ABSTRACT

KAREN MARKS
Victory as Commemorative Act: The *Tropaion* in Context
(Under the Direction of NAOMI NORMAN)

This paper is a study of the *tropaion* as a commemorative act and analyzes in particular the post-Persian War memorials at Marathon, the post-Actian *tropaeum* at Nikopolis, and Nelson's Column in London's Trafalgar Square. Through the investigation of these three case-studies, this paper seeks to characterize how victory is commemorated through the erection of trophy monuments and how these monuments operate in ancient Greek, Roman, and Imperial British society. In each case, the aftermath of a momentous battle occasions a commemorative monument. Inherent in the monument is the desire to memorialize the victory itself, as well as express a chosen national or imperial identity. Of central importance is how societies define and manifest power through the use of artistic visual representation like the *tropaion*. What effect and power the monument has and how its messages are transmitted through its respective society is also addressed. Ultimately, the victory monument derives it power from the simple act of commemoration, which is carried out through ritual performances that form a collective memory and identity. By drawing parallels between the three examples, this paper illustrates how commemoration of victory resonates with themes of imperialism and hero worship.

INDEX WORDS: Trophy, Commemoration, Victory monument, Marathon, Actium, Trafalgar, War memorial

VICTORY AS COMMEMORATIVE ACT:

THE *TROPAION* IN CONTEXT

by

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DEDICATION

To Eric Adams, the ultimate lover of victory.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Remembering is part of the human condition, and the commemorative act satisfies that need. Commemoration is a ritualized acknowledgment of a shared past that attributes a circumscribed meaning to a chosen history. Acts of commemoration can construct or bolster identity and help to define a group. Given that commemoration must be communally performed within a social context, it is always political. In societies dominated by warfare and near constant political upheaval, there tends to be a strong interest in commemorating victory. Because a battle is an ephemeral event, victory must be transformed into political power expressing the victor's supremacy, which may be achieved through symbolic manifestations that conceptually "fix and perpetuate"[1] that supremacy. In classical antiquity, the symbolic transformation of victory into power was accomplished through several commemorative acts: celebrations, rituals, and permanent monuments.

Through the investigation of three case-studies, this paper characterizes how victory is commemorated through the erection of trophy monuments and how these monuments operate in ancient Greek, Roman, and Imperial British society. In each case, the aftermath of a momentous battle occasions a commemorative monument. Inherent in the monument is the desire to memorialize the victory itself, as well as express a chosen national or imperial identity. What effect and power the monument has and how its messages are transmitted to its respective society is also addressed. Ultimately, the victory monument derives it power from

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[1] Hölscher 2006, 27.

the simple act of commemoration, which is carried out through ritual performances that form a collective memory and identity.

The first case-study focuses on two monuments, a trophy and a tomb, erected by the Athenians at Marathon after their successful expulsion of the Persians. The trophy monument, or *tropaion*, was simultaneously a symbol of the defeat of the Persians and the successful safeguarding of Greece as well as a marker of a new, collective identity of the emerging Athenian Empire. At the same time, the battlefield was a memorial site for the *Marathonomachai* who perished during the battle, and they received cult worship as heroes.

The second case study is an analysis of the trophy monument erected by Octavian on the spot of his campsite to commemorate his victory at Actium. This monument was an obvious emulation of the Greek *tropaion*, but Romanized to reflect a Roman approach towards commemoration of victory. Yet parallels with Marathon can immediately be drawn; Octavian's trophy symbolized the defeat of another Eastern enemy—Cleopatra—as well as the new imperial identity he was, literally, sculpting. Octavian established a new settlement, Nikopolis, as a living monument to Roman dominance in the East and reinstated the Actian games in order to celebrate his victory perpetually. Furthermore, active worship and ceremony in honor of Octavian at the altar of the monument itself ensured that the commemorative act was complete.

The third and final example is Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square in London, the monument which commemorates England's greatest naval hero and his victory at Trafalgar. This last case-study is meant only as an addendum to enrich discussion and consideration of the ancient monuments. Analysis of the modern monument should illuminate further our understanding of the two ancient monuments. Architectural and thematic parallels between all

three case-studies exist which make such an analysis appropriate and fruitful. In the mid-nineteenth century, a victory monument whose form was based upon a Corinthian column from the Temple of Mars Ultor in Rome was erected in memory of the battle's hero, Admiral Horatio Nelson, whose statue rests on top. The monumental column recalls the columns of Trajan and his successors in Rome, monuments which surely reflect an artistic form that began with the trophy at Marathon. This modern monument, though not precisely a trophy, resonates with the same messages of imperialistic identity and hero/victor veneration present at Marathon and Actium. This paper attempts to draw conclusions about commemoration of victory and the ritual performance behind it by analyzing the similarities between the three battle memorials. First, a brief introduction to the *tropaion* is necessary.

The *tropaion* was the means by which the classical Greeks chose to manifest victory physically. The act of erecting a *tropaion*, or battlefield trophy, began specifically as a practice of Greek hoplite warfare, when a victor mounted armor and weapons stripped from the enemy upon a tree trunk or stake to form a sort of mannequin.[2] The origins of such a practice are debated,[3] but it is generally agreed that the custom was well established by the time of the Persian Wars when permanent *tropaia* come to be erected. *Tropaia* are, for example, commonplace in the battles described by Thucydides and Xenophon,[4] and the

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[2] The most detailed description of the physical appearance of the battlefield trophy comes from a much later source, Vergil (*Aen.* 11.5-11): ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis/ constituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma,/ Mezenti ducis exuvias, tibi, magne, tropaeum,/ Bellipotens; aptat rorantes sanguine cristas/ telaque trunca viri et bis sex thoraca petitum/ perfossumque locis, clipeumque ex aere sinistrae/ subligat, atque ensem collo suspendit eburnum.

[3] Some scholars, most notably Picard, suggest the *tropaion* was originally intended as a miraculous image of and dedication to "Zeus Tropaios" who had brought about the defeat of the enemy. Pritchett (1974, 247-48) remarks that both Bötticher and Cook believe it was a form of tree worship. Exactly when the custom began is discussed by Krentz (2000, 32) who argues for a rather late dating in the fifth century B.C.E. Pritchett (1974, 249), however, sees a reference to the *tropaion* in *Iliad* 10.465-68, indicating roots in the Homeric age.

[4] Between the *Histories* and the *Hellenika*, eighty-eight such trophies are named. Pritchett 1974, 272.

erection of the battlefield trophy seems to be a standard rule of hoplite warfare.[5] There were

certain conventions and rules for erecting a battlefield trophy, namely that the trophy was

erected at the turning point of the battle (Thuc. *Hist*. 2.92.5 & 7.54), that the trophy was not

repaired when it decayed (Cic. *De Inv*. 2.23.69-70), that the trophy, once dedicated, was

inviolable (Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.10), and that the trophy was erected by the army who had won

possession of the battlefield.[6] Therefore, the trophy is a physical indicator of the "formalism"

of battle, simultaneously giving prestige to the victor, humiliation to the defeated, and

marking possession of a plot of land, literally at the place where the enemy was routed.[7]

Nevertheless, the battlefield trophy was not intended to be a permanent monument, but a

temporary marker of victory.

The earliest literary evidence for the erection of *tropaia* is in *Batrachomyomachia*

(line 159),[8] usually dated to the early fifth century B.C.E.; a more certain dating comes from

Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, produced in 468, in which he references trophies in lines

277 and 954.[9] Trophies appear in vase painting around the mid-fifth century as well. The

earliest physical remains of trophies are of a different sort—permanent stone monuments—

which are attested at Marathon, Salamis, and Plataia by the 460s. The term applied to these

permanent monuments was the same *tropaion*, indicating that by this time the word had

acquired a new definition as a permanent monument.

The first of these permanent *tropaia* was erected by the Athenians to commemorate

the battle of Marathon. This monument, just like the conventional battlefield trophy, was

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[5] Krentz 2000, 32.
[6] Pritchett 1974, 252-60.
[7] Sage 1996, 100.
[8] στήσομεν εὐθύμως τὸ μυόκτονον ὧδε τρόπαιον.
[9] Krentz 2000, 32.

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erected by the victors on the spot of the turning point of the battle. It varied from the

traditional trophy only in that it was constructed of stone and thus marked the transformation

of the trophy from an impermanent composition of arms and wood to a monumental, lasting

structure.

CHAPTER 2
MARATHON

In the summer of 490 B.C.E., the Persian emperor Darius sent a navy under the command of generals Datis and Artaphernes across the Aegean to subjugate mainland Greece. After taking over Eretria, the Persian force sailed for Attica and landed in the bay near the town called Marathon. The Athenians, joined by a contingent of Plataeans, marched to the bay to block off entry into Attica. For five days the Athenian generals stalled due to indecision, divided on whether they should risk battle with a force that far outnumbered them. It was left to Miltiades to persuade the polemarch Kallimachos to join battle:

> ἐν σοὶ νῦν Καλλίμαχε ἐστὶ ἢ καταδουλῶσαι Ἀθήνας ἢ
> ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα
> ἀνθρώπων βίον οἷα οὐδὲ Ἁρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων
> λείπουσι... (Hdt. 6.109.5)

> It is now up to you, Kallimachos, either to enslave Athens or, making her
> free, to leave behind to every generation of men a **memory** such as not
> even Harmodios and Aristogeiton left...[10]

The wings, led by Kallimachos on the right and the Plataians on the left, broke through the Persian lines, putting many to flight, then turned back to subdue the Persians who had broken through the weak center lines of the Greeks. The triumphant Athenians chased the Persians all the way back to their ships. Herodotus claims that after the drawn out struggle there were 6,400 Persian dead to 192 Athenian dead, a substantial victory against impossible odds.

The victory at Marathon became the quintessential example of Athenian military might, an idealized model of what hoplite warfare should be, ideologically outshining

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[10] All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

subsequent victories at Salamis and Plataia. The victory was continually glorified in art and

literature and held a place of permanence as part of Athenian national identity. Idealization of

the battle can be traced back to the mid-fifth century, perhaps beginning in the 460s,[11] and

certainly by the 420s, when Aristophanes talks of the *Marathonomachai*, the hoplites of

Marathon (*Ach*. 182 and *Nub*. 689). Ideological elevation of the battle over all other Athenian

achievements is apparent in the 450s as well. The epitaph of the tragedian Aeschylus[12]

strikingly leaves out mention of tragedy, preferring an association with the famous victory. It

read that the grove of Marathon and the Persians who landed there witnessed his courage in

the battle (Paus. 1.14.5), though he was present at Salamis rather than Marathon. Instead,

Athenians of the fifth century took singular pride in their accomplishment on the plain of

Marathon and its importance eclipsed all else. Much has been made about the events and

tactics of the battle itself, but the present analysis focuses on what remains on the field of

battle and its later commemoration.

    In the years following the Persian Wars, the battlefield itself was transformed into a

victory shrine for the Athenians, though the bay of Marathon was forty-one miles north of

Athens.[13] A permanent, monumental trophy was erected; a tumulus for the Athenian

casualties and another for the Plataians were constructed; and the site received visitors almost

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[11] Krentz (2000, 36), suggests that the phenomenon was occurring by this time, listing as his evidence the fact that Kimon insisted that lines honoring the fighters at Marathon be included in an epigram honoring fighters at Salamis (ML no. 26) and that the Athenians dedicated a permanent trophy monument on the plain of Marathon around this time.

[12] The authenticity of this epitaph is questionable, but in some ways this reinforces the point. The fact that a tradition arose which falsely associated the playwright with Marathon indicates a desire on the part of Athenians to link their most famous citizens with the battle and vice versa.

[13] Grant 1989, 5.

immediately, beginning with the Spartans in 490.[14] Of singular importance are the two

honorary monuments, the trophy and the tumulus, erected by the Athenian state shortly after

the expulsion of the Persians from Greece.

The most comprehensive ancient description of the Marathon battlefield comes from

Pausanias in the second century C.E.[15] He catalogues all of the landmarks on the plain visible

during his time, including the "trophy of white marble," a monument to the battle's hero,

Miltiades, the grave of the Plataians, and the grave of the fallen Athenians, the

Marathonomachai, who were worshipped as heroes:

> δῆμος ἐστι Μαραθὼν ἴσον τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέχων καὶ
> Καρύστου τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ταύτῃ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἔσχον οἱ βάρβαροι
> καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τινας ὡς ἀνήγοντο ἀπώλεσαν τῶν
> νεῶν. τάφος δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ στῆλαι
> τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ φυλὰς ἑκάστων ἔχουσαι, καὶ
> ἕτερος Πλαταιεῦσι Βοιωτῶν καὶ δούλοις· ἐμαχέσαντο γὰρ καὶ
> δοῦλοι τότε πρῶτον. καὶ ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἰδίᾳ μνῆμα Μιλτιάδου τοῦ
> Κίμωνος [....] σέβονται δὲ οἱ Μαραθώνιοι τούτους τε οἱ παρὰ τὴν
> μάχην ἀπέθανον ἥρωας ὀνομάζοντες καὶ Μαραθῶνα ἀφ᾽ οὗ τῷ
> δήμῳ τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι καὶ Ἡρακλέαναι [....] πεποίηται δὲ καὶ
> τρόπαιον λίθου λευκοῦ. (Excerpted from Paus. 1.32.3-5)

> The deme of Marathon is the same distance from the city of the
> Athenians and Karystos in Euboia. At this part of Attica the barbarians
> came, were defeated in battle, and lost some of their ships as they were
> putting out to sea. The tomb of the Athenians is in the plain, and upon it
> are *stelai* listing the names of the dead according to each's tribe, and
> there is another [tomb] for the Plataians of Boiotia and for the slaves; for
> this was the first time slaves also fought. And there is a separate
> monument for Miltiades, son of Kimon.... The Marathonians worship
> both those who died in the battle, calling them heroes, and Marathon,

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[14] Herodotus (6.120) relates that the Spartans arrived to Attica late, missing the battle, but were so intent on seeing the Persians, they marched to Marathon to look at the bodies, commended the Athenians on a job well done, and returned home.

[15] Though the account of Herodotos has greater chronological proximity to the battle, Pausanius' description affords us a clearer picture of the battlefield and its commemorative monuments . Herodotos, on the other hand, never describes commemorative monuments of Marathon, nor does he mention *tropaia* or their erection.

from which comes the name for the deme, and Herakles.... Also a trophy of white marble has been constructed.

In addition to the list of the monuments on the plain, other literary evidence specifically attests the existence of the Marathon *tropaion*. The monument was well known to an Athenian audience, at least by the 420s B.C.E., because Aristophanes refers specifically to the *tropaion* at Marathon on several occasions,[16] equating the monument with the glory of Athens. Aristophanes uses the noun ἄξια as the object of the possessive city and trophy. For instance, at *Knights* 1333-34, the Chorus Leader addresses Demos:

> χαῖρ᾽ ὦ βασιλεῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ σοι ξυγξαίρομεν ἡμεῖς.
> τῆς γὰρ πόλεως ἄξια πράττεις καὶ τοῦ ᾽ν Μαραθῶνι τροπαίου.

> Hail, O king of the Greeks; we rejoice with you. For you do things worthy of the city and of the trophy at Marathon.

A similar construction is repeated at *Wasps* 711:

> [....] ἄξια τῆς γῆς ἀπολαύοντες καὶ τοῦ Μαραθῶνι τροπαίου.

> [the citizens are] enjoying things worthy of the land and of the trophy at Marathon.

There are later literary references to the trophy at Marathon by Critias, Lysias, Plato, and Isocrates.[17] The appearance of the trophy monument in literature indicates that the monument was widely known, referenced, and discussed. The trophy is a monument in dialogue with the accomplishments of the city.

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[16] At *Knights* 1334, *Wasps* 711, *Lysistrata* 285, and Fragment 413.
[17] In an elegy by Critias (Frag. 88 B 2), the *Epitaphios* of Lysias (II.25), the *Menexenus* of Plato (240D and 245A), and the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates (IV.87).

Presumably, immediately after the rout of the Persians, an impermanent trophy of arms was set up by Miltiades to mark the victory.[18] This temporary trophy was eventually replaced by a monument of Pentelic marble, evidence of which Vanderpool found and reconstructed in the 1960s. He discovered ruins of the monument incorporated into the remains of a medieval tower located very near the present day chapel of Panagia Mesosporitissa in the northeast sector of the plain of Marathon (Fig. 1). The construction of the medieval tower incorporated mostly reused ancient blocks, most conspicuously an Ionic capital, measuring 1.35 meters across the volutes, built into the north face of the tower.[19] Vanderpool recovered a series of ancient marble blocks from the walls of the tower, including at least five column drums that are associated with the Ionic capital, a fragment of sculpture, several orthostate blocks decorated on their faces, *euthynteria* or step blocks, and several other blocks, including one reused as a well head and an inscription. Of these pieces, Vanderpool makes sense of the capital, column drums, and sculptured fragment to reconstruct a monumental column monument.

The Ionic capital is of Pentelic marble which began to be exploited in Attica extensively around 490 BCE,[20] contemporary with Marathon. Though worn and fragmented, the echinus appears not to have been carved, the eye of the volute is a simple rounded knob (Fig. 2), and there is a large trapezoidal cutting 0.94 meters long and 0.09 meters deep on the top of the stone (Fig. 3).[21] Five drums, also made of Pentelic marble, are unfluted. The diameter of the base of the capital indicates a diameter of about 0.73 meters for the topmost

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[18] No evidence for this survives, but West (1969, 8) surmises this was done because of the custom of setting up an ordinary trophy immediately after the battle; see above, p. 4.
[19] Vanderpool 1966, 93.
[20] Camp 1986, 57.
[21] Vanderpool 1966, 99.

drum.[22] Vanderpool found another fragment of Pentelic marble lying outside the northeast

corner of the tower. The block, measuring 0.60 meters by 0.45 meters, preserves on a very

small surface, carving of "broad folds of drapery" and is apparently a piece of sculpture.[23] The

trapezoidal cutting in the top of the capital was designed to hold a stone statue in place,[24] and

Vanderpool surmised that this sculptured fragment was a part of such a statue. It is uncertain

whether the other ancient blocks found in the tower belong to the column monument.[25] All the

ancient stones found in or near the tower must have originated in the immediate vicinity and

would not have been transported a long distance. Vanderpool notes that the nearby chapel

stands on a slight rise caused by a rubble filled dike in front of it in an otherwise level plain.[26]

He suggests this anomaly in the landscape indicates that ancient foundations lie beneath the

area of the chapel, providing a potential location for the original monument.

Vanderpool argues that his column is the trophy of white marble recorded by

Pausanias in his description of the plain of Marathon: πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον λίθου

λευκοῦ (Paus., 1.32.5). He assigns a date prior to the mid-fifth century on stylistic grounds,

comparing the capital to those from the temple of Athena at Sounion (Fig. 4), the Athenian

Stoa at Delphi, and the Pinakotheke.[27] The form of the column monument was not

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[22] Vanderpool 1966, 99. Measurements of the actual remaining fragments are only estimates. For comparison, Camp (1986, 70, fig. 43) shows the interior, unfluted Ionic columns of the near contemporary Stoa Poikile (475-50 B.C.E.) measuring 0.496 m in diameter at the top most drum.

[23] Vanderpool 1966, 99.

[24] Vanderpool 1966, 99.

[25] Vanderpool (1966, 100) surmises a fourth century date for the decorated orthostate blocks and asserts that they may be part of a later embellishment of the monument. As to the inscription, he assigns a Hellenistic date based on the letter forms.

[26] Vanderpool 1966, 101.

[27] Vanderpool 1966, 100. All these examples date to the period immediately after the Persian Wars, but before mid-century. Vanderpool notes also that the fragment of sculpted drapery conforms stylistically to this period of transition, displaying folds somewhere between the stiff, geometric folds of Archaic sculpture and the deep-cut, freely falling folds typical of the High Classical period.

uncommon, even before the Persian Wars,[28] and Vanderpool readily reconstructs a freestanding Ionic column, about ten meters tall, supporting a marble statue. All of the elements are of Pentelic marble, of monumental proportions, and clearly associated with one another. He concludes that the sculptured fragment with drapery was part of the statue which originally adorned the column monument. The monument stood near the Great Marsh, where the Persians suffered their greatest losses and were routed (Paus. 1.32.7).

West argues that the trophy proper was the statue that would have stood atop the column. He surmises that the statue must have been, at least in part, a figural representation of an ordinary trophy of wood and suggests that the fragment of folds of drapery was part of a Nike figure, based on Vanderpool's suggestion that the statue had the appearance of the motif of a Victory crowning a *tropaion* common on vases, reliefs, and coins (Fig. 5).[29] The function of the column then would have been to elevate the trophy, thereby making it visible from long distances.

The trophy monument at Marathon does not lack comparanda. Vanderpool's discovery has also lent credence to the erection of two other trophy monuments similar in form to that at Marathon—one at Salamis, and another at Plataia, both also mentioned in literature.[30] Further evidence for the trophy at Salamis comes from Hellenistic inscriptions which attest to the practice of Athenian ephebes of sailing to the trophy on Salamis and sacrificing to Zeus

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[28] One could cite, for instance, the column of the Naxian sphinx at Delphi.

[29] West (1969, 8) cites this motif in sculptural representations of trophies on the balustrade of the Temple of Athena Nike, which are reconstructed in Carpenter (1929, 467-83).

[30] The trophy at Salamis is referred to by Xenophon in *Anabasis* and by Lycurgus in *Against Leocrates*. The one at Plataea referred to by Isocrates in *Plataeacus*. Both trophies are referenced in Plato's *Menexenus*.

Tropaios as part of their training.[31] Today no physical evidence of the trophies is visible, but early visitors to Salamis recorded finding the ruins of a "Column of white Marble."[32]

Perhaps a more convincing parallel is the column dedication of Kallimachos, the polemarch who fell at Marathon, on the Acropolis. An Ionic column (Fig. 6) preserves a dedicatory inscription along its length:

[Καλίμαχος μ᾽ ἀν]έθεκεν Ἀφιδναῖο[ς] τἀθεναίαι
ἄν[γελον ἀθ]ανάτον, ℎοι ο[ὐρανὸν εὐρὺν] ἔχοσιν·
[ὁς στέσας πολέ]μαρχο[ς] Ἀθεναίον τὸν ἀγῶνα
τὸν Μέ[δον τε καὶ ℎ[ελένον θά[νε δόλιον ἐμαρ
παισίν Ἀθεναίον Μα[ραθôνος ἐν ἄλσει ἀμύνον]·[33]

Kallimachos of Aphidnae dedicated me as an immortal message [for the
Athenians] who hold the wide sky; he, serving as polemarch of the
Athenian battle, both destroyed the Mede and died warding off the day
of Athenian slavery from her children in the grove of Marthon.

Raubitschek noted that the diameter of an archaic Nike statue[34] corresponded to the diameter of the column, and on that basis assumed the two elements comprised a whole.[35] He reconstructed an original height of over twelve feet and dated the statue stylistically to the end of the archaic period, explaining that the dedication was made in 489 B.C.E. The monument must have been destroyed in the sack of 480, since no literary evidence attests to its existence, and it was not reconstructed in 479.[36]

Prior to Vanderpool's discovery, the *tropaion* mentioned repeatedly in fifth and fourth century literary sources was interpreted as metaphor, while the monument mentioned by

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[31] Wallace 1969, 301.
[32] According to the testimony of Stuart and Revett. Wallace (1969, 300) lists all the accounts in detail.
[33] *IG* I², 609.
[34] No. 690 in Langlotz from Schrader, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*, p.122, no.77.
[35] Raubitschek 1940, 53.
[36] Raubitschek 1940, 56.

Pausanias was explained as a later restoration of the original trophy.[37] If Vanderpool's dating

of the monument to the 460s B.C.E. is correct, and if this is in fact the trophy of white marble

mentioned by Pausanias, it would have been contemporary with other such monuments to

Marathon like the statue group of gods, heroes, and Miltiades set up at Delphi, the painting of

the battle in the Stoa Poikile, or the statue of Athena Promachos atop the Acropolis.[38]

Vanderpool's suggestion fits neatly into the post-Persian Wars Athenian program of

monument building and conforms to the surviving literary evidence for the *tropaion*. The

trophy monument at Marathon is innovative in that it represents the transition and redefinition

of the *tropaion* into a permanent monument of victory, rather than a temporary symbol of the

enemy's defeat.

By the late fifth century, the monument seems to have acquired a definition not only

as a commemoration of past victory, but as inspiration of future aspiration and national

identity. The quotations of Aristophanes, discussed above, prove that Athenians commonly

conceived the trophy as a monument that embodied Athens herself and what it meant to be an

Athenian. In speaking of *tropaia* broadly, Demosthenes, in his oration *For the Freedom of the

Rhodians* (15.35), urges the Athenians

> πράττειν ἄξια τῆς πόλεως, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι χαίρετ᾽ ἀκούοντες,
> ὅταν τις ἐπαινῇ τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ πεπραγμέν᾽ ἐκείνοις
> διεξίῃ καὶ τὰ τρόπαια λέγῃ. νομίζετε τοίνυν ταῦτ᾽ ἀναθεῖναι τοὺς
> προγόνους ὑμῶν οὐχ ἵνα θαυμάζητ᾽ αὐτὰ θεωροῦντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα καὶ
> μιμῆσθε τὰς τῶν ἀναθέντων ἀρετάς.

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[37] West 1969, 10. This conclusion was no doubt stems from the fact that Xenophon and Thucydides do not mention permanent trophies of stone or bronze, as well as the general assumption that permanent trophies were taboo in the rules of hoplite warfare.

[38] West 1969, 8. These monuments were commissioned for the sole purpose of commemorating and glorifying Athens' victories over the Persians and the new empire itself.

to do things worthy of the city, remembering that you are glad when you hear someone praise your ancestors and recount their deeds and enumerate their trophies. Consider, then, that your ancestors erected them, not that you may gaze at them in wonder, but so that you may imitate the excellence of those who erected them.

For Demosthenes, the trophy monument is a reminder of past victories and an exhortation to continued pursuit of glory. It simultaneously asks the viewer to remember his heritage and to forge a new one in imitation. In this way the trophy monument creates a national identity. Demosthenes, like Aristophanes, sees the trophy as the physical, permanent manifestation of the achievements—past and future—of Athens.

Alongside the physical commemoration of the victory, the heroes of Marathon were commemorated with their own impressive monument—a massive, public grave. The literary evidence is scarce: Herodotos (6.117.1) records a total of 192 Athenian dead; Thucydides notes that the fallen were given a state funeral at the site of the battle:

> τιθέασιν οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὅ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, πλήν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι· ἐκείνων δὲ διαπρεπῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν. (Thuc. 2.34.5)

> And so [the Athenian war dead] are placed in the public tomb, in the most beautiful suburb of the city, and those who fall in war are always buried in it, except for those who died at Marathon; judging the excellence of those men preeminent, [the Athenians] made them their tomb on the very spot [where they fell].

The remaining literary testimony is that of Pausanias, who remarks that the tomb of the Athenians is in the plain of Marathon, covered with *stelai* listing their names, and the dead receive worship as heroes (1.32.3-5, see above). The existence of the tomb is attested archaeologically.

The plain of Marathon is riddled with mounds, many of which are prehistoric tumuli. Two burial mounds in the vicinity have been identified as the graves of the Athenian and Plataean dead mentioned by Pausanias. It has been suggested that the one identified as the Athenian mound, today called the Soros,[39] may have been a Bronze Age tumulus reused.[40] The tumulus in question is located near the shore of the bay in the southeastern part of the plain (Fig. 1). Its position supposedly marks the spot where the Greeks suffered their heaviest losses at the hands of the Persian forces,[41] in contrast with the placement of the trophy, which was erected where the Persians suffered their heaviest losses.

Today the mound is still imposing, presently standing some nine meters tall, with a diameter of 50 meters and a circumference of 185 meters at the base.[42] Staïs conducted excavations in the 1890s[43] and dug a series of trenches into the mound (Fig. 7) He found a layer of greenish earth and sand containing ash and burnt bones extending into the center of the mound at a depth of three meters below the present ground level. His southeastern trench revealed a long trench (5 m x 1 m) lined with brick, atop which a cremation pyre had been constructed, lying directly on the layer of sand near the center of the mound.[44] The positioning of the cremation trench suggests that the pyre was the central point over which the mound was

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[39] From the Greek meaning "a vessel or urn to hold the ashes of the dead; a coffin." Liddell and Scott 2004, s.v. "σόρος." This is the nickname, so to speak, assigned to the mound today.
[40] Antonaccio 1995, 119. This is a heated debate, though it does seem unlikely to my mind that fifth century Athenians would excavate a prehistoric tumulus only to rebuild it. Lack of any Bronze Age pottery found in the soil of the mound supports this conclusion.
[41] van der Veer 1982, 290.
[42] Hammond 1968, 15.
[43] Schliemann was actually the first excavator, but his findings were not conclusive. In 1884 he found pieces of obsidian, some ninth century pottery, and one fragment of fifth century Attic black figure, but never reached the sandy layer. See Hammond (1968, 14-17) for a complete summary of early excavations.
[44] Hammond 1968, 15.

heaped, in accordance with the usual practice.[45] Staïs found early fifth century *lekythoi* and a number of other vases on the sandy layer and around the cremation trench, evidence of the cremation and funeral feast, both of which must necessarily have taken place prior to the heaping of the mound.[46]

At the outer edge of the southeastern trench, he uncovered another brick-lined trench one meter below ground level just outside the face of the mound. In it, Staïs found animal bones and sherds; therefore, he identified it as an offering trench, or *Opferrinne*, a common element of archaic Attic burials.[47] The soil of the mound contained a profusion of Persian arrowheads, most likely from the battle,[48] providing a *terminus post quem* of 490 B.C.E., as the mound would necessarily have been raised after the battle. Since he was able to assign a secure date to the burial mound on the basis of pottery and arrowheads, Staïs established the identification of this tumulus as the burial place of the 192 Athenian dead.[49]

The three main components of the burial—the cremation trench containing ashes of the dead and *lekythoi*, the exterior *Opferrinne*, and the mound heaped over it all—are not without precedent. The same configuration is apparent at the Attic site of Vouvra which dates roughly a century earlier in the late seventh of early sixth century.[50] By the seventh century, particularly in the Kerameikos, low tumuli characteristically cover cremations denoted by a ceramic marker, and the offering trench lies well outside the mound. This configuration

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[45] This is the practice in *Iliad* 23.255-57 and has been illustrated in tumuli in North Epirus. See Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford, 1967) 367.
[46] Hammond 1968, 15.
[47] *Opferrinnen* are well attested in the Late Geometric burials in the Kerameikos, for instance Opferrinne γ which is associated with grave 11, *Opferrinnen* 1 and 2 and the *Brandschicht über Grab* 51, all published by Kübler 1954 and 1959.
[48] Hammond 1968, 17.
[49] For Staïs' excavations, see esp. Staïs, "Ὁ ἐν Μαραθῶνι Τύμβος," *AM* 18 (1893) 46-63.
[50] Whitley (1994, 216) notes that Staïs (1893, 53) made the observation.

spread beyond Athens into the Attic countryside, peaking around 600 B.C.E.[51] There are no other Attic tumulus burials featuring a cremation trench and external offering trenches from the late sixth or early fifth centuries:[52] the Marathon tumulus is unique among contemporary burials and recalls burial practices which were widespread during the seventh and sixth centuries.

The inclusion of the offering trench has great significance; it implies that the dead received continual offerings long after the funeral rites themselves and were thereby heroized through the practices typical of tomb cult. *Opferrinnen* were usually filled with ceramic offerings to the dead, no longer associated with the funeral rites themselves or any particular interment; they are separate from the institution of funerary ceremony. The objects placed in an offering trench resemble votive cult offerings more than grave goods, making them distinct from the funerary ritual itself. Offerings are the product of commemorative practice continued long after the burial and reflect an active form of remembering on the part of the person giving the offering.

Therefore, the form of the burial looks back to older practices. The tumulus itself was a Mycenaean burial form, and this particular type of tumulus that included an internal cremation trench coupled with external offering trench was in vogue during the late eighth century.[53] The grave *stelai* that crowned it (Paus. 1.32.3) represent a practice that becomes typical during the archaic period.[54] The use of these ancient burial forms not only created an imposing landmark and a conspicuous memorial to the dead, but also an allusion to the heroes

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[51] Whitley 1994, 218.
[52] Whitley 1994, 216.
[53] Whitley 1994, 217.
[54] Late Geometric burials in the Kerameikos are often marked by oversized pottery—a *krater* or *amphora*, for example.

of epic who resided in a glorious past.[55] The allusion would be particularly fitting for

commemorating those who were warriors, an implied definition of the word *heros*.[56]

That the *Marathonomachai* were indeed heroized is briefly mentioned by Pausanias

(1.32.4), and a first century B.C.E. inscription[57] attests that they were honored as heroes by

that time. Based on Pausanias' testimony, they were certainly still receiving cult worship 600

years after the battle. Whether they held such status in the fifth century is debatable, but the

mid-fifth century Marathon fresco in the Stoa Poikile showed the hero Marathon, Athena,

Herakles, and Theseus all present at the battle alongside the fighters Miltiades, Kallimachos,

and the hero Echetlos (Paus. 1.15.3). The field of the painting narrated visually, left to right,

the events of the battle as they unfolded. Miltiades is shown leading the initial charge,

followed by Kallimachos routing the Persians and winning the victory, and finally, the general

Kynegeiros hacking down the fleeing Persians at their ships.[58]

The painting inspired other visual representations of the battle, namely the sculptural

program of the south frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike. Harrison argues that the battle

between Persians and Greeks represented on the frieze is Marathon due to a couple of

markers. First, the Greeks lack cavalry and archers, while the Persians' possession of these

troops is clearly emphasized.[59] Secondly, two figures are singled out as heroes of the battle in

imitation of the painting. One figure stands in a Harmodios style pose with his himation

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[55] Both Patroklos and Hektor are cremated and buried beneath massive mounds.

[56] Whitley 1994, 228.

[57] *IG* II, 41 reads [πρ]οσθε - -, [εὐε]ργέτην ἀ - - -, Ἀθηναίω[ν], ἀναγ]ράψαι αὐτῷ τὴμπρο[ξενίαν | ἐν στήλ]ῃ λι[θί]νῃ τὸν γραμμα[τέα | τῆς βουλῆ]ς κα[ὶ σ]τῆσαι ἐν ἀκροπ[όλει. | Πύρρανδρ]ος εἶ[ι]πε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα | [καθάπερ] τῇ βουλῇ· εἶναι δὲ καὶ γ[ῆς | ἔγκτησιν] καὶ οἰκίας Ἐπιχάρει | [αὐτῷ καὶ] ἐκγόνοις καὶ πρόσοδο[ν | πρὸς τὴν β]ουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον | [ἐάν του δεών]ται· οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις | [οἱ ἀεὶ πρυτα]νεύοντες προσαγόντω[ν].

[58] According to the reconstruction of Harrison (1972, 363).

[59] Herodotos (6.112) notes that the Athenians had neither cavalry nor archers.

slipping and torso exposed. Harrison identifies this figure as Kallimachos, paralleling his pose

with the well known pose of the tyranncide and linking the tradition to the comparison drawn

by Herodotos' Miltiades (6.109.5).[60] She suggests that the other heroic figure who is back-to-

back with Kallimachos represents the general of Kallimachos' tribe, Aiantis.[61] Furthermore,

Harrison believes that Miltiades and Kynegeiros are omitted from the frieze, arguing that the

frieze focuses only on the turning point of the battle, Kallimachos' victory scene. The frieze

captured the moment of the battle—derived from the painting in the Stoa Poikile—that was

most appropriate for the dedicatee of the temple--victory.

Both the painting and the frieze place their subjects in a divine context. The painting

shows the *Marathonomachai* in the same field as their patron gods and the frieze connects the

battle to Athena Nike in particular. Depicting the warrior fighting in the presence of a

protective divinity is a conventional motif for representing heroes and their superhuman,

semi-divine powers, beginning with Homer.[62] The painting and its offshoot, the frieze,

explicitly elevated their main subjects to epic hero status and publicly advertised that notion.

The heroes of Marathon were prominent and permanently visible in the most public of spaces,

the agora, and the most religious of spaces, the Acropolis.

If the identification of the burial mound is correct and it does house the remains of the

Marathonomachai, then the revival of the tumulus form was certainly a conscious choice on

the part of the Athenians. Emulation of ancient practices in the fifth century was a mechanism

to elevate the war dead,[63] likening them to the celebrated epic heroes. Whitley argues that the

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[60] Harrison 1972, 355.
[61] Harrison 1972, 358.
[62] Kearns 1989, 45.
[63] Antonaccio 1995, 119.

Athenians intentionally revived old, aristocratic burial practices with the Marathon tumulus as a means to illustrate the heroic *arete* of the *Marathonomachai*.[64] He believes that implementation of funerary iconography, originally the prerogative of the aristocracy, was the means by which the state appropriated visual forms to evoke the heroic ideal. So the fallen are simultaneously compared to heroes and celebrated with cult worship.

The Marathon tumulus established a tomb cult, practice of which was commonplace in Attica by the seventh century, but had dissolved by the end of the century.[65] Coupled with the trophy monument, the plain of Marathon became a place of worship and commemoration of those who had fallen in Athens' greatest victory. At the same time, those monuments symbolized an Athenian national identity that purported to model itself on the heroic ideal.

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[64] Whitley 1994, 229.
[65] Whitley 1994, 218.

CHAPTER 3
ACTIUM

On the morning of September 2, 31 B.C.E., Julius Caesar's heir, Octavian, and his

long-time fellow triumvir, Antony, arrayed their armadas against one another in the Ionian

Sea off Cape Actium. Around midday, the fleets engaged in what was to be "the last major

naval battle of antiquity."[66] The small, maneuverable ships of Octavian proved most effective

against Antony's enormous warships, which were too bulky to use their rams. Though

outsized, Octavian's smaller vessels were able to coordinate their attacks and dart in several at

a time to strike the larger ships. Grappling tactics were implemented against those ships which

were too heavy to be destroyed by ramming. At some point, Cleopatra, whose squadron was

positioned to Antony's rear, broke through the front line and fled southward. When Antony

saw this, he broke off his own attack and fled after her, leaving behind his navy and entire

army (Plut. *Ant*. 66.3-5; Dio 50.33.1-3; Vell. 2.85.3). Antony's navy continued to fight,

unaware of his departure, and his 19 legions only surrendered a week later, when Octavian's

great victory was finally completed.

Shortly after his defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium, Octavian commenced a

building program in the Ambracian Gulf for the express purpose of glorifying his victory.

Suetonius describes the building program:

> quoque Actiacae victoriae memoria celebratior et in posterum esset,
> urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit ludosque illic quinquennales
> constituit et ampliato vetere Apollinis templo locum castrorum, quibus

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[66] Murray and Petsas 1989, 1.

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fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.
(Suet. *Aug.*, 18.2)

And so that the memory of his Actian victory would be more famous and everlasting, he founded the city Nikopolis and he established quinquennial games there, and once he had restored the old temple of Apollo, he consecrated to Neptune and Mars the campsite which he had used, decorated with naval spoils.

As Suetonius relates, Octavian renovated the temple precinct of Actian Apollo, established the Actian Games, founded a new city, Nikopolis, and constructed a monumental *tropaeum* on the hillside north of the city to commemorate his naval victory.[67] All of the elements of the building program were incorporated from the *Greek* tradition of commemorative practice which the Romans had absorbed after their conquest of Greece. Octavian ingeniously used a Greek architectural form, the stoa, to construct a *tropaeum*, an originally Greek form of victory monument, which he thoroughly Romanized with an imposing Latin inscription. In addition to the built structures, he followed the Hellenistic tradition of founding a victory city, and reestablished the Greek games which had traditionally been held in the region. Octavian's program in the area of Nikopolis (Fig. 8) was unique in its scale and in its combination of several types of monuments—all of them Greek in overall appearance—to broadcast his significant victory to a Greek world which was becoming Romanized under the new regime.

Octavian's restoration of the old sanctuary of Apollo *Aktios* was fitting for him since he had already taken Apollo as his patron deity[68] and was opportunistically propagating an image of piety throughout the Roman world. Octavian apparently expanded the precinct of Apollo; he built a larger temple (Cass. Dio, 51.1.2) and dedicated a *dekanaia*, a collection of

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[67] There was originally another war memorial in addition to the *tropaeum* at Actium. It was apparently a sort of museum very near the temple of Actian Apollo where Octavian dedicated ten warships from his victory. According to Strabo, *Geo.* 7.7.6, this *neoria* burned down and so did not last long. Murray and Petsas 1989, 5.
[68] Gurval (1995, 87-136) treats the topic of Octavian's relationship with Apollo in detail.

ten warships of various sizes captured from Antony's fleet, along with boat houses to accommodate them.[69] The dedication of naval spoils, including whole ships, was not an uncommon practice in the Greek world,[70] and Octavian was clearly following this tradition. By displaying various types and sizes of Antony's ships in his dedication, Octavian emphasized his victory over a large, diverse navy. Moreover, the sheer size of the ships was a testament to Octavian's distinction as victor over such an adversary.[71] The overall magnitude of the dedication presented Octavian as the foremost military presence in Greece and set him up as the new controller of Greek seas.

Octavian's foundation of the city of Nikopolis looks back to the Hellenistic tradition of founding cities as monuments of victory.[72] No doubt influenced by this historic practice, Octavian established Nikopolis as a living victory monument.[73] Octavian's first foundation city was immense; its walls enclosed an area of 130 hectares, and its *territorium* spread out

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[69] This is the same *neoria* mentioned above (see n. 2) which burned down perhaps as early as 7 B.C.E. Yavenditti (2004, 42) notes that Augustus did not attempt to rebuild or replace this dedication after it burned.

[70] Pritchett 1979, 281-83. The customary naval dedication was the ram, but there are also instances of dedications of prows, figure-heads, prow ornaments, and whole ships. Examples of whole-ship dedications include an Athenian dedication to Poseidon at Phion after Phormio's victory in the Gulf of Corinth (Thuc., 2.84.4) and an extreme case in which Lysander returned victorious to Sparta in 404 B.C.E., bringing with him all but twelve triremes out of the Piraeus, as well as the prow ornaments from every ship captured at Aigospotamoi.

[71] Yavenditti 2004, 42.

[72] The practice goes back to Alexander the Great and his foundation of at least twelve victory cities. Gurval (1995, 69) remarks that this was not a regular practice of Roman conquerors in the East; rather, the Romans traditionally established *coloniae*, where veterans and Roman citizens settled in an attempt to Romanize and secure the newly mastered region. Pompey, however, (who also styled himself as "Magnus" after Alexander) founded at least seven victory cities in the East; his, therefore, is the only Roman precedent for Octavian's preference of victory city over *colonia*. Octavian seems to have abandoned this policy later on, preferring to found *coloniae*.

[73] Josephus (*AJ* 16.147) relates that the city was financed in greater part by Herod of Judaea, perhaps to gain the favor of the new Roman ruler. Originally an ally of Antony, Herod must have thought it wise to appease Octavian by fostering the growth of the new city. Yavenditti (2004, 44) points out that there is, remarkably, no archaeological evidence to identify any buildings in the city which were Herodian projects. It should be mentioned as well that Octavian founded another Nikopolis, about 30 *stadia* from Alexandria. This second city did not flourish as did the Actian Nikopolis, but was intended to celebrate the Alexandrian victory and perhaps rival the Egyptian city of Alexander. For a thorough discussion of this second city, see Gurval (1995, 72-74).

over 4000 square kilometers.[74] Several ancient authors,[75] however, suggest another, more

practical, reason for its foundation: that Octavian established Nikopolis by moving—willingly

or unwillingly—the inhabitants of failing cities around the Ambracian Gulf into this city. In

order to fill his new city, Octavian emptied Acarnania and Aetolia of their populations and

created Nikopolis through a massive *synoikismos*. The ancient accounts suggest that

Nikopolis was not a settlement for discharged veterans, as might be expected, but a city for

locals.[76] In fact, the town remained Greek, having Greek inscriptions and coins, an official

boule, a *demos*, and membership in the Delphic Amphictyony, and was granted *civitas libera*

status.[77] The political power the city wielded is evidenced by the number of Amphictyonic

delegates (six) it sent regularly to every meeting of the League.[78]

Perhaps the most important function of Nikopolis was its role as host of the Actian

games, the *Actia*. These games, which had long been celebrated in honor of Actian Apollo,

were in decline by the first century. Octavian reestablished the festival in 27 B.C.E., the four-

year anniversary of his victory at Actium, making it a quinquennial[79] occurrence, much like

the other panhellenic games. Octavian bestowed greater prestige upon the games by

approving "isolympic status" for them (Strabo, *Geo*. 7.7.6), and their importance became

comparable to the games at Olympia, Isthmia, Nemea, and Delphi. Agonistic inscriptions

attest to the immediate popularity of the Actian games, including one recording the earliest

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[74] Ruscu 2006, 248.

[75] Strabo 7.7.6, 10.2.2; Cass. Dio 51.1.3; Paus. 5.23.3, 10.38.4; Antipater of Salonica in *Anth. Pal*. 9.553.

[76] Ruscu (2006, 249-55) argues, on the basis of a couple of inscriptions and names of some of the inhabitants, that the city did actually have *colonia* status. She believes that the city was a "double community," jointly a *polis* and a *colonia* for Augustan veterans. Her evidence for this assumption is minimal, however.

[77] Yavenditti 2004, 44. Tidman (1950, 125) concludes that the *Actia* fell in September of 27 B.C.E. on the basis of a passage of Statius (*Silv*. 2.2.6-10) and notes also that this year coincided with the year in which Octavian assumed the title of Augustus.

[78] Gurval (1995, 68) comments that only the Thessalian and Macedonian Leagues sent as many delegates.

[79] The Romans counted inclusively, so "quinquennial," the word deriving from the Latin *quinquennales* used by Suetonius, meaning "every fifth year," is by modern reckoning every four years, or quadrennial.

known victor, Philippus Glyco of Pergamon, as winner of the boxing, wrestling, and *pankration* contests.[80] By the time of Nero, the *Actia* were included in the *periodos*, the circuit of Panhellenic games at Isthmia, Corinth, Olympia, and Delphi.[81] In the wake of the popularity of the games at Nikopolis, other Eastern cities like Tyre, Antioch, Damascus, and Jerusalem followed suit, establishing their own *Actia* in the second and third centuries C.E.[82] Participants in the Actian games and spectators alike would have celebrated Octavian's victory and perpetuated its memory.

Octavian's *tropaeum* (Fig. 9), which he constructed on a hillside north of the city in the spot where his campsite had stood and where the leaders of Antony's destroyed fleet declared their submission, is perhaps "the most important structure built by Octavian outside of Italy."[83] It was undoubtedly the focus of Octavian's building in the area; it overlooked the city, the sanctuary, and the straits where the battle took place, and is mentioned more than any other structure in the area by the ancient sources.[84] The monument, like the other elements of Octavian's Actian program, was inspired by and derives from Greek architectural forms and traditions. A general reconstruction of the monument is possible, thanks to extensive archaeological work conducted in recent years, but first, a review of the ancient sources is necessary to recreate a fuller picture.

All the ancient sources agree that a naval victory memorial was erected and consecrated on the site of Octavian's camp near Nikopolis. From there the facts diverge,

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[80] *IGRR* IV, 497; *SEG* XIV, 764. Gurval (1995, 77, n. 148), notes that even Horace (*Epist*. 1.1.30) writes of the *membra invicti Glyconis*.
[81] Kennell, 1988, 239-51.
[82] Yavenditti 2004, 46.
[83] Murray and Petsas 1989, 6.
[84] Murray and Petsas 1989, 9.

especially concerning the gods to whom the monument was dedicated.[85] Dio gives a brief

description of the monument that assigns the dedication to Apollo, but otherwise conforms to

the description that Suetonius provides:

> τό τε χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἐσκήνησε, λίθοις τε τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ
> τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἕδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ
> Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἱδρυσάμενος. (Cass. Dio, 51.1.3)

> On the spot where he had encamped he laid a foundation of square
> stones and adorned it with the captured ships' rams, establishing on it a
> kind of open-air space, sacred to Apollo.

Exact details of the physical appearance of the monument are vague, but there is no question

that the monument was adorned with *rostra*, or ship rams, and that these were considered its

most striking feature. The epigrammatist Philippus of Thessalonica[86] used the rams (Ἔμβολα

χαλκογένια) to refer to the entire monument:

> Ἔμβολα χαλκογένια, φιλόπλοα τεύχεα νηῶν,
> Ἀκτιακοῦ πολέμου κείμεθα μαρτύρια·
> ἠνίδε σιμβλεύει κηρότροφα δῶρα μελισσῶν
> ἐσμῷ βομβητῇ κυκλόσε βριθόμενα.
> Καίσαρος εὐνομίης χρηστὴ χάρις ὅπλα γὰρ ἐχθρῶν
> καρποὺς εἰρήνης ἀντεδίδαξε τρέφειν. (Philippus in *Anth. Pal.* 6.236)

> Bronze jaw-beaks, ships' voyage-loving armor, we lie here as witnesses
> to the Actian War. Behold, the bees' wax-fed gifts are hived in us,
> weighted all round by a humming swarm. So good is the grace of
> Caesar's law and order; he has taught the enemy's weapons to bear the
> fruits of peace instead.[87]

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[85] Suet., *Aug.* 18.2, reports that the memorial was dedicated to Neptune and Mars, Cass. Dio, 51.1.3, to Apollo, Plut. *Ant.* 65.3, gives no mention of a dedicatee, and Strabo, 7.7.6, reports simply that the hill on which the monument stood was sacred to Apollo.
[86] A compiler of epigrams and author about 80 himself, Philippus probably published his *Garland* under Nero. *OCD* 3rd ed., s.v. "Philippus (2)."
[87] Murray and Petsas 1989, 10.

In addition to the focus on the rams, there are two reports of bronze statues which Octavian had set up in the courtyard of the memorial. Suetonius reports:

> apud Actium descendenti in aciem asellus cum asinario occurrit: homini
> Eutychus, bestiae Nicon erat nomen; utriusque simulacrum aeneum
> victor posuit in templo, in quod castrorum suorum locum vertit.

> At Actium an ass with his ass-driver met him [Octavian] going down to
> battle: Eutychus was the man's name, and Nikon the beast's; and after he
> was victorious he set up bronze images of them both in the sacred space
> into which he had converted the place of his campsite.

Plutarch reports a very similar story of Eutychus and Nikon (*Ant*. 65.3). These sparse details represent what is known of the monument from ancient sources.

Though the ancient literary sources are inconsistent, new archaeological evidence has shed light on the nature of the construction of the monument. It was first rediscovered and partially excavated in 1913 by Philadelpheus, but it was not until 1986 that Petsas and Murray undertook an in-depth survey of the area using modern archaeological techniques.[88] Up to that point, the identifiable evidence for the monument included 26 fragmentary stone blocks bearing a large Latin inscription, architectural elements including roof tiles, column drums, a Corinthian capital, a podium with sockets of various sizes cut into one side, and the stylobate of a stoa, with cuttings in its top surface. Once excavation of the monument commenced, it became clear that the podium was a massive rectangular terrace which sat atop a retaining wall with a concrete core. The retaining wall ran along three sides of the complex: the southern (62 m), and the poorly preserved eastern (23 m) and western (21 m) sides.[89] It consisted of courses of limestone blocks anchored to and facing a concrete core and

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[88] For a comprehensive history of early research and scholarship surrounding the monument, see Murray and Petsas (1989, 14-19).

[89] Murray and Petsas 1989, 23.

foundation, a technique characteristic of Augustan period construction, for instance in the

Mausoleum of Augustus and the temple of *Divus Iulius* in Rome.[90] Such heavy, durable

construction work must have been deemed necessary to support the monument on the hillside

north of the city.

In 1995, Zachos renewed excavation where Murray and Petsas had left off, and a

detailed plan of the *tropaeum* (Fig. 10) has emerged.[91] The monument has been plundered and

has suffered other man-made damages over the years, but on-going conservation and research

continues to shed light on the original appearance of the memorial. It comprised two terraces

that form a kind of open air sanctuary bounded on three sides by stoas. Two concrete retaining

walls were required to support the terraces because the subsoil of the hill is by nature

unsuitable for the foundations of such a massive monument.[92] Running parallel to the south

side of the monument lies a retaining wall of *opus caementicium*, 2.6 meters thick and about

71 meters long. It stands 3.7 meters in front of the main façade of the memorial and still

survives to a height of 2.1 meters on foundations that run 1.2 meters deep. The outside of the

wall was faced with *opus quasi reticulatum*, (Fig. 11) and two *fibulae* were found in its

construction, dating the wall to the first century BCE.[93] A smaller structure sits 2 meters south

(in front) at about the midpoint of the retaining wall. A rectangular *krepidoma* of cut

limestone slabs survives whose interior was filled with fragments of irregular stones and

bricks and rooftiles. Zachos surmises that it supported a *naiskos* or *cella*, based on an entrance

on the east side and the presence of a niche-like projection on the west side for a statue.[94] He

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[90] Murray and Petsas 1989, 29.
[91] Zachos 2003, 67.
[92] For a more detailed treatment of the area's subsoil, see Zachos (2003, 70).
[93] Zachos 2003, 70.
[94] Zachos 2003, 71.

also argues that the *naiskos* was a later addition because the dressing of its foundation stones is more sophisticated than that of the monument.

North of the *naiskos* and *opus quasi reticulatum* retaining wall is a second retaining wall constructed of sizable limestone blocks. This Π-shaped wall has both an eastern and western return wall running perpendicular into the hillside (number 4 on Fig. 10). Rows of sandstone slabs (15 cm thick) mixed with blocks of limestone and conglomerate all joined with mortar make up the foundations. The wall itself comprises a *euthynteria* of limestone blocks on top of which two rows of blocks (inner and outer) for each course rest. The blocks are joined with double-T clamps and bonded by mortar. The southern wall is the best preserved, retaining at least four courses and in some places five for most of its length. It forms the façade of the monument. The original length of this façade was about 63 meters, and Zachos estimates a height of 7.30 meters.[95]

This façade (Fig. 11) is marked by a row of carved sockets that Murray and Petsas have proven were used to affix to the wall the rams captured by Octavian in the battle. By comparing the cross-sectional shape of the so-called bronze Athlit ram discovered off the coast of Israel in 1980, Murray and Petsas were able to reconstruct how the rams were mounted onto the monument to serve as its frontispiece. According to their reconstruction, the wood would have been removed from the inside of the ram and the tail piece cut off. A three dimensional computer model (Fig. 12) was built to expand the shape of the Athlit ram to fit socket number four (fourth from the left).[96] From this, the size of the ram that would have

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[95] Zachos 2003, 72-74.
[96] Murray 2007, 447.

stood in each socket could be determined, indicating that a total of six different-sized rams adorned the south façade.

Not only were the rams of varying size, but they were arranged according to size, starting with the largest on the left (whose sockets are about 1.5 m in height), and gradually decreasing in size to the right. However, the last socket on the right housed another large ram equal in size to the largest rams on the far left. Murray posits that this distinctive arrangement of the rams may reflect the actual battle line of Antony's fleet. The different sizes must correspond to the various sizes of Antony's warships.[97] In this case, the largest ships would have been on the viewer's right, the medium and small ships in the middle of the line, and the flagship on the right wing. Traces of 30 sockets are visible today (Fig. 13), but the original display was massive and included some 36 bronze rams, perhaps a tithe of the estimated 360 ships captured from Antony during the course of the summer.[98] The largest sockets (ca. 1.5 m in height) extend over two to three courses of the façade, and they must have been carved into the already built wall.

About a meter in front of each socket are rectangular foundations, five of which still hold limestone capstones. Of these capstones, three have visible dowel cuttings on the top surface. The cuttings in turn held metal brackets which would have supported the weight of each ram as it extended out from the southern façade.[99] Only a few fragments of the bronze rams themselves survive.

Murray and Petsas have also argued convincingly that the dedicatory inscription was originally positioned on this wall above the rams. By measuring the width of the letters

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[97] Murray 2007, 446.
[98] Murray 2007, 446.
[99] Zachos 2003, 74.

inscribed on the 26 extant fragments, they concluded that the completely restored text would require a space approximately 56 meters long.[100] The only space on the monument large enough to house such a lengthy dedicatory text is the southern façade above the line of ram sockets. They restored a probable inscription:

> *vacat* Imp · Caesa]R · DIV[i · Iuli ·]F · VIC[toriam · consecutus · bell]O · QVOD · PRO [· r]E [·] P[u]BLIC[a] · GES[si]T · IN · HAC · REGION[e · cons]UL [·QVINTUM · i]MPERAT[or · se]PTIMUM · PACE [·] PARTA · TERRA [· marique · Nep]TUNO [· et · Ma]RT[i · c]ASTRA [· ex ·] QVIBV[s · ad · hostem · in]SEQ[uendum · egr]ESSU[s · est · navalibus · spoli]IS [· exorna]TA · C[onsacravit *vacat*

> Imperator Caesar, son of the divine Julius, following the victory in the war which he waged on behalf of the republic in this region, when he was consul for the fifth time and commander-in-chief for the seventh time, after peace had been secured on land and sea, consecrated to Neptune and Mars the camp from which he set forth to attack the enemy now ornamented with naval spoils.[101]

The restored inscription[102] agrees with the account of Suetonius that the monument was dedicated to Mars and Neptune, and affirms that Augustus established an "Actian triad"[103] with Mars and Neptune receiving honors alongside Apollo *Aktios*.

The inscription is also useful for assigning a firm date to the monument. The phrase *pace parta terra marique* corresponds to the senatorial decree on 11 January 29 B.C.E. to close the doors of the temple of Janus in Rome "after peace had been secured on land and sea."[104] Murray and Petsas argue that Octavian deliberately phrased his dedicatory text to reflect this pronouncement. Furthermore, the absence of the name Augustus in the inscription

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[100] Murray and Petsas 1989, 74.

[101] Translation by Murray and Petsas (1989, 86) from their restoration.

[102] Zachos (2003, 76) has uncovered six new blocks since 1995. Two of them are uninscribed. One is clearly the beginning of the inscription because it contains a *tabula ansata*. Another block reads TI · NEPTUNO · [QUE]. Therefore, he revises Murray and Petsas' reconstruction to read "consecrated to Mars and Neptune" rather than "consecrated to Neptune and Mars."

[103] Yavenditti 2004, 52.

[104] The date of the closing of the temple is preserved in the *Fasti Praenestini* (Degrassi 1963, 112-13).

provides a *terminus ante quem* of 16 January 27 B.C.E., when he assumed the title. Therefore, the inscription, if not the construction of the whole monument, is dated to 29-27 B.C.E.

From both ends of the southern façade, retaining walls run perpendicular to each other back into the hillside (number 4 on Fig. 10). Both the eastern and western walls consist of rectangular limestone blocks and mortar, like the southern wall. Their courses, however, are reduced north to south as the walls run into the hillside. The limestone blocks terminated when they were no longer visible and the pressures exerted on them were small enough for stone to be unnecessary. The western wall survives for 20 meters and at one point retains eight courses of stone and concrete to a height of 20 meters.[105]

The Π-shaped retaining wall and ship façade delineate an upper terrace (62 m x 50 m) that is defined on three sides by a Π-shaped stoa (Fig. 14). Evidence for the stoa atop the terrace comes from the remains of stylobate blocks. Fifty such limestone blocks are preserved in a line on the north wing, marked by dowel cuttings and pour channels, indicating a row of 15 columns. The lower diameter of the columns measures 0.59 meters, or two Augustan feet, the interaxial spacing 2.81 meters, or 9.5 Augustan feet, the intercolumnal spacing 2.2 meters, or 7.5 Augustan feet, and the column height 5.91 meters, or 20 Augustan feet.[106] Five elongated cuts exist between the columns, possibly indications of some kind of parapet between them all. The foundations of a second (inner) stylobate exist five meters north of the first line of blocks. Though not as well preserved as the first, it too exhibits cuttings and pour channels and was clearly colonnaded. The absence of any perpendicular foundations suggests that the stoa had parallel corridors that ran continuously along the terrace. A little farther

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[105] Zachos 2003, 76.
[106] Murray and Petsas 1989, 84. For this monument, the Augustan foot was equal to 29.578 cm.

north, Zachos found the toichobate (60 cm) of *opus caementicium* for the back wall of the stoa.[107] Only foundations of the east and west wings are preserved, though phases of rebuilding are evident on the eastern side. The three wings of the stoa formed an open-air courtyard on the terrace.

Several architectural elements are attributed to the stoa, including 22 column drums (half fluted, half unfluted), two column bases, two Ionic capitals, and two Corinthian capitals.[108] Fragments of Corinthian roof tiles, many bearing Greek stamps, were found all over the excavated area, as well as fragments from a terracotta figural sima and antefixes of several types, all from the roof of the stoa. There are two types of moulded simas: the first type depicts Romulus and Remus suckling the she-wolf, and the second shows dolphins swimming on either side of a spout shaped like a dolphin's head. The moulded antefixes can also be divided into two groups: one type consists of a Gorgon head in the center of a palmette, and the other is a flame-shaped palmette flanked by S-shaped tendrils.[109] The roof and architrave must have been of wood since no fragments of a stone architrave have ever been found.[110]

Other elements found inside the courtyard on the upper terrace include terracotta flowerpots with holes pierced through the bases. Flowerpots indicate that the terrace was a garden of sorts. This idea seems very plausible in light of the absence of a step around the stoa and the fact that the columns are set directly at ground level with the terrace. The cuttings on the surface of the stylobate blocks indicate that they were not intended to be seen. Murray and

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[107] Zachos 2003, 77.
[108] Zachos 2003, 78.
[109] Zachos 2003, 79.
[110] Murray and Petsas 1989, 85.

Petsas posit that the terrace originally was covered with a thin layer of earth as pavement.[111]

Such an earthy garden layout was meant to mimic physically the outdoor campground of

Octavian.

Zachos interprets two rectangular sandstone bases in the center of the courtyard as

statue bases, perhaps for the reported bronze statues of Eutychos and Nikon (Fig.15).[112] South

of these bases were the sandstone foundations (22m x 6.5m) of a long rectangular structure,

running parallel to the north wing of the stoa. Its two short ends are 8.2 meters from the

eastern and western outer stylobates, centering it on the terrace. The central position of the

structure as the focal point of the courtyard, as well as fragments of sculpture associated with

it, indicate that it was a large altar.[113]

The layers above and around the altar showed signs of burning and contained

numerous fragments of smashed sculpted marble including decorative reliefs and mouldings.

Interestingly, on the south side, the fragments were found in piles, indicating a deliberate

dismantlement at some point in time. More than 21,000 marble pieces have been recovered, of

which over 1,100 have Classical style decoration.[114] All the sculptured fragments come from

two different sized friezes (upper and lower) that adorned the façade of the altar (Fig. 16).

The pieces depict a broad range of themes and subjects, but can be grouped into three

categories: battle, procession, and floral decoration. The lower frieze displays representations

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[111] Murray and Petsas 1989, 85.

[112] Zachos 2003, 81. Refer to passages of Suetonius and Plutarch above. Note that Zachos' reconstruction of the statues is very odd. He places the figures of Eutychos and Nikon facing north, turned away from the front of the monument. It is highly unlikely that the statues would have been positioned with their backs to the rams and the victory. It makes much more sense to reconstruct south-facing statues.

[113] Zachos (2003, 82) believes that the altar was dedicated to Apollo based on the fact that Strabo 7.7.6 reports that the hill upon which the monument was built was sacred to Apollo. I can see no archaeological proof for this assumption, however.

[114] Zachos 2003, 83.

of weapons and naval war.[115] Parts of ships may actually be a reference to the battle of Actium, and depictions of armor, heaps of weapons, and trophies on stakes are clear symbols of victory. Zachos identifies some fragmentary figures as Amazons, but there is little evidence for that. Some figures are clearly shown in a Roman procession. These include lictors carrying fasces (Fig. 17), a boy wearing a *bulla*, *togati* wearing laurels, and two bearded individuals. Two more fragments show a bull and a ram from a *suovetaurilia* scene. Finally, floral patterns including candelabra and scrolls enfolding acanthus flowers are prominent on many of the fragments.[116]

Five adjoining relief fragments, apparently from the upper frieze, form a rectangular slab almost three meters long and one meter wide that shows another procession scene. The scene unfolds from right to left, beginning with nine laurelled *togati* walking in the formal manner of procession. The first man of the group touches the rear of a *quadriga* with his right hand. Inside the chariot (Fig. 18) ride a laurelled charioteer, one small boy, one small girl, and a slave holding the reigns. Ahead of the chariot are two horsemen dressed in barbarian trousers, and at the front of the procession march two Greek men wearing Boeotian helmets. Octavian celebrated a triple triumph on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of August in 29 B.C.E., and Zachos interprets this scene of the frieze as a reference to the second day, the triumphal celebration for the battle of Actium (Dio Cass. 51.21.9). Zachos argues that the charioteer is Octavian, and the two children riding with him are Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene,

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[115] Zachos 2007, 431.
[116] Zachos (2003, 86 & 89) notes that these same sculptural themes and patterns appear on the Ara Pacis in Rome, and he hypothesizes that the Nikopolis monument was the forerunner to the famous Augustan altar. Kleiner and Buxton (2008, 78) agree, noting that the fragments depict the kinds of subjects that became very common in Augustan sculpture, particularly the Ara Pacis.

the children of Antony and Cleopatra.[117] The nine *togati* he interprets as the senators who

were privileged to accompany Octavian, and the two bearded horsemen as the barbarian client

kings, Adiatorix and Alexander of Emesa. He fails to identify the two Greek men.[118] The

frieze of the Nikopolis altar is unique in that it depicts an active Roman triumph, particularly,

the triumph Octavian celebrated for his victory at Actium.

In addition to the frieze, Zachos uncovered a completely intact semicircular marble

base (0.71 m height x 0.99 m diameter) during the excavation of the altar. It too is sculpted,

but in archaizing style. The main composition (Fig. 19) depicts ten Greek gods shown in

procession. Apollo and Artemis are recognizable from their usual accoutrements, their mother

Leto is turned to face them, and next in line is Hermes with the three Graces, followed by

Hebe, a bearded Hercules, and finally Athena.[119] The artistic program of the base confirms its

identification as a religious piece associated with the function of the altar. A total of three

such statuary pedestals have been found.[120] Based on the ceremonial and religious themes of

the sculpture and associated pieces which decorated the altar space, it can be inferred that the

altar itself served a ceremonial, if not religious, purpose.

The Actian building program as a whole demonstrates how Octavian appropriated

Greek architectural forms and practices of commemoration in order to ensure that his Roman

victory was legible for a Greek audience and remembered by non-Romans. Beneath a Greek

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[117] Kleiner and Buxton (2008, 78) argue that the inclusion of foreign hostages, especially children, is an Augustan innovation. A part of Augustus' political program included raising the children of foreign hostages (his enemies) and client kings in his household, with the expectation that they would grow up to become friends of Rome. These children were considered *pignora*, "pledges." The children of Antony and Cleopatra depicted on the frieze played a double role in the procession as booty and *pignora*. Kleiner and Buxton (2008, 83-86) propose a similar hypothesis for the foreign children represented on the closest parallel of the Nikopolis altar, the Ara Pacis.
[118] Zachos 2003, 90-92.
[119] Zachos 2003, 89.
[120] Kleiner and Buxton 2008, 78.

veneer lie messages transmitting Roman victory and conquest. However, the Roman approach towards commemoration is still discernible from the Greek. The *tropaeum* at Nikopolis attempts to recreate the battle itself, freezing it in time, thereby commemorating not only the outcome of the battle, but the events of the battle. If the arrangement of the rams corresponds to, as Murray postulates, the battle line of Antony's fleet, then the southern façade of the monument transmits to the viewer the image of Antony's ships that Octavian himself saw on the sea. Likewise, the positioning of the terrace at the point where Octavian's original camp had stood, coupled with the design of the courtyard as an outdoor military headquarters, transported the viewer to the physical place and time where Antony's forces capitulated and the victory was fulfilled.[121] The intended effect of all this was to reenact the circumstances of the battle in the viewer's mind, thereby perpetuating the experience of battle.[122]

If the interpretation of the frieze sculpture is correct, then the function of the altar decoration would have been to show to the native Greek population, through Greek architectural medium, the customary Roman expression of victory, the triumph. Therefore, Octavian combined the triumph, a celebration of victory, with the *tropaion*, the permanent marker of victory, into one monument that was capable of commemoration on two levels. On one level, the *tropaeum* at Nikopolis commemorated the victory at Actium through ceremony and celebration, as embodied by the ceremonial acts that were inscribed on and took place at the altar and by the celebration of games. On another level, the *tropaeum* commemorated the victory through its permanence, embodied by its imposing and impressive monumentality.

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[121] Similarly, the trophy at Marathon strives for the same effect, marking the physical location where the Persians were routed and victory won.

[122] Commemoration through recreation is a very Roman practice. Often triumphal processions reflected this idea by, for example, parading live captives in their native dress to give viewers the experience of being in a foreign place.

Just as Octavian joined East and West with his final victory at Actium, so too did his *tropaeum* join eastern (Greek) and western (Roman) manifestations of victory.

At the same time, the monument was clearly intended as a Romanizing piece, an express statement of Roman presence and domination in Greece. Though the main architectural elements of the monument were Greek, the Latin inscription on the main façade declared explicitly the Roman patronage of the monument and possession of the region. Furthermore, by incorporating the triumphal procession into the altar frieze, Octavian effectively brought a piece of Rome to Greece; the capitol was brought to the province, making a Roman presence much more palpable to provincials. Roman institutions, and therefore, Roman power, were manifest in the provinces.

Meanwhile in Rome, the victory at Actium was commemorated with two separate dedications. First, captured rams from the battle were set up in front of the temple of Julius Caesar in the Forum Romanum.[123] Second, a single-bay arch was erected somewhere in the Forum Romanum to commemorate the victory.[124] If Dio Cassius' description (51.19) is correct, then the arch would have been located on the southwest side of the Temple of Julius Caesar and would, therefore, have been in close proximity to the ram dedications, linking the two dedications that commemorated the victory. The foundation piers of a single-bay arch have been found incorporated into the remains of a triple fornix arch identified as the Parthian arch of Augustus. A *denarius* issue[125] of Octavian shows an arch for the first time on coinage. The single-span arch is adorned with a statuary group of Octavian in a *quadriga* and the

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[123] Zachos 2003, 74, n.10.
[124] Most scholars agree that an "Actian" arch preceeded the Parthian arch between the Temple of Divus Julius and the Temple of Castor in the Forum. Coarelli 2007, 79-80; Platner-Ashby 1929, 34-35; Richardson 1992, 23.
[125] *RIC²* 267, plate 4.

dedication to him across the attic. While this coin could depict an "Actian" arch, there is no firm evidence for the identification.[126] No matter the identification of the arch on the coin, it is fairly certain that the "Actian" arch was replaced by a triple fornix Parthian arch in 19 C.E.[127] Whether the replacement reflected the abandonment of Augustus' early public image is uncertain, but a plausible reason for replacement of the arch is that it was in disrepair. Archaeological evidence attests to cracking in the foundation piers of the single fornix arch suggesting that the arch was replaced for reasons of structural stability.[128] Although the original arch was replaced, the enlarged arch would have served to celebrate the victor on a grander scale. Octavian's, and later, Augustus', military achievements abroad were brought back to Rome and commemorated through architecture that spoke to a Roman audience.

That Octavian's commemorative building program was effective and lasting is certain. The foundation of Nikopolis and the Actian games are alluded to by Vergil, who makes Aeneas the first visitor to the site, and by Propertius (4.6). Prominent among historical visitors to the site are Germanicus, Epictetus, and Hadrian.[129] The importance and popularity of the associated Actian games has been mentioned above. In the fourth century C.E., the emperor Julian reorganized the games and repaired monuments of the city (*Pan. Lat.* 11.9). Interest in Nikopolis was renewed in the 1800s, when the city became a destination of the "Grand Tour" and hosted visitors such as Lord Byron.[130]

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[126] Gurval (1995, 40-41) remarks that Dio does not actually report that the arch was ever built. He also notes that Dio attests to another arch for Octavian's victory at Naulochus, so the arch on the coin could feasibly represent a Naulochus arch.
[127] Gurval 1995, 36-37.
[128] Gurval 1995, 45.
[129] Isager 2007, 31-32.
[130] Isager 2007, 34.

CHAPTER 4
TRAFALGAR

Over 1800 years after Actium, another Mediterranean naval battle took place off a

small head of land called Cabo de Trafalgar in Spain on 21 October 1805. The British fleet

under the command of Admiral Lord Horatio Nelson (Fig. 20) intercepted the combined

forces of the Franco-Spanish fleet sailing for the Spanish port of Cadiz. Nelson ordered that

his ships be made into two columns that would cut through the line of the opposing ships all

the way to the enemy's rear. Nelson himself led the attack and charged his flagship, the *HMS

Victory*, straight into the Franco-Spanish line. At 11:50 am, the enemy began to fire at the

approaching ship, and *Victory* opened fire at 12:25 pm in answer. Not long into the

engagement, Nelson was shot—a musket ball through his chest lodged in his spine.[131] He was

carried below deck as the battle raged on. The British routed the Franco-Spanish fleet, of

which only eleven ships out of forty returned safely to Cadiz.[132] The log of the Victory

recorded: "partial firing continued until 4:30pm, when a Victory having been reported to the

Right Hon Lord Viscount Nelson, KB, and Commander-in-chief, he then died of his

wound."[133] Tactically and strategically, the battle of Trafalgar was the most decisive naval

engagement of the British war against the French Empire. It was also the last full-scale naval

battle of the Napoleonic War, effectively making the British navy the major sea power of the

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[131] Tracy 2008, 238 & 245.
[132] Tracy 2008, 246.
[133] Tracy (2008, 245) quotes Thomas Atkinson's log, Master of the *Victory*, *Logs* II p.185.

world and jumpstarting Britain's quest towards empire. The victory at Trafalgar "would embody the very essence of British power for the next hundred years."[134]

The news of Nelson's death did not reach England until 5 November. Within days, monuments commemorating the battle were erected throughout Britain and Ireland[135] and plans were drawn for additional monuments. Nelson's body returned home aboard the battered *Victory* and was sent to lie in state in Greenwich. He was laid to rest and given a memorial in St. Paul's Cathedral, entombed in a sarcophagus originally intended for Henry VIII.[136] Proposals calling for a monument in London itself first appeared in 1808, but the war continued, and nothing ever came of such plans. Despite numerous biographies, museums, and memorials to Nelson[137] across the country, no public monument commemorating Nelson or Trafalgar existed in the capitol until thirty-five years after his death.

For some years following 1805, London underwent major reconstruction in which commemoration of Nelson and his victory would occupy center stage. In 1812, landscape architect John Nash proposed a plan for widening Cockspur Street in central London and forming an open square to the north across from Charing Cross. The plan was approved by Parliament in 1813, and by the 1820s, Nash's square had expanded.[138] In 1832, construction of a building to house the National Gallery and Royal Academy which was to border the square to the north began. Although the square was originally supposed to be named in honor

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[134] Lambert 2006, 155.

[135] Mace 2005, 51. The first product of this fervor was erected in Castletownend, Ireland, on 10 November. Captain Joshua Riley Watson and 1200 men under his command built and erected a stone arch in just five hours. In 1808, another Irish monument, the "Pillar in Sackville" was erected in Dublin. A statue of Nelson by the sculptor Thomas Kirk stood atop a Doric column. The monument was destroyed by the IRA in 1966.

[136] Mace 2005, 12.

[137] For a summary of works honoring Nelson, see Mace (2005, 12-13). Nelson is to this day the only British naval officer to have museums dedicated entirely to his life.

[138] Mace 2005, 31-36.

of William IV, in 1830, the architect George Ledwell Taylor sought permission from the king

to name the square "Trafalgar" in honor of Nelson's victory.[139] Thus Trafalgar Square (Fig.

21) came into being.

The Nelson Memorial Committee (N.M.C.) held its first meeting on 22 February

1838, when members decided that London would be the site of a national monument to

Nelson. By the fourth meeting of the committee, Trafalgar Square was elected as the

location.[140] With the site chosen and subscriptions already coming in, the N.M.C. advertized a

design competition:

> The Committee for erecting a Monument to the Memory of Lord Nelson
> hereby give notice that they are desirous of receiving from Architects,
> Artists or other persons, Designs for such a Monument in Trafalgar
> Square. The Committee cannot in the present state of the subscriptions
> fix definitely the sum to be expended, but they recommend that the
> estimated cost of the several Designs should be confined with the sums
> of £20,000 and £30,000. This condition and that of the intended site are
> the only restrictions to which the artists are limited. The Committee is
> not bound to adopt any of the offered Designs; but rewards of £200,
> £150 and £100 will be given to 1st, 2nd and 3rd places....[141]

The response to the announcement was enormous; the N.M.C. received 40 models and 124

designs. A subcommittee, chaired by the Duke of Wellington, assessed the entries and

awarded first place to William Railton.[142]

Railton's winning design (Fig. 22) featured a granite Corinthian column (203 ft)

modeled on a column from the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus in Rome that

was the single highest Corinthian column in the world.[143] A statue of Lord Nelson in uniform

crowned the bronze capital. The column rested on a massive plinth (36 ft) which showcased

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[139] Mace 2005, 42.
[140] Mace 2005, 57-58.
[141] Mace 2005, 59-60.
[142] Mace 2005, 61-62.
[143] Mace 2005, 15 & 65.

four bronze *bas relief* panels depicting Nelson's victories at St. Vincent (1797), the Nile (1798), Copenhagen (1801), and Trafalgar (1805).[144] A square, stepped podium supported the base of the column, guarded by four bronze lions, one resting at each corner. Despite much opposition,[145] Railton's overall scheme was adopted, and a modified design was approved by the Office of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues and by the Lords of the Treasury.[146] The revised design (Fig. 23) called for a reduction of the column height to 170 feet as a safety precaution,[147] and the elimination of the steps of the podium. Completion of the project was to take 27 years.

Construction of the foundations began in 1839 under the contactors Peto and Grissell. Meanwhile, the construction of the square itself went on during 1842 and 1843, and the lighting was completed in 1844.[148] The stone used to construct the column, plinth, and podium was granite from Froggin Tor in Devonshire.[149] The bronze capital was cast by George Clark & Sons, made of metal from old guns from the Woolrich Arsenal.[150] The statue of Nelson (Fig. 24) was sculpted out of Craigleith sandstone by Edward Hodges Baily and weighed 18 tons.[151] Nelson's figure faces south towards the Admiralty down Whitehall and looks out over the main approach to the square. The stone work of the column monument was complete by 1843, but work on the bronze relief panels and lion statues continued.

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[144] Mace 2005, 101.
[145] A Select Committee was set up by Parliament that strongly opposed the monument and tried to prevent its erection in Trafalgar Square for fear that it would detract from the beauty of the National Gallery. The committee's recommendations, however, failed to postpone Railton from proceeding. Mace 2005, 69-84.
[146] David Ball Restoration 2006, http://www.nelsons-column.co.uk/history.htm.
[147] http://yourarchives.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php?title=Nelson%27s_Column. Even at this shortened height, the column would remain the tallest of the Corinthian order in the world.
[148] Mace 2005, 88.
[149] David Ball Restoration 2006, http://www.nelsons-column.co.uk/history.htm.
[150] Mace 2005, 97; David Ball Restoration 2006, http://www.nelsons-column.co.uk/history.htm.
[151] David Ball Restoration 2006, http://www.nelsons-column.co.uk/history.htm.

Work on the *bas reliefs* was underway in 1848. Four different artists were responsible for the four panels: Musgrave Watson—St. Vincent; William Woodington—the Nile; John Ternouth—Copenhagen; John Edward Carew—Trafalgar.[152] The reliefs were cast from the bronze of guns taken from French ships captured at the four battles and melted.[153] Like the bronze used for the capital, physical pieces of naval battles were incorporated into the monument. All the bronze used on the column was from melted down cannon.

A brief description of the content of each relief is necessary to evaluate the overall programmatic effect. Watson's "Battle of St. Vincent" (Fig. 25) shows the moment when Nelson, having led a boarding party onto the Spanish ship *San Nicholas*, received the surrender of the ship's flag captain, who is kneeling and presenting Nelson with the sword of the Spanish admiral. Woodington's "Battle of the Nile" (Fig. 26) depicts Nelson on the quarter deck being hit in the head by a piece of langridge[154] and blinded. Ternouth's "Bombardment of Copenhagen" (Fig. 27) depicts Nelson, in the moment of victory, sealing off a canon after the successful bombardment of the city. Finally, Carew's "Death of Nelson" (Fig. 28) shows Nelson, fatally wounded, being carried off the quarter deck by his men. The Trafalgar relief faces south, like Nelson's statue, and incidentally turned out slightly larger than the other reliefs. Its size and alignment with Nelson's gaze set it apart as the most important of the reliefs. Trafalgar Square opens from the South, so the relief faces the main approach as well. On the opposite (north) side of the plinth is mounted the Nile panel, so the two panels (north and south) are connected by the motif of Nelson as the wounded hero.

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[152] Mace 2005, 101.
[153] David Ball Restoration 2006, http://www.nelsons-column.co.uk/history.htm; http://yourarchives.nationalarchives. gov.uk/index.php?title=Nelson%27s_Column.
[154] Mace (2005, 102) explains that langridge is a type of scrap shot used by the French to destroy rigging and sails.

Likewise, the Copenhagen panel on the east and the St. Vincent panel on the west are united by their depictions of Nelson as triumphant conqueror.[155] Therefore, the sculptural program speaks to Classical ideals of heroic death and conquest.

The construction and erection of the relief panels took nine years, and on 19 May 1854, the last panel was put in place.[156] Sir Edwin Landseer was commissioned in 1858 to cast the four bronze lions. After years of further delay, the statues were set up in February of 1867, almost 30 years after the first meeting of the Nelson Memorial Committee.[157] After completion of the memorial, there was renewed interest in celebrating Nelson and Trafalgar, and Trafalgar Square became the center of an annual commemorative ceremony.

In 1895, the Navy League invented the tradition of "Trafalgar Day" in which members of the league laid a wreath on Nelson's Column on 21 October.[158] The celebration became more lavish every year, and more garlands and wreaths adorned the column as public awareness increased. Commemoration of Nelson and Trafalgar quickly grew outside the ranks of the Royal Navy. Increasingly large crowds gathered in the square every year, and public celebration peaked in 1905, the centenary:

> In silence all waited while the hands of St Martin's clock crept round to half-past 2,.... At the first sound of the chime of the half-hour the flags at the four corners [of Nelson's monument], Union Jack, White Ensign, Red and Blue Ensigns, were solemnly lowered to half-mast, all men uncovering their heads, while the band of the Queen's Westminsters played the 'Death of Nelson'. As the music died away Bishop Welldon read the prayer 'To the memory of Nelson'- the preposition perhaps, might have been more prudently chosen.... the bugles sounded the reveille... and, as the stirring call was blown slow and loud, the flags went up again. The ritual ended with the singing of the National

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[155] Mace 2005, 202.
[156] Mace 2005, 107.
[157] Mace 2005, 108. By this time, most of the members of the N.M.C. were dead, and Railton, 68 at the time, did not even bother to attend.
[158] Czisnik 2006, 143.

Anthem... followed by cheers which rang and echoed and thundered around the square.[159]

"Trafalgar Day" spread out of London like wildfire and began to be celebrated in different parts of the country. The desire of participants to take part actively in the commemorative ceremonies indicates that "Trafalgar Day" held meaning for them. Communal admiration for Nelson generated national unity and morphed into an intrinsic part of British national identity. There is still a parade in Trafalgar Square every 21 October, consisting of a short service, the laying of wreaths, the reading of Nelson's last prayer,[160] all accompanied by music played by cadets.

Though not strictly a trophy monument in the ancient sense, Nelson's Column shares many similarities with the trophies at both Marathon and Actium and may serve to shed light on our interpretation of the ancient monuments. Like its ancient predecessors, Nelson's column is an architectural expression of commemoration, a place of celebration and ceremony with associated hero worship, and, most importantly, an "emblem of empire."[161]

Perhaps the most obvious connection to be made is the similarity in the form of the monuments. Nelson's Column, like the trophy at Marathon, is a monumental column crowned by a dedicatory statue. Like both the Marathon *tropaion* and the *tropaeum* at Actium, the monumentality of the memorial and its prominent placement in the center of London command attention from the viewer. Furthermore, the depiction of battle scenes on the bronze reliefs correspond to the painting of the battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile that was so

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[159] Czisnik (2006, 146) quotes from *The Times*, 23 October 1905, p.10.
[160] "May the great God, whom I worship, grant to my country and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory: and may no misconduct, in anyone, tarnish it: and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British Fleet. For myself Individually, I commit my life to Him who made me and may His blessing light upon my endeavours for serving my Country faithfully. To Him I resign the just cause which is entrusted to me to defend. Amen. Amen. Amen."
[161] Mace 2005, 11.

instrumental in heroizing the figures of the battle. At the same time, the modeling of the column upon the columns of the Temple of Mars Ultor directly link Nelson's Column to the Augustan building program. The allusion to the temple is appropriate for the military ideals of courage and dutifulness which Railton was trying to embody with his monument. The temple of Mars Ultor resided in the Forum of Augustus, which housed statues of Rome's prominent military men, from Aeneas to Lucullus, along with their inscribed *res gestae*, or accomplishments.[162] Nelson's Column was no doubt designed to convey identical messages; Nelson's own *res gestae* are contained visually in the *bas relief* panels on the plinth; a significant moment from each of his victories is inscribed below his statue. Nelson's column, like the ancient monuments, is a memorial to victory and to self-sacrifice to the State.

The way in which both ancient and modern monuments incorporate the physical evidence of battle is also strikingly similar. Octavian's use of captured rams in the design of his memorial is analogous to the casting of the bronze elements of Nelson's Column from cannon. As stated above, the Corinthian capital was cast from old British guns and the four relief panels from French cannon captured at the battles of St. Vincent, the Nile, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar. Thus the spoils taken from captured French ships are displayed on the column much like the spoils taken from Antony's captured ships. In this case, however, the spoils are not so overtly and prominently displayed. A further physical parallel should be added. Just as Octavian dedicated and preserved whole ships at the Temple of Actian Apollo and created a memorial with them, the British preserved the *HMS Victory* as a memorial to the battle of Trafalgar. Today the restored *Victory* (Fig. 29) is anchored at Portsmouth harbor and is the

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[162] Marius, Sulla, and L. Licinius Lucullus are the latest men honored as attested by inscriptions. Coarelli 2007, 110-11; Claridge 1998, 158-60.

oldest commissioned ship in the Royal Navy. She still has a captain and crew, though she has

sat at her present dock since 1922. As a living part of the National Museum of the Royal Navy

at Portsmouth harbor, the *Victory* is a popular exhibit,[163] receiving tens of thousands of

visitors a year, thereby perpetuating the memory of Nelson's victory at Trafalgar. Clearly,

there is a need in both the ancient and modern mindsets to preserve the relics of battle as a

means for commemoration.

"Trafalgar Day" and the ceremony and pomp that surround Nelson's Column coincide

with the celebration of the Actian games at Nikopolis and the worship of the war dead at

Marathon. Ritual celebration, the intangible aspect of commemoration, occurs regularly in

London just as the games at Actium took place every four years. Participants and spectators

gather to watch and take part in the ceremonies. Every year on 21 October, Nelson receives

what amounts to cult worship as Britons remember him in prayer and make toasts in his

honor. These actions can be seen as parallels to the pouring of libations and the giving of

offerings at the tomb of the *Marathonomachai*. Ceremony is the ritualized aspect of

commemoration, without which commemoration would not be possible. The ritual act that

occurs in conjunction with the permanent monument is what sustains the meaning behind the

monument. In all three case-studies, the ritual aspect of commemoration (some form of

celebration or worship) is the active, human response to the monument and is necessary to

complete the act of remembrance.

Finally, Nelson's Column is a symbol of empire and imperial national identity, much

as the trophy at Marathon came to be synonymous with the glory of Athens. The monument

commemorates the victory that solidified Britain's control of the sea and subsequent

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[163] http://www.hms-victory.com/index.php.

expansion, while its position in the heart of London declares the country's increasing power by embellishing the capitol. The column symbolized to the Britons and the rest of the world the fruits of victory, so much so that Hitler planned, after a successful invasion of Britain, to have the monument uprooted and transferred to Berlin to be a testament to the power shift in Europe:

> There is no symbol of British Victory in the World War corresponding to the French near Compiegne ... On the other hand, ever since the battle of Trafalgar, the Nelson Column represents for England a symbol of British Naval might and world domination. It would be an impressive way of underlining the German Victory if the Nelson Column were to be transferred to Berlin.[164]

Clearly, Nelson's Column transmitted messages of conquest and was a symbol of the British Empire even outside of Britain. In the same way, the monuments on the plain of Marathon marked for the Athenians the victory that led to the emergence of the Athenian Empire.

As much as the column in Trafalgar Square resonates with the same messages of imperialism and hero worship evident in the ancient trophy monuments, there is one striking difference in the presentation of the monuments. Unlike both ancient monuments, Nelson's Column and Trafalgar Square are removed from the battlefield and the site of the victory. Whereas both trophy monuments are set up on the site of victory itself, thereby emphasizing the actual battle, Nelson's Column is one remove from the action of battle. Though the capital and relief panels incorporate bronze from used cannon, all other physical evidence of the battle is at one remove. Moreover, since the bronze cannon used in the column monument are different than their original form and are no longer identifiable as weaponry, their incorporation into the monument was not intended to allude to the action of battle. Though the

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[164] Mace (2005, 16) quotes from a plan of the Nazis' Department III of the SS dated 26 August 1940.

HMS Victory is preserved, it is not a part of Nelson's Column and is quite separate, docked to the south of London at Portsmouth and still in service.[165] While the *tropaion* at Marathon marked the spot where the Persians were routed and the *tropaeum* at Nikopolis aimed to recreate the battle of Actium by incorporating parts of warships and mimicking Octavian's campsite, recreation of warfare is not the intent of Nelson's Column.

Nelson's Column represents a sanitized approach towards commemorating victory wherein battle is deemphasized in favor of elevation of the battle's hero and the aftermath of victory. Battle scenes are depicted on the relief panels, but only in so much as the scenes represent the heroism of Nelson, not the actual combat. In this sense, the artistic program of Nelson's Column echoes a modern mindset that excludes the realism of war and focuses entirely on the ideal outcome. The monument is not so much a trophy in the ancient sense, which required that the trophy to be set up on the site of battle to declare that a territory had been won, but a trophy declaring the internal expansion and prosperity which resulted from the battle.

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[165] http://www.hms-victory.com/index.php.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

The Greek lyric poet Simonides of Keos is said to be the inventor of the art of memory. He first realized that orderly arrangement was the principle upon which a good memory was built. In classical antiquity, the art of memory belonged to the realm of rhetoric. One could train and learn the art as a technique for delivering lengthy orations.[166] Quintilian likens the process to memorizing the various rooms and decorations of a building to form a series of images in the memory to which parts of a speech may be anchored and organized (*Instit. Orat.* 11.2.17-22). The ancient system of memory, therefore, relied upon images. The trophy monument, then, is Quintilian's building, the route by which a society could remember a victory. The monument is literally a mnemonic, a vessel for facilitating the act of remembering. The repeated or completed act of remembering on the part of living people is commemoration. The three case-studies discussed in this paper are all vehicles for commemoration, but each one differs in its approach towards commemorating the same thing—victory.

The trophy at Marathon functions as an accessory to the battlefield. Consciously placed on the spot where the Persians were routed, it marks the exact position on the battlefield where the Greeks won their victory. Simultaneously, the placement of the Soros upon the spot where the heaviest Greek loss occurred marks the position where the greatest sacrifice was made. The program at Marathon reflects the value the Athenians placed on

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[166] Yates 1966, 2.

commemorating the turning points of the battle. The two highlights of the battle, the rout of the Persians and the loss of Greek lives, are emphasized by the placement of a monument on the site of each. In this sense, the battlefield itself becomes a part of the monument, a sacred space designed to revive memory of the battle within the viewer. Perhaps the choice to preserve the geography of the battle reflects an Athenian attitude towards commemoration wherein the visitor must walk through the space of the battlefield in order to get the complete memory experience. The importance of the preservation of the land is emphasized as a metaphor for the preservation and defense of Greece from the Persians. The emphasis placed on the site of battle is an attempt to commemorate the actual struggle that took place over it and to recreate that struggle in the mind of the viewer.

Octavian's *tropaeum* links Greek and Roman manifestations of victory and reflects ideas from the Athenian monuments as well as a Roman process of commemorating. The *tropaeum*, like the monuments at Marathon, stresses the events of Actium, and there is a shared sentiment towards preserving scenes from the battle. The design of the monument creates a concrete image of the battle for the viewer. The arrangement of rams on the façade mimics an actual battle line of ships and allows the viewer to imaginatively step into the battle. In this way, a part of the battle is preserved for those who were not present, and the action of the battle is visually broadcasted. In other words, the image of what the battle looked like is emblazoned onto the memory. At the same time, the design of the terrace alludes to Octavian's campsite, where victory was ensured with the capitulation of Antony's legions. Therefore the monument functions similarly to the trophy at Marathon in that it physically marks the place where victory was achieved. The Roman monument, however, reflects a distinctly Roman approach towards commemoration. Focus is on the perpetuation of the

experience of the battle, as opposed to the geography of the battle, which was the case at Marathon. The idea of commemoration of victory via experience is embodied in the frieze of the altar, which shows a scene of triumphal procession. The frieze is especially significant because it transmits commemoration which occurred in Rome to Actium, adding another dimension to the commemorative function of the monument.

The way in which Nelson's Column approaches commemoration is vastly different from the method of the ancient monuments. In this case, the monument is entirely removed from the site of battle, perhaps a reflection of the reduced importance of the battlefield in modern times or the reluctance of modern societies to showcase victory as the product of war. No matter the reason, emphasis is shifted away from conflict and combat and towards commemoration of the hero and his achievements. It is the outcome of the battle which is important, not the events surrounding it. Victory is commemorated at home to embellish the capitol, not the battlefield. Although the battle sites of Marathon and Actium became sites of pilgrimage and the battlefield became explicitly tied to the victory, Nelson's Column lies outside of this ancient tradition. Nelson's Column is a monument designed to glorify victory outside of the war zone.

Despite the conceptual differences in the way the monuments function, all three monuments proved to be effective forms for commemoration of victory. All three engage the viewer's imagination in different ways, but all three seek to commemorate victory by inspiring hero worship and celebration, as well as helping to formulate a collective, imperial identity. Each monument forms the basis for a collective memory.

The ritual act is clearly attested at each site; performance of ritual acts leads to the perpetuation of collective memory. At Marathon, the ritual act centered on cult offering and

worship of the *Marathonomachai* as heroes. At Nikopolis, several types of ritual acts were performed, including cyclical celebration of the Actian games and ceremony or worship at the altar of the monument. At Trafalgar Square, ritual acts performed include annual celebration of "Trafalgar Day" with its associated ceremonies and the veneration of Nelson as a national hero. Since "images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past are conveyed and sustained by (more or less) ritual performances,"[167] it is through these ritual acts that occur in conjunction with their respective monuments that memory of the victory lasts and continuity with the past is achieved. Without the communal ritual, the meaning of the monument may be forgotten and the monument itself reduced to a pile of stone. Performance of these ritual acts leads to unification of a community and formation of a collective identity, which breeds nationalism.

In all three case-studies, each monument served as a symbol of imperial power to which the respective community ascribed. Each monument also transmitted messages of imperialism to outsiders. The trophy at Marathon was a symbol of Athens' transition to empire, while Octavian's trophy monument at Nikopolis was a reminder of the Roman presence in Greece and a symbol of the power of the new regime. In the same way, Nelson's Column was a symbol Britain's expansion to empire.

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[167] Connerton 1989, 38.

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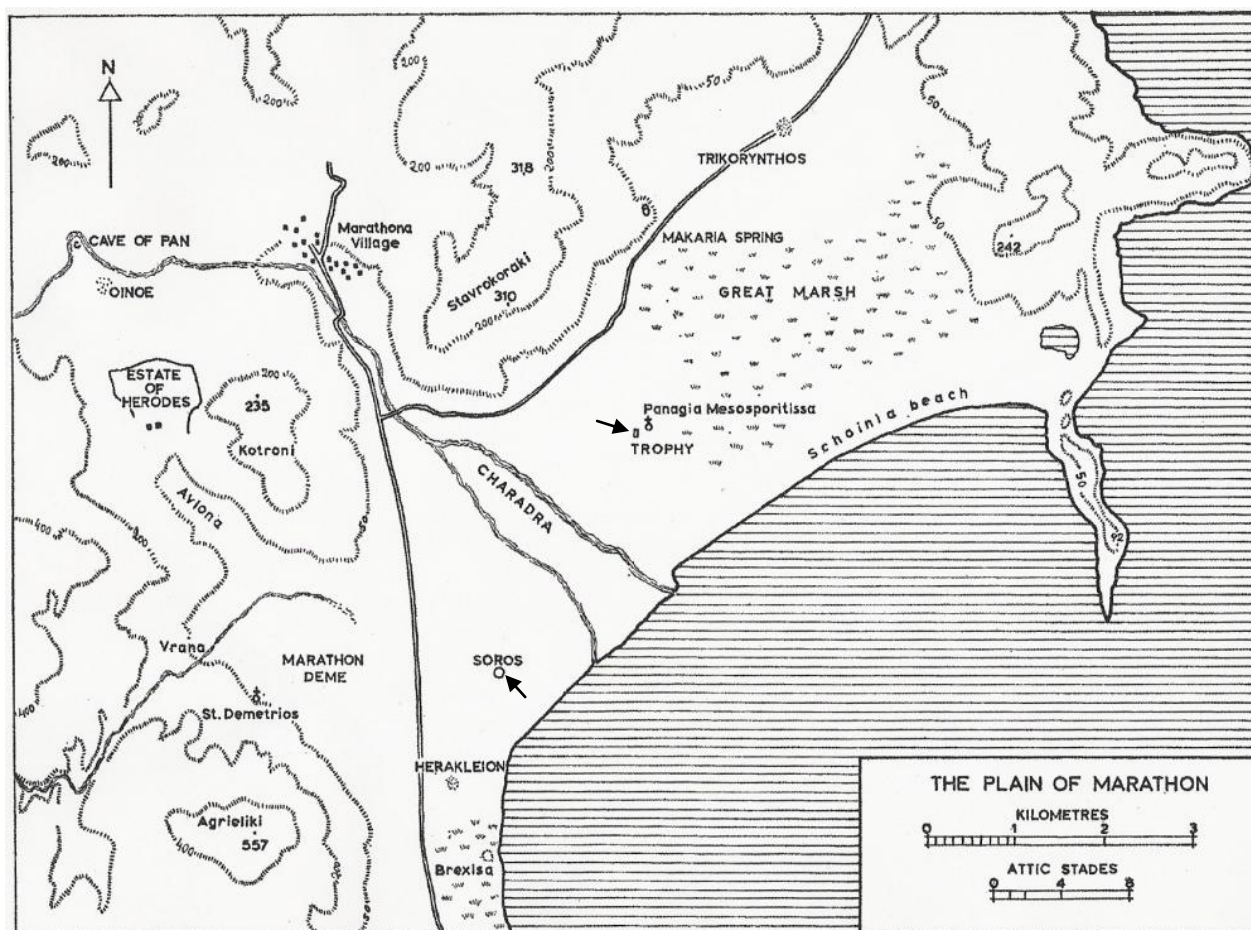
Fig. 1. Map of the plain of Marathon showing the location of the chapel, the trophy, the Soros, and the Great Marsh.
From Vanderpool 1966, 105.

Fig. 2. View of volutes of the capital from the trophy monument at Marathon.
From E. Vanderpool 1966, pl. 33.

Fig. 3. Top of the capital showing the trapezoidal cutting for insertion of a statue.
From E. Vanderpool 1966, pl. 33.

Fig. 4. Fragment of capital from the temple of Athena at Sounion.
Image 2000.02.0190 in the database of the Athenian Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Object No. A1595.

Fig. 5. Pelike by the Trophy Painter showing motif of Victory erecting a trophy.
From http://www.forgottendelights.com/NYCsculpture/Trophies.htm.
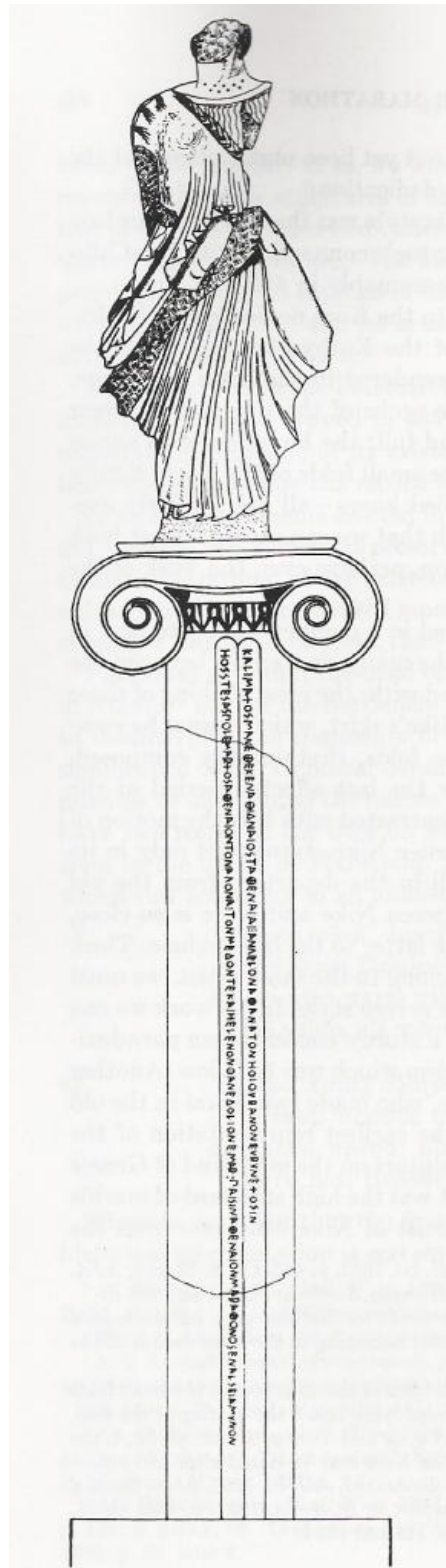
Fig. 6. Raubitschek's reconstruction of the column dedicated to Kallimachos.
From Raubitschek 1940, 54.
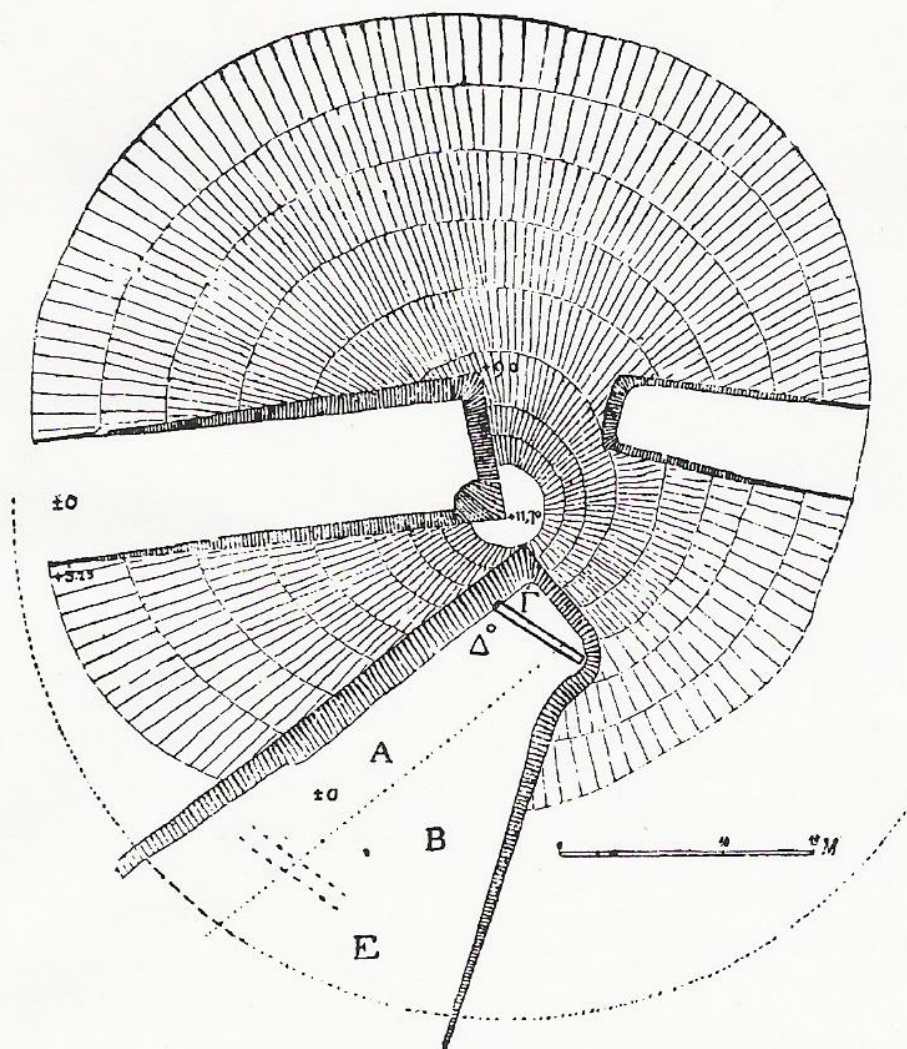
Fig. 1. Plan of the Marathon tumulus. E is the offering trench, and Δ the cremation tray. (B. Stais, *AM* 18 [1893] 49)

Fig. 7. The tumulus of the Athenians from the excavations of Staïs.
From Whitley 1994, 98.
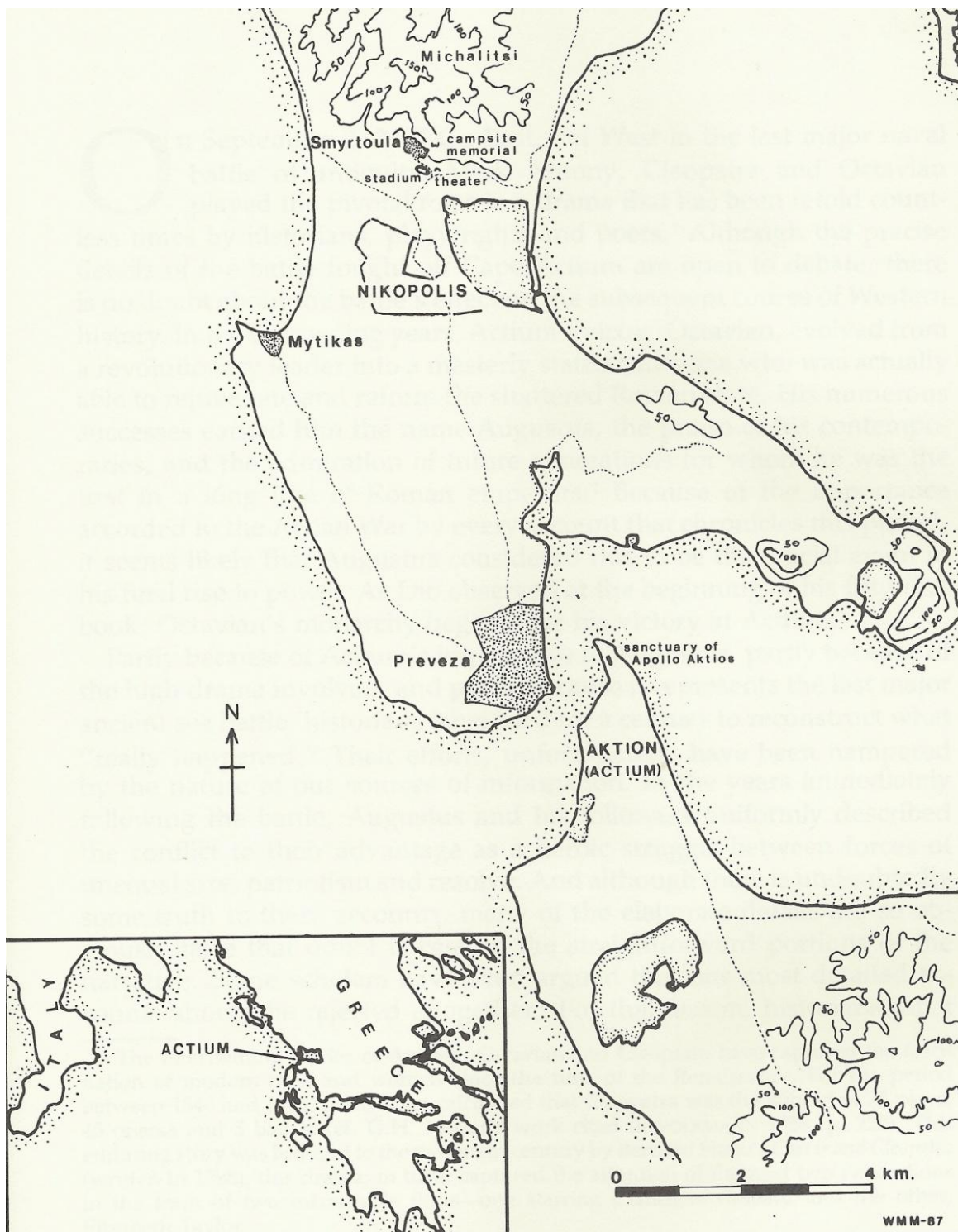
Fig. 8. Map of Cape Actium, showing the locations of the *tropaeum* monument,
Nikopolis, and the sanctuary of Actian Apollo.
From Murray and Petsas 1989, xi.
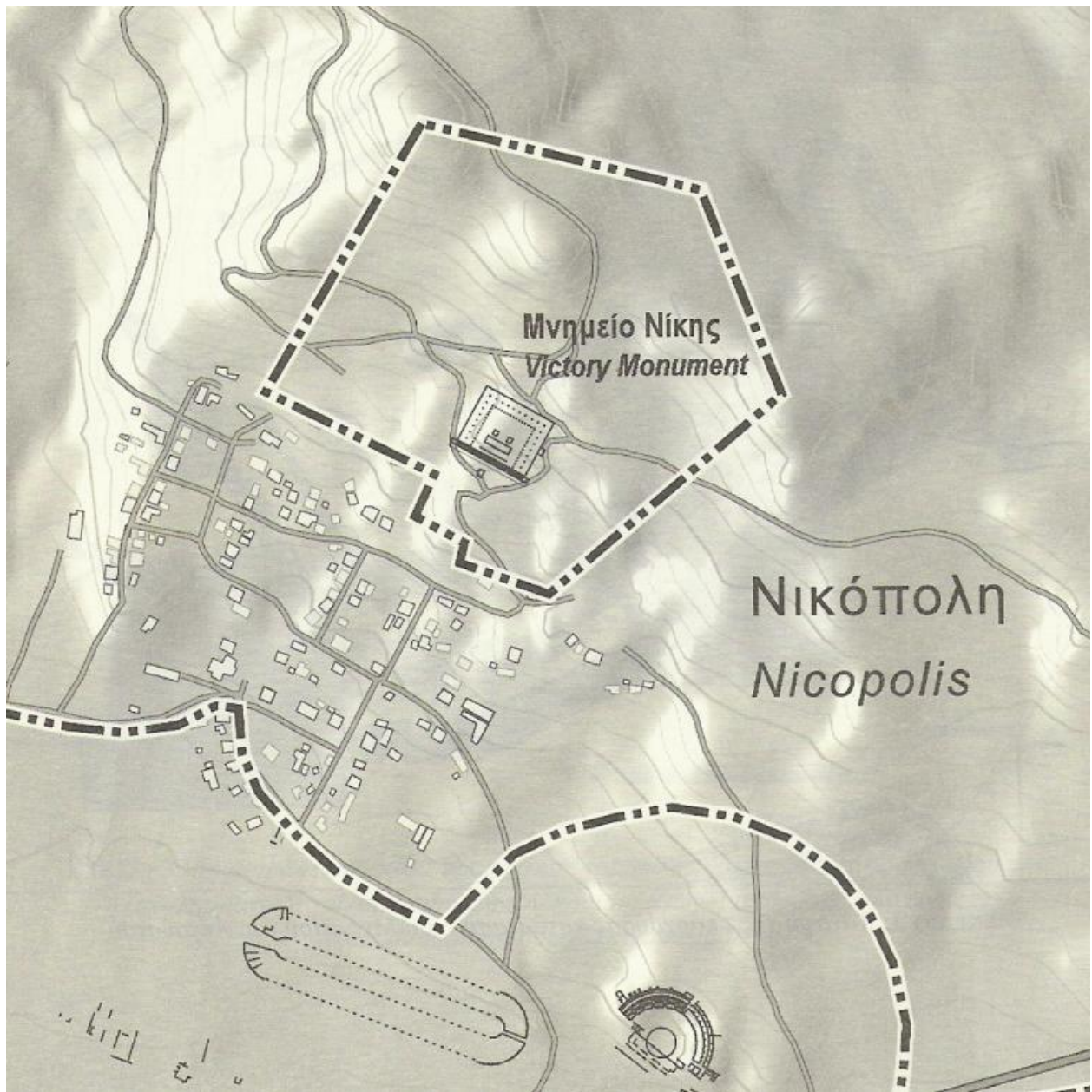
Fig. 9. The tropaeum on a hill north of the city of Nikopolis.
From Zachos 2007, 307.
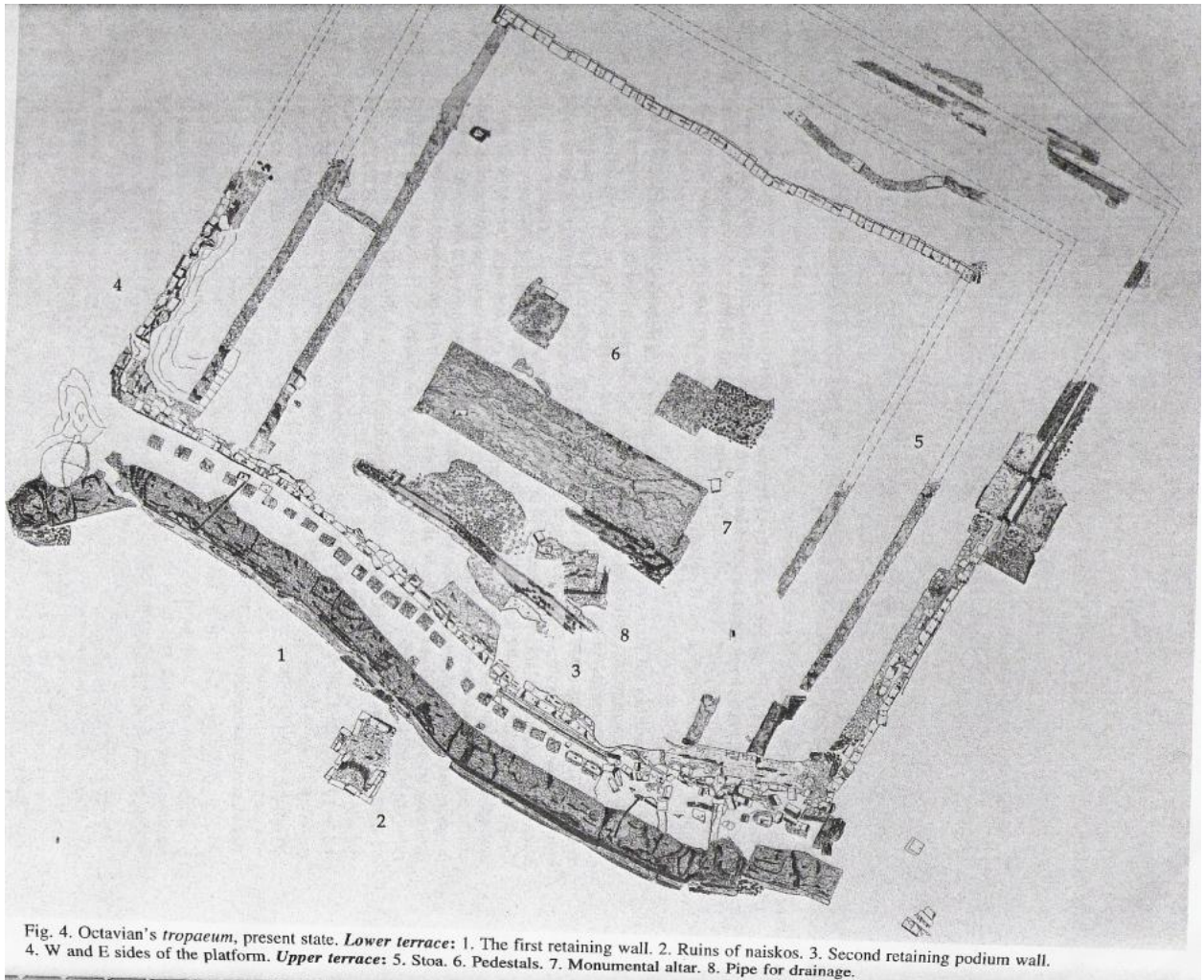
Fig. 4. Octavian's *tropaeum*, present state. **Lower terrace**: 1. The first retaining wall. 2. Ruins of naiskos. 3. Second retaining podium wall. 4. W and E sides of the platform. **Upper terrace**: 5. Stoa. 6. Pedestals. 7. Monumental altar. 8. Pipe for drainage.

Fig. 10. Plan of tropaeum, showing both retaining walls, the *naiskos*, the altar, and stoa.
From Zachos 2003, 68.
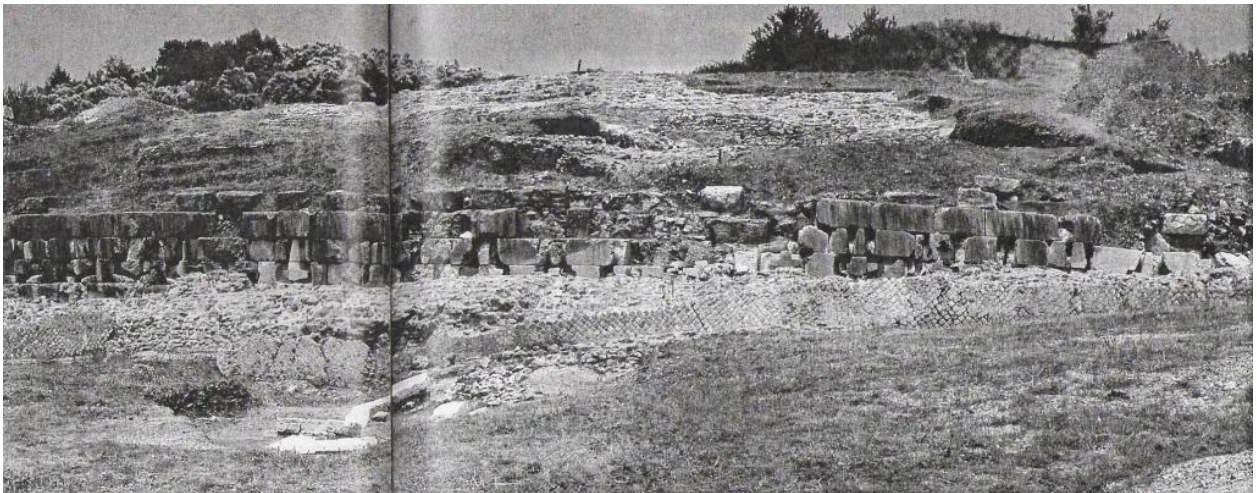
Fig. 11. View facing north of ruins of the *naiskos*, the first retaining wall, and the façade with sockets.

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Fig. 12. Athlit ram restored and mounted into socket #4.
From Murray 2007, 339.

Fig. 13. View to the east of the façade showing sockets for rams.
From Zachos 2003, 73.
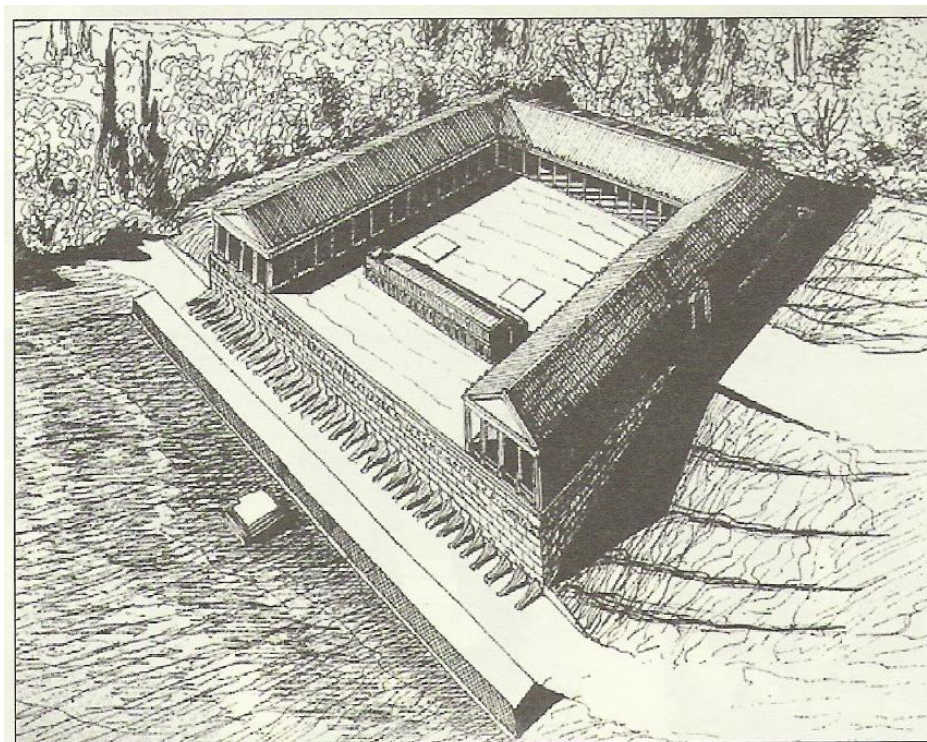
Fig. 14. Reconstruction of the Π-shaped stoa and terrace from the southeast.
From Murray 2007, 333.
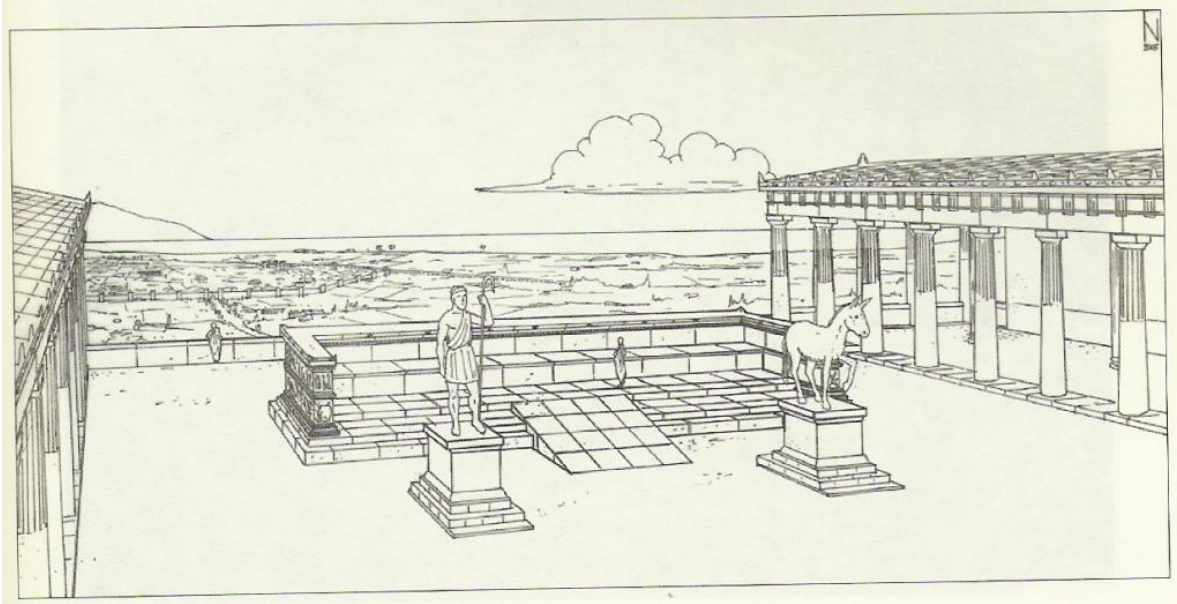
Fig. 15. Hypothetical reconstruction of statues of Euthychos and Nikon set up on the terrace.
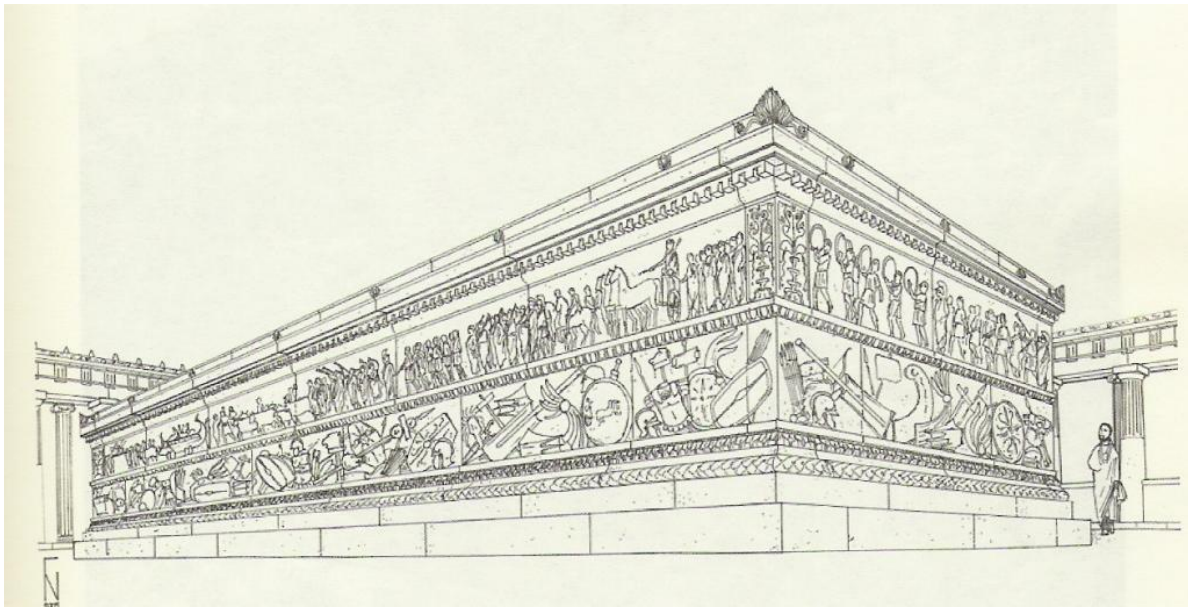From Zachos 2007, 311.

Fig. 16. Hypothetical reconstruction of the two friezes of the altar.
From Zachos 2007, 311.

Fig. 17. Fragments of marble from the altar frieze depicting lictors bearing *fasces*.
From Zachos 2003, 86.

Fig. 18. Marble fragment from the altar frieze showing triumphant Octavian with the children of Antony and Cleopatra. From Zachos 2007, 319.

Fig. 19. Semicircular pedestal showing a procession of Greek gods.

Fig. 20. Sketch of Admiral Horatio Nelson by Sir William Beechey in the National Portrait Gallery, London.
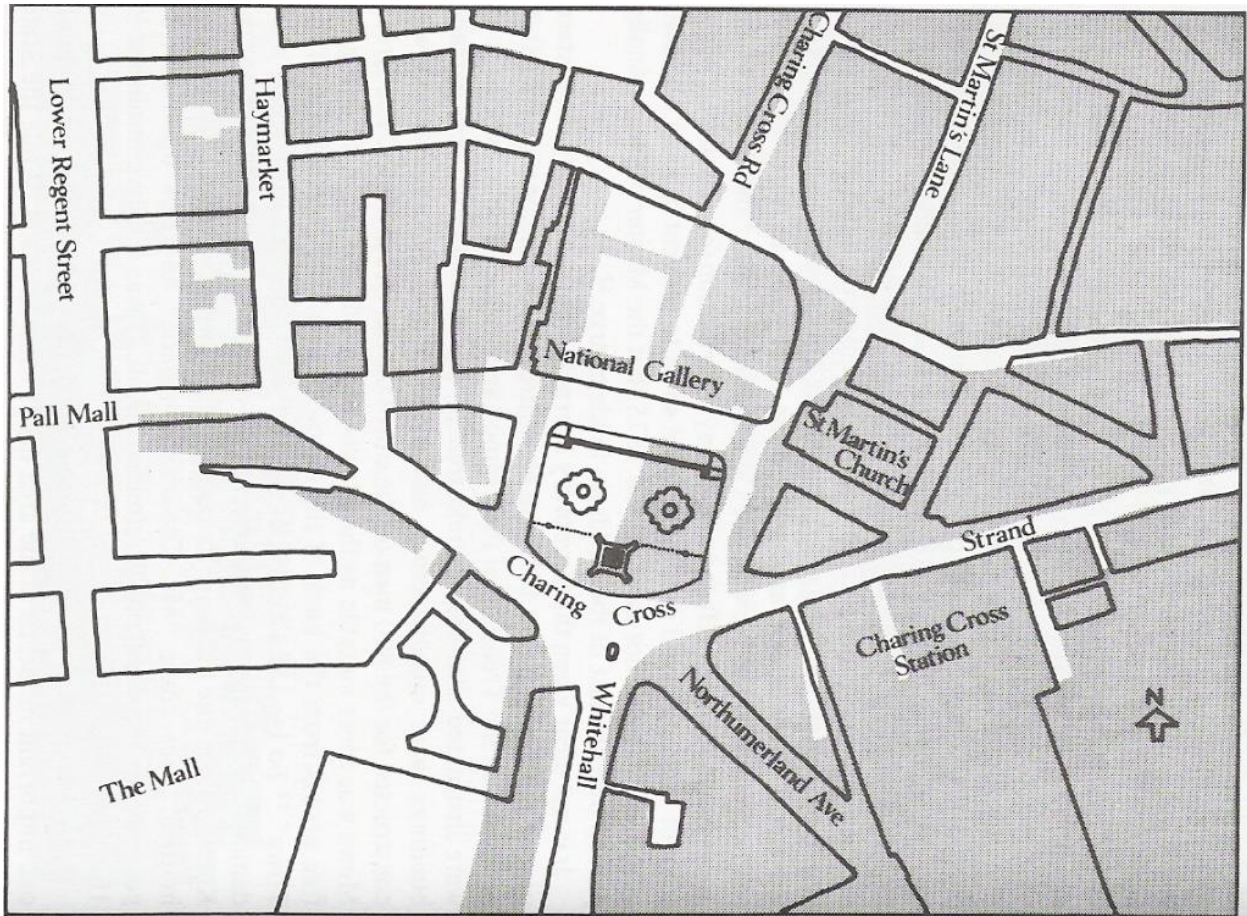From http://www.npg.si.edu/exhibit/britons/briton6.htm.

Fig. 21. Plan of Charing Cross and Trafalgar Square. The black outline is a modern plan superimposed on a late eighteenth century map shown in grey. From Mace 2005, 30.

Fig. 22. Railton's winning design for the Nelson Memorial, 1939.
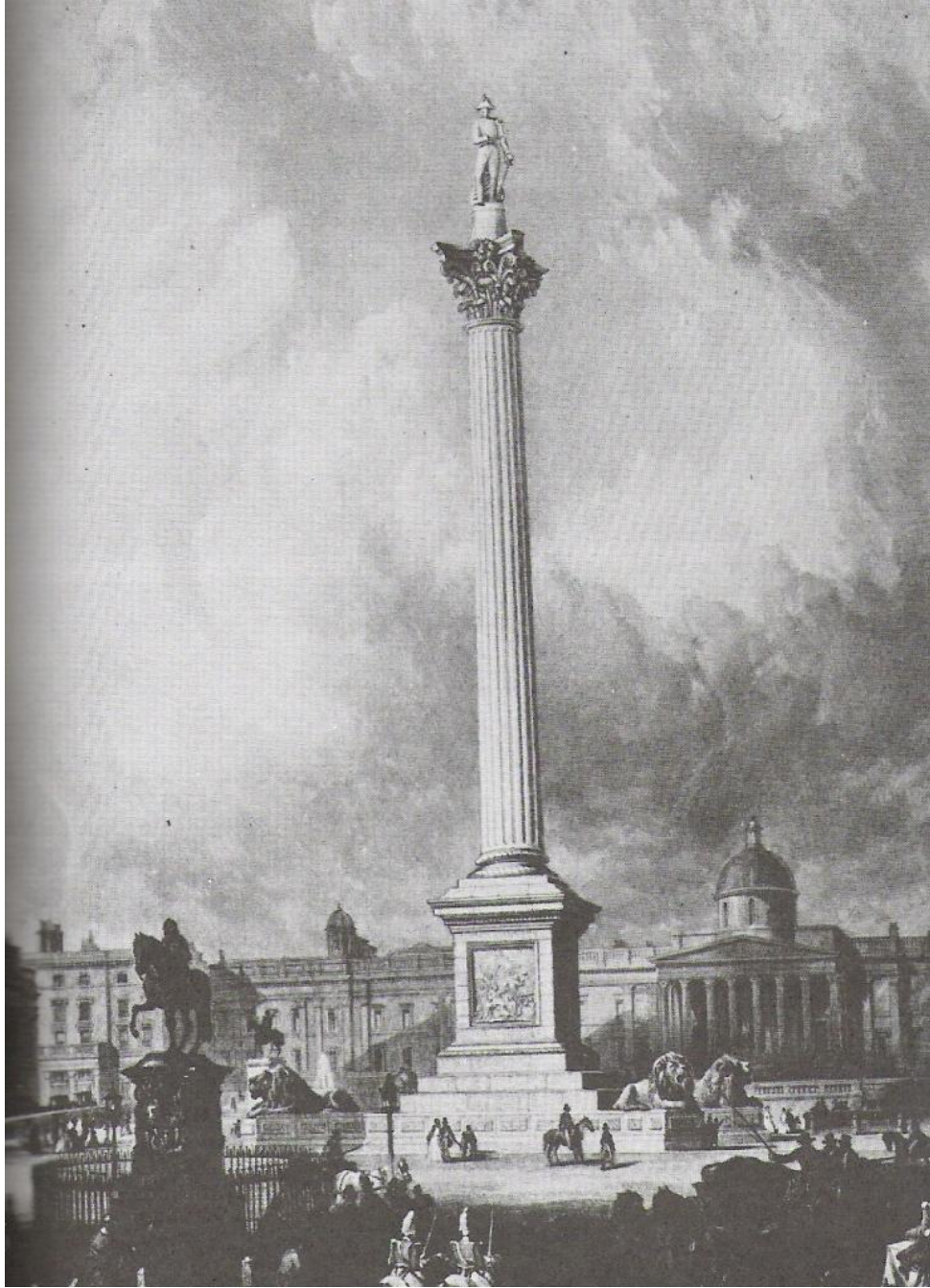From Mace 2005, Plate 17.

Fig. 23. Railton's revised and approved design for the Nelson memorial, c. 1845.
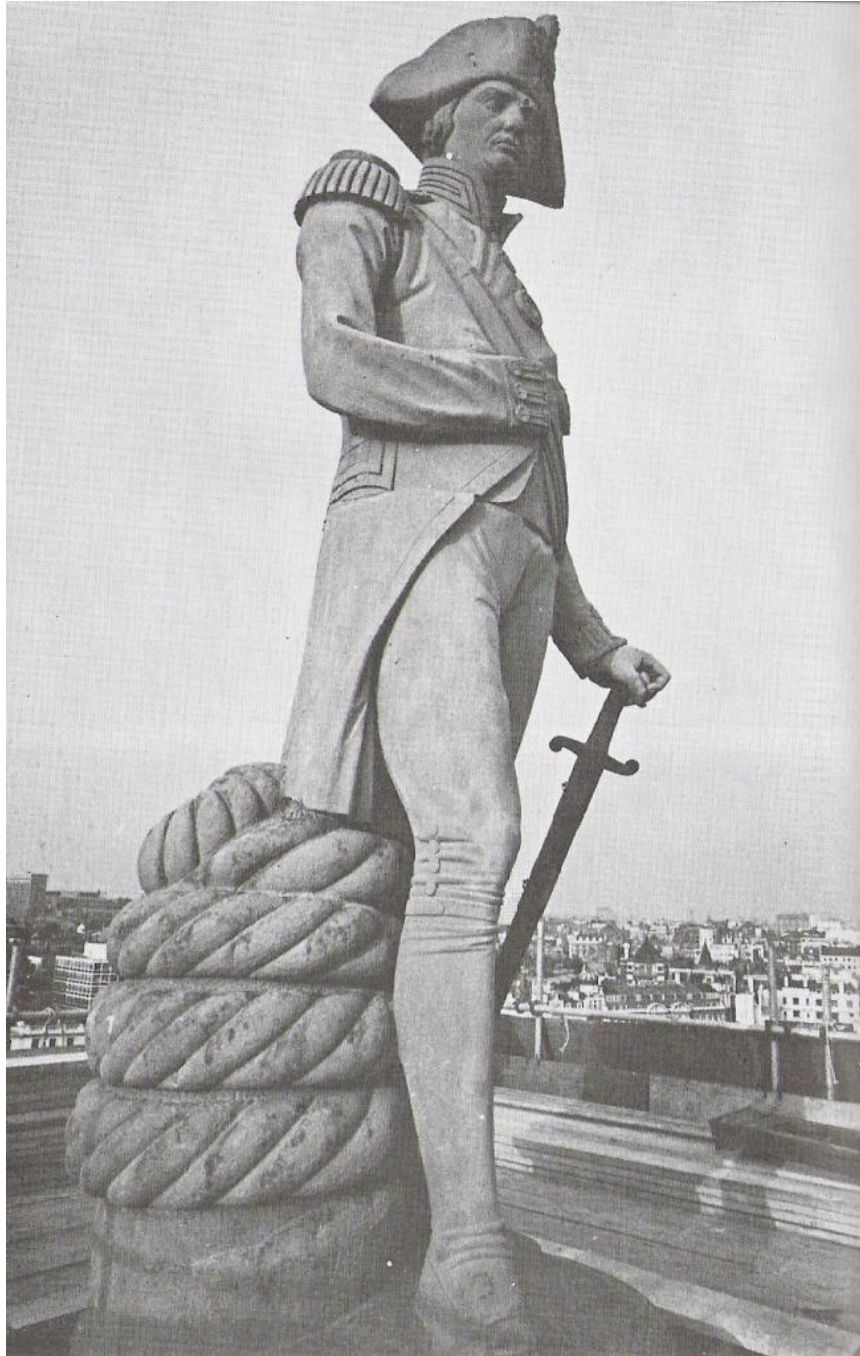From Mace 2005, Plate 24.

Fig. 24. Baily's statue of Nelson on top of the column.
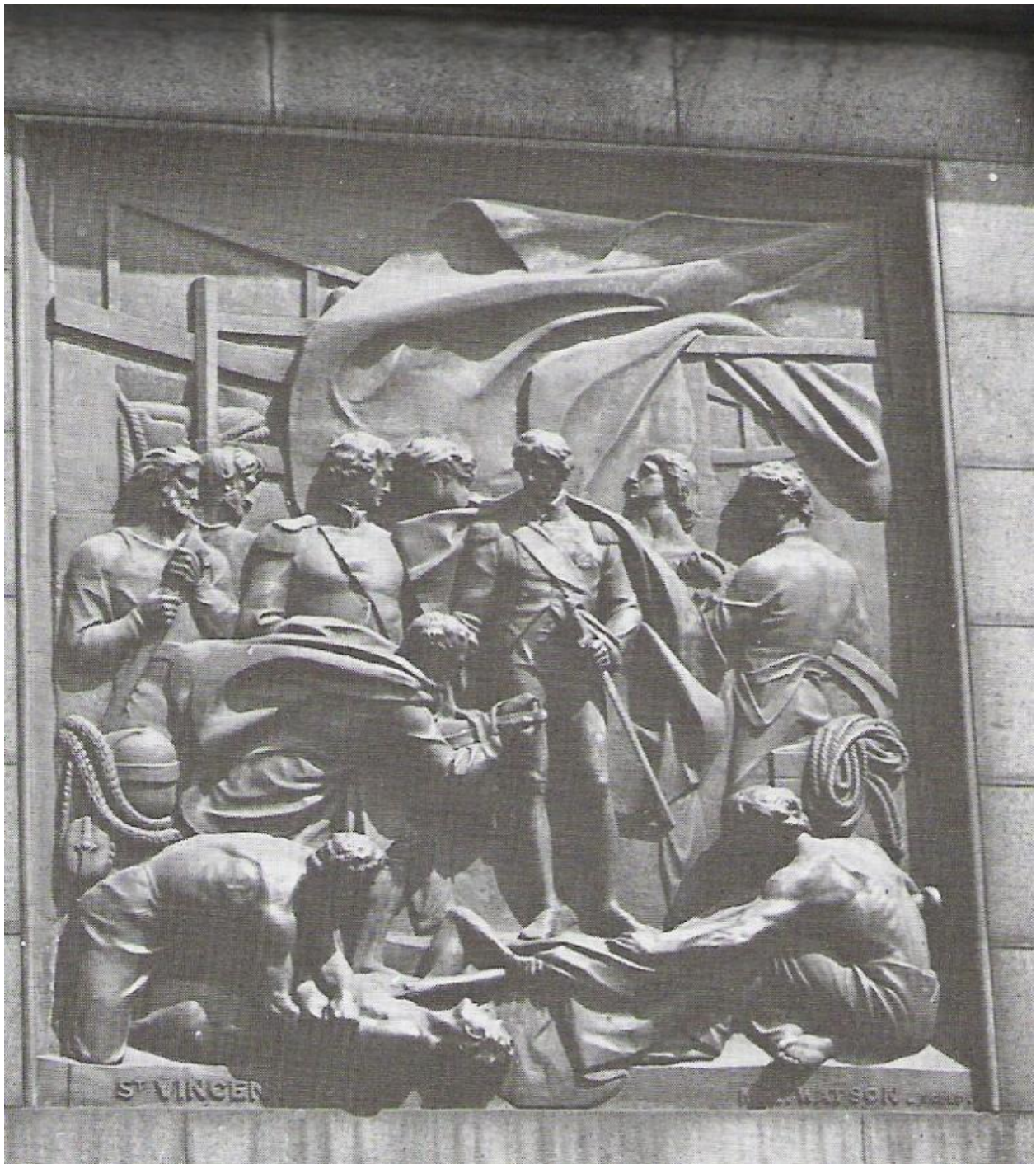From Mace 2005, Plate 33.

Fig. 25. West side relief panel of St. Vincent.
From Mace 2005, Plate 31.

Fig. 26. North side relief panel of the Nile.
From Mace 2005, Plate 30.

Fig. 27. East side relief panel of Copenhagen.
From Mace 2005, Plate 29.

Fig. 28. South side relief panel of Trafalgar.
From Mace 2005, Plate 32.

Fig. 29. HMS Victory in the dock yard at Portsmouth.
From http://www.hms-victory.com/index.php?
option=com_content&task=category&sectionid=4&id=16&Itemid=99.