greece in a social critique of their own societies, to those who copied and admired its aesthetic qualities, and even those who simply checked off such visits as appropriate markers of class and culture." In context, Sutton is describing how travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries viewed Nemea, but her assertions are also true for Pausanias viewing Marathon.

Marathonomachoi and their memories—and the remains of what he is seeing in the second century C.E.

Pausanias then proceeds to tell another legend related to the battle, achieving the same effects as the legend about the apparitions of the Marathonomachoi:

συνέβη δὲ ὡς λέγουσιν ἄνδρα ἐν τῆ μάχῃ παρεῖναι τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν σκευὴν ἄγροικον: οὖτος τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς καταφονεύσας ἀρότρῳ μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἀφανής: ἐρομένοις δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἄλλο μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχρησεν οὐδέν, τιμᾶν δὲ Ἐχετλαῖον ἐκέλευσεν ἥρωα. $(1.32.5)^{124}$

And they say that a man [Echetlus] was present during the battle, rustic in form and dress, who fought: this man, after slaughtering many of the Persians with a plow, was unseen after the battle.

Pausanias mentions this same Echetlus in the painting of the battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poiile (1.15.3). True to his word, Pausanias mentions in his description of the stoa that he will comment upon Echetlus later (οὖ καὶ ὕστερον ποιήσομαι μνήμην). Although we might except more of a blow-by-blow account of the battle to correspond with the war memorials mentioned, in this story of Echetlus we have a unifying composition of sorts between Pausanias' description of the Stoa Poikile and legends associated with Marathon, told in situ. The stories of the apparitions of the Marathonomachoi apparitions and Echetlaus are sandwiched in between Pausanias' descriptions of war memorials on the plain of Marathon, lending a sense of structure to both although neither bears any resemblance to fact. But Pausanias' stated reason for writing the *Periegesis* is not to record unassailable fact, but what is worth seeing and hearing about. Although we may think that these stories cloud what could be a more "accurate" portrayal of the battlefield

 $^{^{124}}$ Hdt.6.117 tells a somewhat similar story: during the fighting, a warrior named Epizelus suddenly went blind without being hit by a sword or dart. Epizelus himself said that, while he was fighting, a gigantic man with an enormous beard shading his shield appeared, looked down upon him, and passed him by, but killed the men surrounding him. This "phantom" (τὸ φάσμα) appears at a crucial moment in the battle of Marathon to help a soldier, just as Echetlus is said to have appeared and helped the Greek army.

and its war memorials, this "accuracy" hardly matters; Pausanias includes both tales to reinforce his attempt to recall a specific moment of history.

Pausanias mentions that "a trophy of white marble has also been erected" (πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον λίθου λευκοῦ, 1.32.5). This monument is traditionally placed at the edge of the Great Marsh, located to the northeastern of the Marathon plain, where the Persians suffered their heaviest casualties. ¹²⁵ A τρόπαιον, like a μνῆμα, memorializes an event and derives its meaning from the context of its commemoration, ¹²⁶ but is more closely allied with victory than defeat and death. Van der Veer distinguishes the tropaion erected immediately after the battle and advertising the victory from the μνῆμα of Miltiades erected much later at the site after Miltiades died. ¹²⁷ In the nineteenth century, Leake identified fragments of Ionic capitals discovered at the southwestern edge of the Great Marsh as remains of the tropaion mentioned by Pausanias. Vanderpool later found more pieces of Ionic capitals and ancient blocks built into a medieval tower. He associated them with the fifth century tropaion, based on the style of the capital. ¹²⁸

Pausanias provides no other information about the tropaion, but its location where the Persians suffered their heaviest casualties provides a logical segue into his search for their burial mounds (1.32.5). Although the Athenians claimed to have buried the Persians as required by divine law, he could find no traces of a burial, saying that the Persian dead were thrown instead into a trench (ἐς ὄρυγμα δὲ φέροντες σφᾶς ὡς τύχοιεν ἐσέβαλον).

Pausanias immediately follows that comment with the legend behind the Macarian

¹²⁵ Green 1996:37, van der veer 1982:308, Vanderpool 1966:105.

¹²⁶ Marks 2010.

¹²⁷ Van der 1982:308, n.68.

¹²⁸ Van der Veer 1982:307-208, Leake *Demi* II:103, Vanderpool 1966:93-106. See also Vanderpool 1967:108-110 on a white-marble tropaion in the British Museum, which was supposedly taken from the plain of Marathon. Vanderpool asserts that the Ionic capital fragments found by him are part of the "true" white-marble tropaion mentioned by Pausanias.

swamp, named after the daughter of Deianeira and Heracles who sacrificed herself in order for the Athenians to win their first war against the Peloponnesians in the time of Theseus (1.32.6-7). This also connects Marathon to a more distant, mythic past. It finally leads into Pausanias' description of the Great Marsh, into which the Persians fled after the Athenians overwhelmed their flanks or, according to Pausanias, in ignorance of the local road system (ἀπειρία τῶν ὁδῶν): "And they said that this caused their great slaughter upon this marsh" (καί σφισι τὸν φόνον τὸν πολὸν ἐπὶ τούτφ συμβῆναι λέγουσιν). Somewhere above the marsh lie the stone stables used to corral Artaphernes' horses, as well as the marks of Artaphernes' tents in the rock. These are the extent of the legends, war memorials, and material traces of the battle which Pausanias mentions at Marathon.

Pausanias does not mention, however, any of the monuments built during his own time by Herodes Atticus, a wealthy patron who was actually from Marathon. This omission is particularly glaring, but like the others, has a purpose. At some point during the reign of Hadrian, about contemporary with Pausanias' text, Herodes Atticus had the Athenian casualty lists at Marathon removed to his villa at Eva Loukou. 129 Fragments from one stele with an epigram and a list of Athenian dead from the Erectheus tribe have been found there and are assumed to belong to these lists. 130 This places the removal of the stelai during the time when Pausanias visited and wrote about Marathon. Whether or not the lists were still at Marathon when Pausanias visited is unclear. Pausanias could have used previous sources—written or oral—that described the stelai, or could be

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¹²⁹ Spyropoulos 2009.

Ameling 2011:178, Arrington 2010: 185. For an assessment of Herodus Atticus' removal of the stelai, its discovery, and subsequent studies, see Buraselis and Meidani 2010.

invoking a memory from a previous trip to Marathon. ¹³¹ If they had already been removed, it is significant that Pausanias overlooks their removal. In his description, the casualty lists rest upon the $\tau \acute{\alpha} \phi o \varsigma$; in other words, Pausanias is selective in which monuments he presents and this selectivity paints an archaizing picture of the place at a specific moment in the past.

Whether or not Herodes Atticus had removed all of the stelai or only some of them is unclear, as is whether these stelai were originals or copies. Nor do we know to what extent Herodes' villa at Marathon may have altered the commemorative landscape which Pausanias describes. What is clear, however, is that Herodes Atticus, by removing stelai and building a villa near the plain, attempted to "possess" the site's memory and strengthen his own connections to it. 132 By contrast, when Pausanias chooses to omit all mentions of Herodes Atticus' villa and suggests that the stelai are still in situ, he is clearly situating himself more firmly in the fifth century B.C.E. as well. Nevertheless, it is surprising that his language still does not adequately convey the size of the Soros or the stelai, and this likely reflects their removal during the second century C.E.

Salamis

Early in the morning of September 25, 479 B.C.E., the Greek navy launched their triremes in the straits of Salamis, surprising the Persian fleet and striking fear into them with their warlike paean. An Athenian captain, Aminias of Pallene, first rammed into a

¹³¹ There is no evidence for a previous trip to Marathon, although in other parts of his narrative Pausanias seems to be drawing from past experience, so it is not entirely out of the question.

¹³² Ibid. 180: "Herodes Atticus used Marathon...as a historical setting for his image of the Greek past." This act of co-option works on two different levels for Herodes Atticus: as a native of Marathon, he could claim a responsibility for its upkeep-in other words, his birthright makes him a fitting candidate for upholding the traditions of Marathon for the advantage of the deme and, by extension, himself. Second, this act of legitimization is made tangible by Atticus possessing material remains of Marathon's past, such as the casualty lists from the Soros.

Phoenician ship on the Persians' left flank. Seeing that Aminias' ship had rammed too hard and gotten stuck, the rest of the Greek fleet came to his defense and the battle began. Although the Persian ships outnumbered the Greek triremes, and were also lighter and faster, the narrowness of the Salamis straits limited their ability to turn swiftly and sharply. Breezes threw their light vessels off-balance and made the Persian fleet more vulnerable to ramming. While the Athenian triremes were able to keep formation, the Persians line fell apart, some triremes escaping to Phalerum to the southeast. Persians who managed to swim to the islet Ptyssaleia were slaughtered by Athenian hoplites under the command of Aristides, while Xerxes observed his troops' loss from Mt.

Aegaleos to the east. This stunning victory proved the power of the Athenian navy, and thwarted the Persian advance into Greece.

Salamis is one of the islands Ἀθηναίοις οὐ πόρρω τῆς χώρας ("not far from the Athenians"); Pausanias describes its location as κατὰ Ἑλευσῖνα κειμένη ("lying opposite Eleusis") and παρήκει καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρικήν ("alongside Megara," 1.35.1). After a digression on various myths surrounding Salamis, 137 including how Telamon watched the Greeks leave for Troy from Salamis and the burial of Ajax, Pausanias notes a sanctuary of Artemis, a tropaion in honor of Themistocles, and a sanctuary of Cychreus (1.35.1).

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¹³³ Strauss 2004:159-60, 165 and Hdt.6.84. Herodotus also mentions that the Aeginetans claimed that their ship carrying the son of Aeacus was the first to strike.

¹³⁴ Hdt.6.89 mentions that Persian casualties outnumbered those of the Greeks because they did not know how to swim.

¹³⁵ Hdt.6.68-6.95, Strauss 1994:158-72.

¹³⁶ This introduction is discussed at Hutton 2005: 296-97.

¹³⁷ Pausanias identifies the rock on which Telamon once sat while watching the Greeks leave for Troy (1.35.3), which leads to an Aeolian story in which Achilles' armor, thrown from Odysseus' shipwrecked boat, lands near Ajax's grave (1.35.5). Pausanias then expounds upon the size of Ajax's corpse, which he estimates by comparing it to the size of other corpses (1.35.5-8). He identifies the remains of a marketplace with a temple to Ajax and an ebony statue of the hero (1.35.3), and a sanctuary of Artemis (1.36.1), but does not relay any visual or architectural detail.

According to Pausanias, a serpent appeared to the Athenians in the middle of the naval battle, which an oracle told the Athenians was the hero Cychreus. What follows is Pausanias' only narrative about the battle of Salamis in his brief description of the island:

νῆσος δὲ πρὸ Σαλαμῖνός ἐστι καλουμένη Ψυττάλεια: ἐς ταύτην τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσον τετρακοσίους ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν, ἡττωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ξέρξου ναυτικοῦ καὶ τούτους ἀπολέσθαι φασὶν ἐπιδιαβάντων ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. (1.35.2)

There is an island before Salamis called Psyttaleia: at this island they say that nearly four hundred barbarians disembarked, and they say that after Xerxes' fleet was defeated even these men were killed when the Greeks crossed over to Psyttaleia.

Pausanias says very little here about Salamis' integral role in the Persian Wars and its subsequent place in Greek memory. This is in stunning contrast to his full discussion of Marathon.

Pausanias also omits mention of any τάφοι or στῆλαι commemorating the Greeks who died during the sea battle of Salamis in 480 B.C.E. This is not unusual, seeing as it would have been difficult to recover bodies from the water, yet corpses in shallow water or abroad triremes could presumably have been recovered for burial. Pausanias also does not mention that there was a *polyandreion* located near the islet Psyttalia (1.36.2), saying only that this is where the Persians landed and were defeated. A first century C.E. stele, the left half of which is lost, refers to a polyandreion at line

¹³⁸ Cychreus was the son of Poseidon and Salamis, and protector of the island Salamis. He became the first king of Salamis after freeing it from a snake (Michel 2014, Brill's New Pauly).

¹³⁹ See Lazenby 1993, Pritchett 1959 and 1965, and Higbie 1997.

 $^{^{140}}$ Pritchett 1985:248-49, 173. Pritchett notes that Herodotus does not say how the dead were recovered after the battle. It was not uncommon for τάφοι or στῆλαι to be erected after naval battles. Engraved stelai were erected on Samos after the naval battles of Lade (496 B.C.E.), in the Demosion Sema after those between Athens and Aegina (c. 491/0 B.C.E.), and in the Demosion Sema after Eurymedon (c. 468 B.C.E.). In other cases, such as after the naval battle at Cynossema, the Athenians erected a tropaion nearby and had time to collect their dead and return the enemy's dead under a truce (Pritchett 1985:153-203). 141 Alcock 2002:79.

33. 142 To my knowledge, however, no tumulus from the fifth century B.C.E. has been identified on Psyttalia, although Pritchett does mention an "artificial mound...which has no prehistoric sherds and was used for surface burials later than the Persian wars." Also absent from Pausanias' account is the burial of the Corinthian dead, known from inscriptional evidence. Pausanias does, however, mention a $\tau \rho o \pi a \tilde{\iota} v$ in honor of Themistocles, an important commander at the battle (1.36.1). Compared to his descriptions of other famous places where major battles took place, Pausanias' description of Salamis (1.35.1-1.36.2) is short and depends more on the island's surrounding mythology than war memorials.

Megara

A bronze image of Artemis within her sanctuary, located nearby a fountain dedicated by Theagenes, prompts Pausanias to describe a skirmish between the Megarians and a Persian contingent under the command of Mardonius that had wandered into a hilly region nearby (1.40.2-3). These troops shot "missiles" in order to find out the position of the Greek army, and were defeated the next day after having used up their weapons. As an offering of thanks, the Megarians dedicated the bronze statue of Artemis Soteria. In the Olympeium, a statue of Zeus made from ivory, gold, clay, and gypsum

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¹⁴² IG II2, 1035, discussed at Pritchett 1985: 173. The remaining stele reads "πολυανδρεῖον τῶν," which has been restored to "πολυανδρεῖον τῶν ἐν τῆι μάχηι τελευτησάντων" (a polyandreion of the men who died in the battle). Pritchett says that the fragment "refers to a polyandreion on the promontory with the Themistoclean trophy." This fragment, however, comes from the first century C.E. (SEG 26.121).

¹⁴³ If it was used for burials later than the Persian wars, it would likely have been visible to Pausanias. It is strange that he does not mention it at all, or try to connect it with Salamis.

¹⁴⁴ *IG* I2 927, Jacoby 1944:42, Pritchett 1985: 173-74. This epigram inscribed in stone was found somewhere on Salamis (Pritchett does not specify where). Plutarch *Mor*.879E (as noted by Pritchett) mentions that the Corinthian dead where buried near the town and that a stone with an epigram (*IG2* I 927) was inscribed in their honor. See Boegehold's 1965 study of the inscription. See Boegehold 1965 for a study of the stone and epigram.

prompts Pausanias to remark that the Peloponnesian War interrupted the statue's construction; during this time, Athens' annual raids on Megara damaged the both the city's economy and its inhabitants' state of mind (1.40.3-4). The artist Theocosmus had intended to overlay with ivory and gold the "half-finished pieces of wood" (ξύλα ἡμίεργα) behind the temple mentioned by Pausanias, but was presumably interrupted by the war. Instead, as Pausanias tells it, the pieces were left standing—though we might find this difficult to believe and wonder if he is once again describing an imaginary scene. Next, Pausanias mentions a bronze ram from the front of a trireme, said by the Megarians to have been captured after Salamis (1.40.5). Megara, then, is a land marked by both wars.

Although Pausanias begins his description of Megara at 1.39.4, he does not mention a war memorial until 1.43.3, which begins εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τῷ πόλει ("In the city are the tombs of the Megarians."). He starts with an interesting juxtaposition: καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου, τὸ δὲ Αἰσύμνιον καλούμενον μνῆμα ἦν καὶ τοῦτο ἡρώων ("And they erected this taphos for the men who died on the expedition against the Persians, and this [other] taphos, called the Aisymnion, as also a memorial of heroes"). The μὲν... δὲ clause marks the two monuments as different, but the καί seems to indicate that the tomb of the Megarians who died during the Persian Wars is also a μνῆμα commemorating heroes. Furthermore, these tombs are punctuated before and after 1.43.3 by lengthy descriptions of heroes and heroines who were buried at Megara, including the tomb of Hyllus, son of Heracles (1.41.2), the hero-shrine of Pandion (1.41.6), the tomb of Hippolyte (1.41.7), the tomb of

¹⁴⁵ Neither are battlefield monuments, and the τάφοι Μεγαρεῦσιν is likely a cenotaph. Pritchett 1974:152 for the memorial at Megara, and 257-58 for the use of cenotaphs.

Megareus (1.42.1), the grave of Timalcus (1.42.4), and the tombs of Pyrgo and Iphinoe (1.43.4). 146

The collocation of a grave for historic war dead and that for legendary heroes such as Aesymnos is significant. According to Pausanias, Aesymnos was οὐδενὸς τὰ ἐς δόξαν Μεγαρέων δεύτερος ("second to none with respect to these things, in the opinion of the Megarians"). Apparently he traveled to Delphi and asked the Pythia how Megara could become prosperous, to which she responded that they would become prosperous if they "deliberated with the majority" (ην μετά των πλειόνων βουλεύσωνται). The Megarians, interpreting "the majority" to mean the dead, built a bouleuterion in which to place the tombs of heroes. Pausanias is clearly making a connection between the heroic war dead and these mythological heroes—but were both groups buried in the bouleuterion which Pausanias mentions? Or were they kept separate? From Pausanias' description, it would seem that the τάφοι refer to a wider group of tombs in which the μνημα of the war dead and Aesymnos are located. Whether or not they were kept separate, Pausanias is obviously drawing the connection between heroes and the Megarians who died during the Persian Wars and whose death brought Megara prosperity and kleos through their death. This is similar to Pausanias' characterization of the Persian war dead seen throughout the *Periegesis*.

Argos

Not far from the gymnasium at Argos is the πολυανδρεῖον of the Argives who died during the Sicilian Expedition of 415-413 (2.22.9). Pausanias gives no additional information about the monument's location, description or visual markers; nor does he

¹⁴⁶ Pyrgo was the first wife of Alcathous, a son of Pelops; Iphinoe was a daughter of Alcathous (1.43.4).

mention an inscribed casualty list. Indeed, the only thing Pausanias says is that it is a polyandreion. Despite this terse description, the monument is interesting for the insight it gives us into the diversity of burial practices represented in Pausanias. For example, Pritchett contrasts the practice indicated by the Argive πολυανδρεῖον at 2.22.9, in which the ashes of the dead were transported for burial from Sicily to Argos, instead of being buried in Sicily, to that of the Argive memorial of Tanagra located in the outer Kerameikos, where the Greeks who died were buried instead of at Tanagra or in their respective cities. The polyandreion at Argos commemorates the same conflict as the τάφος of the Athenian dead from Sicily in the Demosion Sema (1.29.11). Apparently the Greeks cremated their dead in Sicily, but transported a portion of the ashes to Argos and Athens, implying that the Argives and Athenians were perhaps cremated separately. 147 Pausanias mentions no memorial at Argos to the Argive dead from Tanagra. This seems to indicate that, in contrast to Greeks distributing the ashes to Argos and Athens, none were forwarded to Argos after the battle at Tanagra. Burial practices aside, Pausanias devotes only one word (πολυανδρεῖον) to this war memorial at Argos.

Sparta

At Sparta there are several Persian and Peloponnesian war memorials clustered around the theater (3.14.1ff). Pausanias' description of the agora immediately follows a programmatic statement, in which Pausanias asserts again that his narrative "[sets] apart

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¹⁴⁷Pritchett 1985:152. Unless, as Pritchett notes, the memorial at 2.22.9 is a cenotaph. Pausanias mentions the battle of Tanagra, in which the Argives reinforced the Athenians (1.29.9), and a private memorial of two horsemen Melanopus and Macartatus (1.29.6). I cannot find evidence in Pausanias for a common burial of the Athenian dead from Tanagra; Pritchett seems to infer this from the stele depicting the two horsemen.

the stories most worthy of mention" (τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα, 3.11.1). ¹⁴⁸ This statement colors Pausanias' description of the agora by providing a context for choosing which monuments to describe. The council-chamber, which contains the residences of the ephors, the law-guardians, and a group known as the Bidaeans (3.11.2), does not seem to interest Pausanias much. The Persian Stoa, however, which is the most conspicuous building in Sparta's agora, is also the most conspicuous building in Pausanias' description of Sparta:

ἐπιφανέστατον δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστιν ἣν στοὰν Περσικὴν ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ λαφύρων ποιηθεῖσαν τῶν Μηδικῶν: ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτὴν ἐς μέγεθος τὸ νῦν καὶ ἐς κόσμον τὸν παρόντα μεταβεβλήκασιν. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κιόνων Πέρσαι λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύου. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμισία, θυγάτηρ μὲν Λυγδάμιδος, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Άλικαρνασσοῦ: ταύτην φασὶν ἑκουσίως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συστρατεῦσαι Ξέρξη καὶ ἔργα ἐν τῆ ναυμαχία περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἀποδείξασθαι. (3.11.3)

And the stoa which they call Persian, made from the spoils of the Persian wars, is the most visible in the agora: and throughout time they have altered this stoa to its present size and current decoration: upon the columns are Persians of white marble, and others, even Mardonius, son of Gobryas. And Artemisia, the daughter of Lygdamis, and who ruled Halicarnassus, has been fashioned: they say that she willingly joined in expedition upon Greece with Xerxes, and that she demonstrated skill in the sea battle around Salamis.

"ἀνὰ χρόνον" indicates continued alterations to the stoa, and "τὸ νῦν... τὸν παρόντα" implies that changes to the decorative program may have been made up to Pausanias' day. Pausanias discerns figures of Mardonius, a Persian general who died at Plataea, and Artemesia, a Persian queen who commanded a naval fleet at Salamis. 149 Statues of

 $^{^{148}}$ What is τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα would seem to be different than what is θέας ἄξιον. Pausanias only uses it 6 times, usually referring to what is spoken. On only one occasion does it refer to what Pausanias shows the reader via his description, versus what he tells them (2.13.3: προσέσται δὲ ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἡκόντων τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα, or "at this time, I will add [an account of] the things most worthy of mention of those on display").

¹⁴⁹ It is not clear how Pausanias is able to identify these figures, as he does not mention any inscriptions.

notable Persian warriors which support the entablature of a Greek stoa¹⁵⁰ built from spoils of the Persian war sends a clear message of Spartan superiority and social consciousness.¹⁵¹

The Persian Stoa, as described by Pausanias, is not a ruin; that much is clear from "ἀνὰ χρόνον" and the adjectives "τὸ νῦν... τὸν παρόντα." Pausanias may be describing Roman renovations. He seems to be interested in here is not so much the stoa's antiquity, but the antiquity of the Persian wars itself and the participants. He is particularly interested in Mardonius and Artemisia—presumably there were other figures he does not mention—and seems to admire Artemisia especially. These figures themselves are represented as λ αφύρων ("spoils"). Nevertheless, Pausanias presents the Persian Stoa in the Spartan agora as a visual μ νῆ μ α of a primarily Spartan victory, is in much the same way as he uses the Stoa Poikile to present Marathon as an Athenian achievement.

While walking west from the agora along the Aphetaid Road, Pausanias notes two other structures that could be considered war-memorials, or places of memory: Greeks supposedly met at the Hellenium to prepare their opposition to Xerxes (3.12.6),¹⁵⁴ and a sanctuary of Maron and Alpheius honors the sacrifice of two soldiers who died at

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¹⁵⁰ Kourinou-Pikoula 2006: 39, Vit.*Arch*.1.1.6: "ibique captivorum simulacra barbarico vestis ornatu, superbia meritis contumeliis punita, sustinentia tectum conlocaverunt, uti et hostes horrescerent timore eorum fortitudinis effectus, et cives id exemplum virtutis aspicientes gloria erecti ad defendendam libertatem essent parati" ("and there they arranged images of captives in barbarian attire of dress, their arrogance punished by deserved abuses, holding up the roof, so that enemies might shudder with fear of the execution of their strength, and so that citizens, by looking at this example of courage and elevated by glory, might be prepared to defend liberty").

¹⁵¹ Vitruvius notes this as well (as discussed by Kourinou-Pikoula). According to Vitruvius, the Spartans

¹⁵¹ Vitruvius notes this as well (as discussed by Kourinou-Pikoula). According to Vitruvius, the Spartans built the stoa "laudis et virtutis civium indicem, victoriae posteris pro tropaeo" ("a mark of civic renown and courage, as a trophy of victory for descendants," 1.1.6).

¹⁵² Cartledge 2013: 132.

¹⁵³ Steinbock 2013: 110.

¹⁵⁴ Pausanias also says that the Greeks met at the Hellenium to plan for the Trojan expedition.

Thermopylae (3.12.9). ¹⁵⁵ Continuing further, Pausanias comes upon the cenotaph (τάφος κενός) of the Peloponnesian War general Brasidas. ¹⁵⁶ Because he is clearly distinguishing this type of memorial from others in the *Periegesis*, he omits mentioning that Brasidas' body was actually buried at Amphipolis. ¹⁵⁷ Pausanias does not dwell on this monument, however, quickly moving on to the nearby marble theater which he deems "worthy of seeing" (θέας ἄξιον) and which is not far from the tomb (ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ τοῦ τάφου). ¹⁵⁸ This is a clever variation of the often-used οὐ πόρρω. ¹⁵⁹ In addition, Pausanias notes the material of the theater (λίθου λευκοῦ, "white marble") and not the material of Brasidas' cenotaph. In other words, the theater is singled out by its material and dubbed worth seeing, but the taphos of Brasidas, one of the foremost Spartan generals, is described only as *kenos*.

Brasidas' taphos is not the only one near the theater. Opposite it are the tombs of Pausanias, the victorious general of Plataea, and Leonidas, the nearly mythical hero of Thermopylae. Pausanias uses $\mu\nu\tilde{\eta}\mu\alpha$ to denote both monuments, a noun that starkly distinguishes these monuments as carriers of the social memory of the Persian wars, ¹⁶⁰ and reflects the prominent role of Thermopylae, Plataea, and the Persian Wars in the elite

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^{155 &}quot;Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐς Θερμοπύλας στρατευσαμένων λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίως μαχέσασθαι μετά γε αὐτὸν δοκοῦσι Λεωνίδαν" ("Of the Spartans who fought at Thermopylae, they say that these men fought especially honorably, along with Leonidas himself").

¹⁵⁶ Alcock 2002:71-73 offers a brief review of the archaeological remains of Sparta's city center as compared to the Athenian agora. She notes in particular a passage from Cartledge and Spawforth 1989:121, in which the authors remark that "...the area [agora] had acquired the character almost of a museum...dominated by its showpiece, the Persian Stoa, built from the spoils of Plataea and famous for the figures of Persians which supported the façade..." Although the war memorials discussed above were not in the agora, it is helpful to see them in relation to Sparta's agora as a commemorative space.

157 Frazer, vol. 3, pg. 333, 14.1. See also Thuc.5.11.

¹⁵⁸Coincidentally, Frazer notes that the "theater is the only portion of ancient Sparta which can be identified with certainty" (vol. 3, pg. 324).

¹⁵⁹ Pausanias uses the phrase οὐ πόρρω approximately 92 times throughout the *Periegesis*:

¹⁶⁰ See Steinbock 2013:84-93 for monuments as carriers of social memory.

discourses of the early Roman empire. ¹⁶¹ According to Pausanias, cultic activity takes place over both monuments: καὶ λόγους κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λέγουσι καὶ τιθέασιν ἀγῶνα, ἐν ῷ πλὴν Σπαρτιατῶν ἄλλῳ γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι... ("And they deliver speeches over these memorials every year, and they establish contests, in which nobody else may compete besides the Spartans"). ¹⁶² The annual speeches and contests held over Leonidas' monument at Sparta are similar to those held at Plataea (9.2.5). ¹⁶³ Pausanias' use of μνῆμα prioritizes the idea of memory over his language used to describe Brasidas' monument.

In addition to the location of war memorials within the urban landscape of cities, what is in the memorials matters as well. Pausanias highlights this, noting that the general Pausanias transferred Leonidas' bones from Thermopylae to Sparta nearly 40 years after the battle. Clearly, Thermopylae still held a prominent role in Greek memory nearly half a century later. Pausanias' statement is confusing for a variety of reasons, including the question of why Leonidas' bones—if they were indeed retrieved—were buried separately from the other Spartans who died at Thermopylae. It is also contrary to what Pritchett refers to as the "Spartan convention" of burying their dead abroad on the battlefield.

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Alcock 2002,74: Speeches at festivals, such as those which took place over the graves of Leonidas and Pausanias, were part of how the Greeks' social memory of the Persian wars, and the famous generals who fought it, was continually re-formed. Rhetorical exercises were, in and of themselves, exercises of memory guided by *loci et imagines* (Quint.*Inst*.11.2.21, discussed at Alcock 2002:12-22). Plataea and Thermopylae, where Pausanias and Leonidas fought (respectively), were especially important to the Spartans.

¹⁶² See Connor 2010 for a discussion of the Spartan Leonidea festival. This evidence points toward an understanding of the "afterlife" of monuments, as described in Alcock 2002: preface xii.

¹⁶³ Pausanias describes the Eleutheria festival, in which young Greeks raced before the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios wearing armor and competed in a rhetorical competition, the *dialogos* (discussed at Alcock 2002:80-81).

 $^{^{164}}$ 3.14.1. We can compare this to the μνῆμα of Miltiades established at Marathon long after that battle. 165 Pritchett 1985: 250. The Spartan dead were buried on the battlefield at Leuctra in 371 B.C.E., and near the battlefields in cities sympathetic to the Spartans after Mantinea in 418 B.C.E. and Haliartus in 395

Connor notes numerous inconsistencies in this passage, including the fact that the general Pausanias was already dead by time Pausanias says that he removed Leonidas' bones from Thermopylae (3.14.1). Instead, she suggests that the periegete himself concocted the account at 3.14.1, in order to enhance the glory of the Leonidea festival in the Roman period. 166 Pausanias may be using the mythology of Leonidas here to draw attention to the memorial traditions of Roman Greece, and especially the "speeches" (λόγους) and "contests" (ἀγῶνα) held annually over the tombs of Leonidas and Pausanias, which several Roman inscriptions attest. 167 Connor's suggestion has merit, and I suggest that Pausanias also includes this story to legitimize his description of the war memorials. Let us briefly consider the legend on its own merits: what the general Pausanias may have done by transferring Leonidas' bones and placing them in an entirely new tomb or an already existing monument next to his own is create his own memorial setting. The tombs' proximity to one another allows the sacrifice, courage, and kleos that Spartans attributed to Leonidas to be associated with the general Pausanias as well. 168 The periegete, in turn, uses this legend to reinforce his own depiction of this particular location in Sparta. Regardless of whether the story is true, he reports the physical remains of two separate monuments which he identifies as the tombs of Pausanias and

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B.C.E. Pritchett cautions against a black-and-white characterization of this "convention," saying that "the evidence for other city states is so scattered that any generalization may do violence to facts." ¹⁶⁶ Connor 2010:24-25.

 $^{^{167}}$ Ibid., n.14: IG V (1) 18-20, IG V (1) 559, 660. IG V (1) 18-20 are from the reign of Trajan, and mention "τά Λεωνίδεια" numerous times. IG V (1) 559 dates to the late second-early third century C.E. and refers to games held "on behalf of the race of the Leonids": "...καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην δ [ι]ὰ/[γ]ένους τῶν μεγάλων/[Λε]ωνειδίων..." IG V (1) 660 specifically mentions a man "contending for a prize [at] the epitaphs of Leonidas and Pausanias, and [at the tombs] of other heroes..." (...ἀγωνισάμενον/τὸν ἐπιτάφι[ον Λεωνίδα]/καὶ Παυσαν[ία καὶ τῶν λοι]-/πῶν ἡρώω[ν,...)

¹⁶⁸ Pausanias says that "the success of Leonidas, it seems to me, surpassed the events both through time and those still earlier" (τὸ Λεωνίδου κατόρθωμα ὑπερεβάλετο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τά τε ἀνὰ χρόνον συμβάντα καὶ τὰ ἔτι πρότερον, 3.4.7).

Leonidas. 169 For Pausanias, the story about the transferal of Leonidas' bones only reinforces the sacredness of this location.

Pausanias may also be drawing a mythological connection between the bones of Leonidas and the bones of Orestes, which were transferred from Tegea to Sparta. According to Pausanias, an oracle recommended that the Spartans retrieve the bones of their king Orestes. Lichas, a Spartan who had come to Tegea during the city's truce with Sparta, found the bones buried in a blacksmith's shop (êv οἰκί α χαλκέ ω ς, 3.3.6). Pausanias reports that the τάφος of Orestes is located in the Spartan agora, in the *choros* region and near the sanctuary of the Fates (3.11.10). The Spartans who retrieved the bones of Orestes must have been, like the general Pausanias, either a recognized leader of the polis or a political aspirant: "[The] transfer of heroes such as Theseus, Adrastos, Orestes and others must have been a strategy especially suited to the needs of those states

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¹⁶⁹ The remains of the so-called Leonidaion, which has not been securely identified, can still be seen today (Kourinou-Pikoula 2006: 41, fig. 4). It is not clear whether the remains of a Roman-era "sepulchral structure of square form, regularly constructed with large blocks" (Dodwell 1819) is the same monument mentioned by Pausanias, or whether there was a previous fifth-century structure that we could connect with the story of the general Pausanias.

¹⁷⁰ Huxley 1979: 145-48. This is not the only instance in which Pausanias highlights the transferal of the bones of a Persian War general and connects that transferal to the significance of a location: the bones of Themistocles are moved from Magnesia to the Piraeus (1.1.2). The transferal of bones occurs numerous times throughout Pausanias, usually at the behest of an oracle: Cimon attacks Scyros and returns Theseus' bones to Athens (1.17.6; 3.3.7), bones of Oedipus brought from Thebes to sanctuary of the Holy Goddesses (Furies) at Athens (1.28.7), Nestor brings the bones of Machaon to Gerenia in Laconia (3.26.10), bones of Aristomenes brought from Rhodes to Messenia (4.32.3), Pythia orders Eleans to find bones of Pelops (5.13.6), Eleans bring bones of Hippodameia from Argos to Olympia (6.20.7), Spartans carry bones of Tisamenus from Helice to Sparta (7.1.8), bones of Arcas brought from Maenalus to Mantinea (8.9.3; 8.36.8), bones of Hector brought from Troy to Thebes (9.18.5), Philip of Amyntas sends bones of from Chaironeia to either Macedonia or Thebes (9.29.8), bones of Orpheus brought from Helicon in Boeotia to Macedonia (9.30.11), bones of Hesiod brought to Orchomenus from Naupactus (9.38.3), bones of Arcesilaus brought from Troy to Lebadeia (9.39.3), bones of Schedius brought from the Troad to Anticyra (10.36.1).

¹⁷¹ In his description of Tegea, Pausanias points out the supposed tomb of Orestes, from which the Spartans took the hero's bones (8.54.4).

and individuals who enacted it."¹⁷² The tomb of Leonidas is not in the agora, nor does Pausanias' description seem to belie any clear spatial relationship between the tombs of Leonidas and Orestes. Nevertheless, Pausanias seems to be making a connection between the veneration and transferal of the bones of Leonidas and Orestes.¹⁷³

Plataea

Pausanias takes a similar approach in his description of Plataea (9.1.1). He claims that, prior to Marathon, the Plataeans had no claims to renown among the Greeks (9.1.3). Their participation at Marathon, at Salamis, and at the battle on their own soil, changed this (9.1.3). After commenting on the fame they acquired during the Persian War, Pausanias immediately turns to a description of the Spartan siege of Plataea during the Peloponnesian War and a lengthy description of the war between Plataea and Thebes (9.1.3-9.1.8). Like Megara, Plataea's land and history is marked by the two key events of the fifth century, the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars.

On the road that leads to Hysiae and Eleutheriae is the μνῆμα of the Persian general Mardonius or rather, as Pausanias skeptically notes, the so-called memorial (λεγόμενον μνῆμα εἶναι, or "[what] is said to be the tomb of Mardonius." 9.2.2). He says that the tomb is ἐν δεξιᾳ, on the right side of the road. ¹⁷⁴ It is interesting that Pausanias gives us a more distinct location for Mardonius' μνῆμα than any of those located along other roads in the *Periegesis*, including the Demosion Sema, for Pausanias never mentions on which side of the road the memorials lie in Athens. Although Pausanias does

¹⁷² Antonaccio 1995, 265-66.

¹⁷³ These *loci sancti* "seem to have been respected and maintained because they had been associated in the collective consciousness with mythical heroes or important persons in the city's distant past" (Kourinou-Pikoula 2006:38).

^{174...} ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον ἐστὶν αὖθις ἐν δεξιᾶ Μαρδονίου λεγόμενον μνῆμα εἶναι."

not describe the tomb in detail, he does comment on the body of Mardonus at some length, saying:

καὶ ὅτι μὲν εὐθὺς ἦν μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀφανὴς ὁ Μαρδονίου νεκρός, ἔστιν ὁμολογημένον: τὸν δὲ θάψαντα οὐ κατὰ ταὐτά, ὅστις ἦν, λέγουσι: φαίνεται δὲ Ἀρτόντης ὁ Μαρδονίου πλεῖστα μὲν δοὺς Διονυσοφάνει δῶρα ἀνδρὶ Ἐφεσίφ, δοὺς μέντοι καὶ ἄλλοις Ἰώνων ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις ἀμελὲς γενόμενον ταφῆναι Μαρδόνιον. (9.2.2)

And it is agreed that the body of Mardonius was not seen right after the battle: ... it is known that Artontes, son of Mardonius, gave many gifts to Dionysophanes the Ephesian man, but he also gave [many gifts] to other Ionians, as they were not negligent in burying Mardonius.

This tells us two things: Pausanias is interested in the customs behind $\mu\nu\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$, and that Mardonius was significant enough to merit a memorial, which was built at some point after Plataea by somebody anonymous. Artontes giving gifts to "Dionysophanes the Ephesian" and the "other Ionians," who spent a considerable effort on Mardonius' burial, would seem to imply that Mardonius' burial was not in Greece (or that the Greeks themselves did not undertake it), and that the $\mu\nu\eta\mu\alpha$ mentioned by Pausanias is simply some sort of monument marking the land in which Mardonius fought and died.

The tomb also raises an interesting quandary: this μνῆμα for a Greek enemy does not correlate with the established context and meaning of war memorials seen throughout the *Periegesis*. For Pausanias a μνῆμα is a relatively positive object: it marks the location of a Greek man who has died in a past war, whose sacrifices were glorious even in defeat. The μνῆμα at 9.2.2 however, commemorates instead the defeat of an enemy. Mardonius' memorial near Plataea recalls the Persian Stoa in the agora of Sparta (3.11.3),

¹⁷⁵ This might also explain why Pausanias describes the memorial of Mardonius as μνῆμα instead of a τάφος κενός. Cenotaphs were normally objects of hero cult and worship for the Greeks, (Pritchett 1974:159), so using the Greek term τάφος κενός here may have, for Pausanias, attributed a false sense of heroism to Mardonius (although μνῆμα is used elsewhere [3.14.1, for example] to denote memorials where festivals and cult activity take place). This is not to say that μνῆμα does not properly convey the heroic

in which marble statues of Mardonius and other defeated Persians decorated the tops of columns. Like those statues, the μνῆμα at 9.2.2 serves as a visual reminder of Greek victory against foreign invaders. Unlike the architectural decoration of the Persian Stoa (3.11.3), there is no sign that the memorial at 9.2.2 is actually from the Roman period.

The Plataeans who died fighting in the Persian War are buried in τάφοι located at the entrance to Plataea (9.2.5). According to Pausanias, the Greeks have a μνημα κοινόν near a white marble altar of Zeus Eleutherios, which reminds us of the statue of Zeus Eleutherios in the Athenan Agora. ¹⁷⁶ The μνῆμα κοινόν at the entrance to the city and next to the altar of Zeus Eleutherios conjures images of a shared Greek sacrifice through the benefaction of Zeus. In addition, their placement announces Plataea's role in the Persian Wars, although this role has traditionally been underplayed. 177 The Athenians and Spartans who died at Plataea, by contrast, have separate τάφοι inscribed with elegies by Simonides. ¹⁷⁸ Although sepulchral epigrams such as these "in no way disclosed the author's name," Pausanias may be correct in ascribing them to Simonides. 180

Another significant feature of Pausanias' description of Plataea is his depiction of the quadrennial Eleutheria festival held on the anniversary of the battle (9.2.6), in which Plataeans wearing armor ran fifteen stades before the altar of Zeus Eleutherios. Pausanias

status of the war dead, but that in the context of the passage at 9.2.2, it may be referencing the efforts of the Greeks who defeated Mardonius, instead of the efforts of Mardonius the individual.

¹⁷⁶ The Loeb 1961 edition marks this point in the passage as either a gloss or misplaced.

¹⁷⁷ Cartledge 2013:88-89: "One reason for Plataea's lack of celebrity...is that it was essentially a Spartan (and Peloponnesian), not Athenian, victory, and the Athenians have been far more vocal, far more influential over the surviving tradition of the Wars than the Spartans."

¹⁷⁸ Bergk and Page argue that the epigrams on the Athenian and Spartan tombs are two authentic "Simonidean" epitaphs, AP 7.253 and 251. For a translation, see Molyneaux 1992:197.

¹⁷⁹ Page 1981:120. Herodotus is the only author to attribute an epigram to Simonides before Aristotle and Meleager's *Garland* in the Hellenistic period.

¹⁸⁰ Molyneaux 1992:197. Molyneaux also attributes to Simonides an inscription on the altar of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataea (AP 6.50), an identification which Page rejects.

also notes that "the trophy which the Greeks set up for the battle at Plataea stands about fifteen stades from the city" (9.2.6). He remarks that this festival is still held during his time ($\kappa\alpha$) võv), but it is the only part of the Eleutheria which Pausanias mentions. ¹⁸¹ He does not mention the *dialogos*, a rhetorical contest held at the Plataean Eleutheria, in which Plataeans argued whether Athens or Sparta should finance the next festival. These speeches would have recounted each city's exploits against the Persians, creating an agonistic sphere that somewhat contradicts panhellenic ideals surrounding festivals of Greek freedom. 182 The reason for Pausanias' omission of the dialogos is unclear, but he is clearly describing either a Hellenistic or a Roman ritual. 183 Alcock sees festivals commemorating the Persian Wars, such as the Eleutheria at Plataea, largely as mechanisms used by elite Greeks in the Roman period to boost their own legitimacy in the civic sphere, ¹⁸⁴ and to forge connections with Rome by labelling themselves as explicitly not eastern. 185 Ultimately, this may be what Pausanias himself is attempting when he uses the Persian wars as a rhetorical and topographical frame for describing other wars against eastern barbarians, such as Troy or the Gallic invasion in the third

¹⁸¹ Alcock 2002:80-81.

¹⁸² Ibid

¹⁸³ Ibid. Alcock notes that the dialogos was likely established later than the festival mentioned by Pausanias ("probably only after the Achaean War of 146 B.C.," while Steinbock 2013:109 notes that "there is no clear evidence for the Eleutheria festival before the third century B.C."), but this still does not explain the omission. This may recall the λ όγους delivered over the tombs of Pausanias and Leonidas at Sparta (3.14.1), although the speeches delivered at the Eleutherae do not seem to have taken place over actual tombs.

¹⁸⁴ Alcock 2002:80: "Prominent men in Achaian society successfully competed in this race, including individuals such as Tiberius Claudius Novius and Mnesiboulos of Elateia." Athenian and Spartan ephebes would have cheered on their respective speakers, in what "may be one sign of its [the dialogos'] prestige under the early empire" (81).

¹⁸⁵ Alcock 2002: 83 notes a specific passage in Spawforth 1994:126, in which the author remarks that "...pride in the Persian Wars [was] entirely compatible with loyalty to Rome." During this period, Rome recast her struggles with the Parthians using the lens of the Persian wars (83), and Greeks once more defended their territory (now Rome's), against foreign invaders.

century B.C.E. 186 By using the language of memory, Pausanias shows how, by the 2nd century C.E., Greek memories of the Persian War were transformed through war memorials at home and the battlefield, and their corresponding rituals. 187

¹⁸⁶ Alcock 2002:84. This recalls Pausanias' description of the paintings in the bouleuterion of the Athenian agora (1.4.1-6), which compares the battle at Thermopylae between the Greeks and Gauls in 279 B.C.E. to the battle of Thermopylae in 479 B.C.E.

187 See Cartledge 2013: 121-161 for the commemoration of Plataea in particular.

CHAPTER 3

PAUSANIAS, HADRIAN, AND STEWARDS OF GREEK ANTIQUITY

As discussed in Chapter One, Pausanias emphasizes fifth century B.C.E. monuments in his description of the Athenian Agora. His interest in the statue of Zeus Eleutherios, the Stoa Poikile, and the Naos Eukleias takes Pausanias out of a second century C.E. context, and places him firmly in the fifth century B.C.E. Therefore when he mentions Roman monuments, it is especially striking. For example, he discusses the statue of Hadrian that stands alongside the statue of Zeus Eleutherios, in front of the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, which Pausanias omits (1.3.2). It is interesting here that Pausanias employs second century C.E. monuments to reconstruct his version of the fifth century Agora, and his inclusion of Hadrian's statue reinforces the artificiality of the space which he creates. This chapter considers how Pausanias uses this connection with the statue and cult of Zeus Eleutherios, as well as the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the commemorative context of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars.

Pausanias pays special attention to images of Hadrian elsewhere in his description of Athens, such as Hadrian's statue on the Altar of Eponymous Heroes in the Agora (1.5.5), and the numerous statues of the emperor in the Olympieion dedicated by members of the Panhelleion (the precinct is "full of statues," ἀνδριάντων δὲ πλήρης, 1.18.6). These examples are not particularly surprising as Pausanias lived during the reign of Hadrian. However, the statue in the Agora is particularly interesting for its connections to the cult of Zeus Eleutherios, which was likely established at Athens after

the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C.E. The stoa of Zeus Eleutherios was built on top of an earlier archaic structure destroyed during the Persian invasion of 480 B.C.E. Remains of an earlier altar indicate that Athenians worshipped Zeus here before the Persian wars, and Rosivach speculates that either Zeus received the epithet *Eleutherios* after the wars, or that the wars lent *Eleutherios* renewed significance: "In either case the epithet *Eleutherios* is particularly associated with the Greek victory in the Persian war, and we may compare the Athenian cult with the altar of Zeus Eleutherios erected at Plataea after the battle there." 188

Pausanias' description of the statue reinforces this connection. He enters the Agora from the northwest corner, noting the Stoa Basileus and its terracotta images of Theseus throwing Sciron into the ocean and Day carrying Cephalus (1.3.1). Nearby are statues of Conon, Timotheus, and Evagoras, the king of Cyprus who traced his ancestry back to the rulers of Salamis. ¹⁸⁹ Pausanias then mentions the statues of Zeus Eleutherios and Hadrian, omitting the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios: "ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἑλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἁδριανός, ἐς ἄλλους τε ὧν ἦρχεν εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν μάλιστα ἀποδειξάμενος τὴν Ἀθηναίων" ("Here stands Zeus, called the giver of freedom, and emperor Hadrian, who especially demonstrates his benefaction to those who he rules and the city of the Athenians," 1.3.2). Pausanias does not specifically point out an ἄγαλμα or εἰκών, merely stating that the emperor Hadrian "stands" at this particular spot. Instead, he highlights Hadrian's many benefactions to Athens, echoing a formula commonly used in honorary inscriptions to Hadrian throughout the Greek-speaking East.

¹⁸⁸ Rosivach 1978: 38-39.

¹⁸⁹ There are also statues of Conon and Timotheus on the Acropolis (1.14.3).

These statues and honorific inscriptions were sometimes erected to commemorate an emperor's visit to a particular city, ¹⁹⁰ and celebrated the emperor as "savior" or "benefactor." For example, an inscription from Epidaurus honors Hadrian and "savior and benefactor," while an inscription from Lycosura names him as "savior and benefactor of the world." An honorary inscription from Delphi refers to Hadrian, "the savior who has healed and nourished his own Hellas." Benjamin has noted evidence for ninety-four altars dedicated to Hadrian in Athens alone, most of which honor him as *Hadrian Olympios*. ¹⁹² The epithet *Olympios* is also related to Hadrian's philhellenic program, ¹⁹³ and Pausanias' description of Hadrian's statue shows an awareness and belief that Athens is the special focus of Hadrian's philhellenism. ¹⁹⁴ This benefaction allows Athens to pursue freedom under Rome's aegis. The juxtaposition of the two statues "cannot be coincidental," as Spawfoth notes; ¹⁹⁵ spatial proximity, as Pausanias' description indicates, establishes an ideological link between both Zeus Eleutherios and Hadrian as saviors of Greek freedom.

Pausanias does not describe the statue in any detail. A statue found in a water-channel in front of the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (Agora S166), where it had been reused to form a drain cover during the Late Roman period, ¹⁹⁶ has been plausibly identified as the statue mentioned by Pausanias (Figures 4,5). Shear, Spawforth, Arafat, and Gergel all identify Agora S166 as this statue, with Shear emphatically claiming that "no reason

¹⁹⁰ See Fejfer 2008:17-20 on honorific statues.

¹⁹¹ Gergel 2004:392, Birley 1997:178, 181, 187. These are just three examples out of many.

¹⁹² Benjamin 1963.

¹⁹³ The Olympieion at Athens was dedicated c. 131/32 C.E., the same year that Hadrian established the Panhellenion. It is not known whether the two events are actually connected (Gergel 2004:393; Spawforth and Walker 1985:79, Birley 1997:265).

¹⁹⁴ Arafat 1996: 167-68.

¹⁹⁵ Spawforth 2012.

¹⁹⁶ Gergel 2004:371.

exists to doubt that the statue found in front of the stoa of Zeus is the one reported as standing there by Pausanias." 197 It measures 1.52 meters tall, and is carved from Pentelic marble. 198 The statue shows a figure in a military cuirass of the "eastern Hadrianic breastplate type," 199 with a *paludamentum* draped over the left shoulder and falling behind the back. The head, legs, and arms are missing. Gergel isolates twenty known examples of this type, all with varying style and iconography, which he divides into four group: the Eastern Victory type showing a female barbarian either under Hadrian's foot or at his side, the Roma-Virtus type with an Amazon replacing Athena, the Hadrian Panhellenios type specifically instituted to commemorate the establishment of the Panhellenion, and the Posthumous statues type. ²⁰⁰ The standard cuirass decoration includes a central Athena flanked by winged Victories, and accompanied by her symbols, the snake and owl. It is common for a Zeus-Ammon head to decorate the center of the upper lappets; eagles, gorgon heads, and elephant heads usually flank Zeus-Ammon. Rosettes and various weapons usually decorate the lower lappets. ²⁰¹ Agora S166 exhibits many of these features, but this does not make for a simple interpretation; the analysis of this particular statue of Hadrian is much more subtle and complex, and we must use Pausanias 1.3.2 as a background for understanding its function in Pausanias' text and in the late second century C.E.

First, the statue is unique both for its size (1.52m) and its location near the entrance to the Agora. The draped *paludamentum* reaches nearly a third of the way down the torso, landing behind the head of Athena, which protrudes beyond the paludamentum

¹⁹⁷ Shear 1933: 178, Spawforth 2012, Arafat 1996, Gergel 2004.

¹⁹⁸ Shear 1933:178.

¹⁹⁹ Gergel 2004.

²⁰⁰ Ibid. 377.

²⁰¹ Ibid. 375.

and even slightly above its draped creases. Reliefs are carved in the center of the breastplate. The central figure is Athena, wearing a helmet and holding a shield underneath her left arm and a spear in her right hand. Her left leg strides forward, accentuating her long, draped peplos. This is the same stance of Hadrian in Gergel's reconstruction of Agora S166, which places the emperor's left leg forward and his right arm outstretched, grasping a spear. 202 It is also similar to the stance of the Athena Promachos, which stood guard over Athens on the Acropolis. On the cuirass Athena is flanked on both sides by winged Victories, who are looking up and over towards Athena, their high-belted chitons flowing as though moving towards her as well; they carry what look to be palm leaves. An owl and coiling snake accompany Athena on her left and right, balancing upon acanthus scrolls.²⁰³ Athena stands upon the she-wolf, who is suckling Romulus and Remus.²⁰⁴ Gergel points out that the Victories flank both Athena and the she-wolf, highlighting the relationship between both cultures, rather than the dominance of one over the other. 205 I agree with Gergel's basic argument, but would emphasize that this relationship still necessitates some form of power and influence; in this case, we might view this Athena as a Roman co-opting of classical Greek power. The she-wolf is a traditional symbol of Rome's foundation and authority, and its interaction with Athena on this breastplate also symbolizes Rome's expansion into the Greekspeaking East.²⁰⁶

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²⁰² Gergel 2004:394-95.

²⁰³ Ibid. Acanthus scrolls are a familiar symbol of abundance and prosperity, and the coiled snake at Athena's right may have something to do with the myth of Erichthonius, the autocthonous first king of Athens who is often represented as a snake.

²⁰⁴ Shear 1933: 180-83.

²⁰⁵ Gergel 2004:406.

²⁰⁶ Ibid. 405-406.

The "classical"-style cuirass has multiple lappets below which display secondary decorative motifs. 207 The lappet decoration is standard: the central lappet of the upper row depicts Zeus Ammon, bordered on both sides by lappets showing eagles, gorgons, elephant heads, and a single rosette on the far right. ²⁰⁸ This top row nearly overshadows the lower row of lappets, which depict a pair of facing Corinthian helmets in the center, flanked by lion heads, a pelta and rosette on the right, and a rosette and pelta on the left. 209 Shear argues that the combination of Greek and Roman elements on the breastplate reliefs symbolizes Hadrian's dual role as Roman emperor and Athenian benefactor, ²¹⁰ a view which Gergel accepts and expands upon: for Gergel, Athena represents "the rich heritage of the Greek-speaking East, with an emphasis on Athens at its epicenter." Shear and Gergel posit that the she-wolf emphasizes Rome's foundation and expansion into Greece, which is represented by Athena standing upon the she-wolf, though it is not entirely clear how this symbolism works.²¹¹ Thompson suggests that the relief could depict "Athens as superior to Rome, but supported by Rome." 212 It can also represent Hadrian as the protector of Greek antiquity. According to Gergel, the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type "tells them [the Greeks] that their past and present cultural achievements are protected...that their special position as cultural leaders is both supported and nurtured by Rome."²¹³

Gergel places Agora S166 under the "Hadrian Panhellenios" subset, and notes

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²⁰⁷ Ibid. 375.

²⁰⁸ Gergel 2004: 395, Shear 1933: 180-83.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. Gergel, who suggests that this inversion is either variatio or error.

²¹⁰ See also Hannestad 1986: 200.

²¹¹ Shear 1933: 180-83, Gergel 2004: 405-06.

²¹² Thompson 1987: 14.

²¹³ Gergel 2004: 406.

that this statue type reflects Hadrian's philhellenism as a political strategy designed in part to consolidate the Roman empire. ²¹⁴ This type presents Hadrian as the head of a loval Roman empire unified against the Parthian threat, which was a common framework for reimagining the Persian wars in the early empire. ²¹⁵ Participation in the imperial cult encouraged this loyalty, as seen through imperial statues and dedications. Hadrian also encouraged panhellenism and veneration of the imperial family through the worship of Zeus, which Pausanias' description of the Olympieion at Athens shows (1.18.6).²¹⁶ Hadrian was even given the title *Olympios* in 129 C.E., years before the Olympieion was dedicated.²¹⁷ Hadrian is credited with forming the Panhellenion, with Athens as the core and Sparta, Olympia, Delphi, and possibly Corinth acting as "charter members" and encapsulating Hadrian's preference for "true" Greece, or *Graeca Vera*. ²¹⁸ Cities that could not prove their Greek origins, such as Ephesus, Pergamum, and Smyrna, were disqualified from membership; this ethnocentrism is strange, considering that the Panhellenion was part of Hadrian's strategy to unite the Greek-speaking East. 219 At the center of the Panhellenion was Hadrian himself, who also founded the quadrennial Panhellenia festival in 137 C.E.²²⁰

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²¹⁵ Spawforth 1994: 233-47.

²¹⁹ Gergel 2004:393.

²¹⁴ Gergel 2004: 392. Wegner, as interpreted by Gergel, sees this subset as representing Hadrian as "a second founder of Athens" (Gergel 2004:404-405, Wegner 1956: 168).

²¹⁶ Hadrian completed the Olympieion c. 125 C.E., and the sanctuary was dedicated c. 131-32, possibly the same year that the Panhellenion was founded (Gergel 2004: 393). Boatwright 1987: 250: "He fostered a panhellenic religion unifying the Greek east in the worship of Zeus Olympios, with whom he identified." ²¹⁷ Gergel 2004:392.

Gergel 2004: 393, Spawforth 2012: 238. Gergel suggests that Temple of Zeus and Hera Panhellenios (1.18.9) as a possible meeting place for the Panhellenion.

²²⁰ Ibid.

Gergel argues that the iconography of S166 reflects this panhellenic ideology and honors Hadrian Panhellenios. ²²¹ The title *Panhellenios* is attested. ²²² but no statues survive with the honorific title. Despite this, Gergel contends that they likely existed. Likewise, *Panhellenios* is usually not mentioned in conjunction with Zeus, but a connection may still be implied.²²³ I argue that Agora S166 does indeed represent the emperor as *Hadrian Panhellenios*, and that Pausanias 1.3.2 is integral in forging a clearer connection between Hadrian as protector and founder of Greece and the god Zeus as protector and giver of freedom to Greeks. A cuirassed statue of Hadrian from Perge, 224 also a *Hadrian Panhellenios* type, reinforces this connection. It formed part of a statue group found in front of a nymphaeum's basin, along with a heroic nude statue of Hadrian and statues of Zeus, Artemis, and possibly Apollo. An oakwreath, or Panhellenic crown, adorns his head. The cuirassed Hadrian holds a sword in his left hand, and a paludamentum is draped over his left shoulder and arm. Thunderbolts adorn his straps, which reinforce his connection to Zeus. Here, there are two types of Hadrian statues displayed alongside a statue of Zeus, which emphasize and honors "both the administrative and superhuman aspects of the phil-Hellenic emperor in a single architectural ensemble."225 Might we see the statues of Hadrian and Zeus mentioned by Pausanias in a similar way, working together as a "commemorative reflection" of the roles played by Hadrian and Zeus in protecting Greece?²²⁶

As convincing as Gergel's analysis is, he misses an important opportunity to place

²²¹ Ibid. 394.

²²² Jones 1996:33.

²²³ Gergel 2004:394. Moreover,

²²⁴ Antalya Museum. Mellink 1973:180.

²²⁵ Vermuele 1974:16.

²²⁶ I borrow the phrase from Vermeule 1974:25-26.

the statue in a more complete context by ignoring the fact that the statue is mentioned in Pausanias 1.3.2. Pausanias draws attention to this connection for several reasons. First, the spatial proximity of the statue of Hadrian to the state of Zeus Eleutherios implies an ideological connection, and that connection is strengthened by the statue's location in front of the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. This is true even though Pausanias does not mention the stoa, which was built sometime after the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C.E. and forms part of a group of buildings in the Agora which serve as de facto war memorials, including the Naos Eukleias (1.14.5) and the Stoa Poikile (1.15-16). The stoa and the statue of Zeus Eleutherios functioned as one architectural unit, its wings surrounding the statue of Zeus and, much later, that of Hadrian as well. 227 Rosivach points out that literary testimony implies that the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios was built after 479 B.C.E. as an Athenian response to the Greek victory, yet archaeological evidence points toward a structure built c. 430-420 B.C.E. during the Peloponnesian War, possibly as part of the Periclean building program or as a reaction to the Spartan general Archidamus' yearly incursions in Attica: "It would not be far-fetched to see in the construction of the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios a gesture of domestic propaganda."²²⁸

If this date is correct, we must also consider the implications of the Athenians rebuilding the stoa of Zeus upon the ruins of the earlier archaic structure destroyed during the Persian sack of Athens. Rebuilding the stoa after Plataea would have been an especially pointed move, one that perhaps spoke to the short-lived sense of panhellenism

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²²⁷ Rosivach 1978:38.

²²⁸ Rosivach 1987: 41, n. 34; 266-67. This is the classic argument of whether literary versus archaeological evidence should be privileged, but we need not discount either. There is clearly a later structure dating to the mid-fifth century on top of an earlier archaic building (see Thompson and Wycherly 1972), but the fact that various authors see it as a response to the Persian invasion and victory at Plataea is also significant. Perhaps the stoa's proposed construction during the Peloponnesian War explains the proximity of Conon's statue to the stoa. (1.3.1). Conon was the admiral in charge of the Athenian navy at the battle of Cnidus, c. 394.

in the wake of the Persian Wars. A Periclean structure rebuilt during the Peloponnesian Wars, however, speaks to an Atheno-centric definition of Greekness that excludes the Spartans, who are now recast as foreign enemies; this "gesture of domestic propaganda" serves to unite the Athenians against them. These are speculations, however, and there is still much evidence to be found: for example, was the statue of Zeus archaic, like the original stoa, or a Roman copy of a Greek original? Was it bronze, therefore providing a material contrast with the marble statue of Hadrian? What we can discern are these various interconnected layers of interpretation, both having to do with the commemoration of Greeks defeating foreign armies and claims of Athenian freedom.²²⁹ Pausanias adds a third layer by emphasizing the statue of Hadrian, which presents him as the Roman defender of Greek freedom against eastern, outside forces.

While the extent to which Hadrian personally cultivated the cult of Zeus Eleutherios at Athens is unclear, Pausanias 1.3.2 could be used to support Spawforth's hypothesis that Hadrian took a personal role in the maintenance of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataea. 230 An inscription found at Delphi dedicated by the "council of the Greeks who meet at Plataea" honors "Hadrian the Saviour, who has rescued and nurtured his own Hellas."²³¹ This council was responsible for the oversight of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataea and the Eleutheria festival, during which Plataeans raced in armor before an altar and statue of Zeus crafted from white marble (9.2.6). Pausanias mentions no statue of Hadrian in his description of Plataea (9.2.5-9.4.3). An inscription

²²⁹ Rosivach 1978: 41, n. 34. ²³⁰ Spawforth 2012: 245.

SIG 835 A, as interpreted by Spawforth 2012: 245.

on a seat in the Theater of Dionysus naming the priest of Zeus Eleutherios is the only attestation of the epithet *Eleutherios* at Athens in connection with Hadrian. Nor does it occur frequently in the *Periegesis*; the only other use of Ἐλευθέριος as an epithet occurs in Pausanias' description of Troezen, when he mentions that the Troezenians erected an altar of Ἡλίου Ἑλευθερίου ("Helios, Giver of Freedom") after avoiding being made slaves by Xerxes and the Persians (2.31.5).

However, an inscription found on the Acropolis names Hadrian as the son of Zeus Eleutherios.²³³ Pausanias 1.3.2 may be implying this same connection; if so, then Hadrian is also being honored as the son of Trajan,²³⁴ who was also connected with Zeus Eleutherios:

In Athens, Zeus Eleutherios was the god worshipped as the liberator of the city from the Persian attack, and it may well be that Trajan, who fought against the descendants of the old Persians, the Parthians, received the epiclesis Zeus Eleutherios after his victories over the Parthians.²³⁵

Yet Trajan's wars against the Parthians were, by this time, offensive endeavors; Spawforth even speculates that the Parthians were no longer seen as a legitimate threat, and the cultural reflex of relating Parthians to Persians was simply used to glorify the Roman emperor. Hadrian, as the son of Trajan, would have closely allied himself with this glorification in order to legitimize his own rule. The ideological basis behind this interpretation is the same as with the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type: the emperor himself is not portrayed as Zeus Eleutherios, but is depicted as a culturally-conscious leader who protects classical notions of Greek freedom by keeping eastern invaders from

²³² Arafat 1996: 163. See Maas 1972: 116 for the inscription and various epithets of Hadrian as Zeus.

²³³ Raubitschek 1945: 128-33. Raubitschek pieces together several inscriptional fragments from the Acropolis (IG II2, 3312-3321-3322) to argue that Hadrian was not being honored as Zeus Eleutherios, but rather his son.

²³⁴ Benjamin 1963: 58.

²³⁵ Raubitschek 1945: 130-31. See also Spawforth 1994.

²³⁶ Spawforth 1994:242-43.

Greek—and by now, Roman—territory. Associating himself with the epithet *Eleutherios* and possibly contributing to the Eleutheria festival at Plataea was a convenient way for Hadrian to co-opt fifth century B.C.E. narratives of commemoration and legitimize his expansion of the Roman empire in Greece. Moreover, Panhellenic officials at Plataea combined the priesthoods of Hadrian Panhellenius, Zeus Eleutherios, and Greek Concord; this establishes a clear connection between Hadrian, the founding of the Panhellenion, and analogies of the Persian Wars in the second century C.E. Pausanias 1.3.2 epitomizes these dynamics.

Pausanias' juxtaposition of the statue of Hadrian with the statue of Zeus

Eleutherios (1.2.3) removes him temporarily from the fifth century space he creates in his
description of the Agora, which emphasizes fifth century monuments that commemorate
the Persian wars. Examining the iconography of Agora S166, the statue mentioned by
Pausanias, can help us understand why he might feel compelled to include Hadrian in the
midst of a public space he describes as still filled with the remains of these
commemorative monuments. It presents Hadrian as the Roman emperor and benefactor
of Athens, as well as protector of Athens' classical past. The statue of Hadrian in front of
the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios also highlights a political reality of Pausanias' era, in which
Roman rulers co-opted the narratives and imagery of Greece's classical past to legitimize
their own rule and the expansion of the Roman empire into the Greek east.²³⁷ Pausanias'

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²³⁷ Nero proclaims the freedom of Greece at Corinth in 67 C.E. seventy nine years after the Roman general Mummius sacked Corinth; a sculptural group commemorating Augustus' Parthian victory, as reconstructed by R. Schneider, shows kneeling barbarians of Phrygian marble supporting a bronze tripod (cf. statue in Olympieion, Pausanias 1.18.8); Augustus stages a reenactment of Salamis near the Tiber River, c.2 B.C.E.(Res Gestae 23, Cassius Dio 55.10.7); Gaius stages a recreation of Xerxes' bridge across the Hellesopont in the Bay of Naples, c. 39 C.E.; Nero stages a naumachia at Rome c. 57-58 C.E. to coincide with the launch of his Armenian campaign, pitted "Athenians" against "Persians"; Lucius Verus embarks upon his Persian expedition in 161 C.E., with Spartan auxillaries; In 235 C.E., Gordion III puts on a festival

juxtaposition also makes an implicit ideological comparison between Hadrian as Roman emperor and Zeus Eleutherios, bringer of freedom to the Greeks, while simultaneously connecting Hadrian to the historical commemoration of the battle of Plataea, after which the cult of Zeus Eleutherios was founded at Athens.



Figure 4
Agora S166
Eastern Hadrianic Breastplate Type
Shear 1933, Plate XI



Figure 5 Agora S166 Detail Shear 1933, fig. 8

CONCLUSION

Pausanias' description of fifth-century B.C.E. war memorials scattered throughout mainland Greece reflect a philhellenic desire to associate himself with the past deeds and major turning points of classical Greece, such as the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. Visiting these monuments and recording his personal recollections about them and the events they commemorate was a way for him to feel connected to a past that was, and still is, irretrievable. The attention he pays to memorials of the Persian Wars is a special reflection of Atticism, a rhetorical trend popular during the second century C.E. in which elite intellectuals glorified the social memory of the Persian Wars. Pausanias' Atticism, as I argue, differs by physically travelling to see the war memorials which he describes. In this way, he thus engages in the process of re-formulating memories that is so essential to constructions of social identity.

Pausanias uses the language of memory to show how Greek perceptions of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars were transferred through war memorials at home and on the battlefield. In his description of Athens, Pausanias purposefully chooses to emphasize buildings and spolia commemorating the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. His interest in battlefield memorials stems from a desire to attain a personal connection with the battles that took place and the men who fought there. Pausanias' descriptions of these places, and Marathon in particular, reinforce his authority as an author and the validity of his descriptions. In order to make his descriptions more authentic and to give the reader a sense of "being there," Pausanias often relays implausible legends in association with

those events and sometimes or omits Roman monuments at the site. The most striking example of this is the omission of Herodes Atticus' villa at Marathon. It is tempting to view these omissions as "errors" or deficiencies on Pausanias' part, but we should not expect Pausanias' text to correlate directly with the archaeological evidence. These omissions are purposeful. They create a fabricated landscape that bears little resemblance to reality but purports to describe a classical landscape that no longer exists.

The only war memorial Pausanias mentions in his description of Salamis is the tropaion of Themistocles located on the islet Psyttalia, where the Persians disembarked and were slaughtered after seeking refuge after the battle. In contrast to his description of Marathon, Pausanias does not provide a full discussion of the battle of Salamis or its other war memorials, known from archaeological evidence. Consequently, we receive a selective view of the commemorative landscape of Salamis that tell us very little about the battle's integral role in the Persian Wars. Pausanias pays less attention to the Peloponnesian War memorials at Argos and Megara, likely because no major battles took place there that acquired the same legendary status as Marathon. Pausanias' description of the war memorials at Sparta stands out as a counterpoint to his description of the Athenian war memorials. Unlike the clearly delineated spaces of the Athenian Agora and the Demosion Sema, the war memorials of Sparta, including the Persian Stoa and the tombs of Leonidas, Pausanias, and Brasidas, are scattered throughout the city; no spaces are specifically reserved to memorials commemorating victory and defeat. In his description of Plataea, Pausanias connects the war memorial of the Greeks who died at Plataea with the commemoration of the battle, a festival called the *Eleutheria* celebrated in Roman times. Elite Greeks in the Roman period used the commemoration of the

²³⁸ Stewart 2013.

Persian Wars to legitimize their status, which is similar to what Pausanias does by using the Persian Wars as a topographical and rhetorical frame for describing other wars against eastern barbarians, such as the Trojans and Gauls. Pausanias uses these descriptions of war memorials at home and on the battlefield to show how, by the second century C.E., Greek perceptions of the Persian and Peloponnesian War had been transformed.

The statue of Hadrian at 1.3.2 is a striking example of Pausanias including a Roman monument in the midst of fifth century B.C.E. monuments. Here Pausanias uses a statue of the Roman emperor at the beginning of his description of the Athenian Agora, portraying Hadrian as the ultimate benefactor of Athens and a steward of the Greek antiquities that he proceeds to describe. By pointing out that the statue of Hadrian stands alongside a statue of Zeus Eleutherios and in front of the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, whose cult was established at Plataea, Pausanias connects Hadrian to the commemorative traditions of the Persian Wars. This not only legitimizes the rule of Hadrian, but also the authority of Pausanias as a steward of antiquity.

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APPENDIX A

FIFTH CENTURY WAR MEMORIALS AND SPOLIA IN ATHENS MENTIONED BY PAUSANIS

In The Agora

Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios: not mentioned

Naos Eukleias (1.14.5)

Stoa Poikile: paintings depicting battles at Oenoe, Marathon, Scionian and Spartan

shields (1.15.1-4)

Acropolis

Temple of Athena Polias: breastplace of Masistius, weapon of Mardonius (1.27.1)

Elsewhere

Prytaneum: statues of Miltiades and Themistocles (now a Roman and Thracian, 1.17.3)

Sanctuary of Olympian Zeus: marble statue of Persians raising a bronze tripod (1.18.8)

APPENDIX B

FIFTH CENTURY WAR MEMORIALS IN THE DEMOSION SEMA MENTIONED BY PAUSANIAS²³⁹

1.29.3

τάφοι of Thrasybulus, Pericles, Chabrias, Phormio

1.29.4

μνῆμα for the Athenian dead, except the Marathonomachoi, dead from Drabescus (ἐτάφησαν, c.464)

1.29.6

στήλη of Melanopus and Macartatus (c.410?), τάφος of Thessalian horsemen (431 B.C.E.), τάφοι of Cretan bowmen (c.414), μνῆμα of Cleisthenes, μνῆμα of Athenains horsemen (c. 431 B.C.E.)

1.29.7

Cleonian dead from Tanagra (κεῖνται, c.457), τάφος of Athenian dead from Aigenetan War (c. 491/0 B.C.E.), Greek dead from Caria (ἐτάφησαν, 429 B.C.E.)

1.29.11

στήλη honoring Greek (Athenian and Plataean) dead from Euboea, Chios, Asia, and Sicily (c. 412 B.C.E.)

1.29.13

στήλη honoring dead from Thrace and Megara (c.447), Mantinea (c.418), Sicily (c. 413); Dead from Hellespont (c.409), Amphipolis (c.422), Delium (c.424), Cyprus (449) (ἐτάφησαν)

1.29.14

Dead from Eurymedon (c.468?) and Coroneia (κεῖνται, c.446)

²³⁹ Based off Pritchett 1985:148-49, Tables 3-4 with slight amendations. All (probable) dates are Pritchett's.