

Greek trophy monuments

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Introduction

THIS ARTICLE treats Greek *τρόπαια*: simultaneously historical and sacred, these monuments were visible symbols of victories, erected after many historical battles of the Greeks and therefore precisely datable to the year of, or very soon after, the respective victory.

A distinction between perishable primary and more permanent trophies has to be introduced from the start, since this difference is significant for further study: *Primary (Perishable anthropomorphic) trophies* are erected immediately after the battle on the battle ground by hanging or nailing weapons to a tree trunk or to a wooden stake.¹ Naturally, few, if any, *trophaia* of this type have survived,² but there is frequent reference to them in ancient sources. Towards the end of the fifth century we see a rising tendency to make these trophies more durable by putting up reliefs with sculpted depiction of primary trophies in sanctuaries.³ From the fourth century onwards they also occur in other contexts, mainly on coins struck in order to commemorate the glory of victory.⁴

*Permanent 'secondary'*⁵ *trophies* were made some time after the victory in bronze and stone. While some simply imitate the actual perishable monument of anthropomorphic form like a marble trophy at Orchomenos in Boeotia⁶ (Fig. 1),

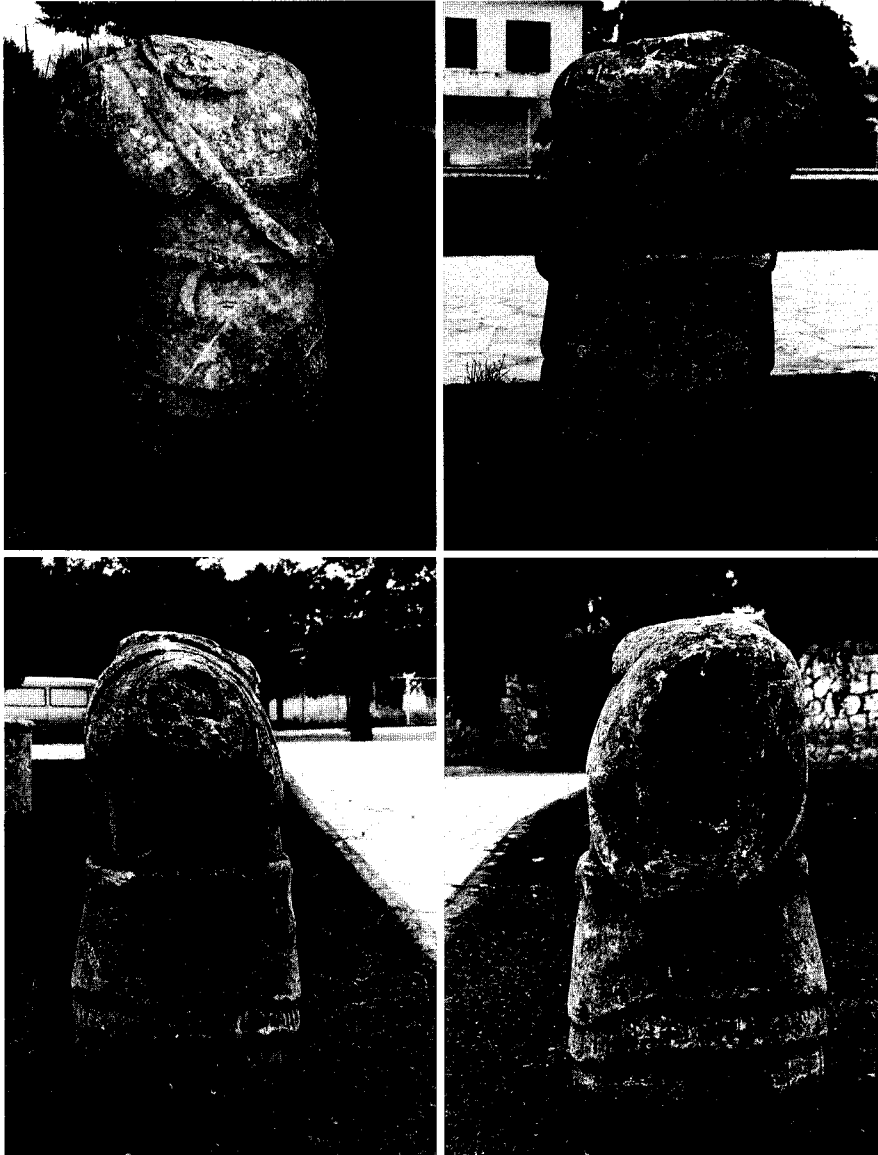
1 Cf. the representation on an Attic *pelike* in Boston, Ducrey 1985:273 fig. 181.

2 Kaeser 1987:233f. figs. 9,10 published a trophy kept at the Munich Antikensammlungen (inv. 15032). The pole with a roughly carved face at the upper end has the height of 2,40 m. The weapons are a muscle cuirass and a helmet of Pilos type. The piece is said to have come from southern Italy, but it remains unclear whether the wooden stake really dates back to the fourth century BC and whether it formed a unit with the weapons in antiquity.

3 E.g. the bases inv. 3173 and 4070 in the Acropolis museum: Kosmopoulou 2002:69f., 175ff. number 13, 15.

4 E.g. a stater from Lampsakos (fourth century BC), showing Nike fixing weapons to a *trophaion*: Imhof-Blumer 1871:28ff. no. 61, Lonis 1979:252 fig. 20.

5 Gansiniec 1955:143 and Picard 1957:22 call them 'secondary' trophies.



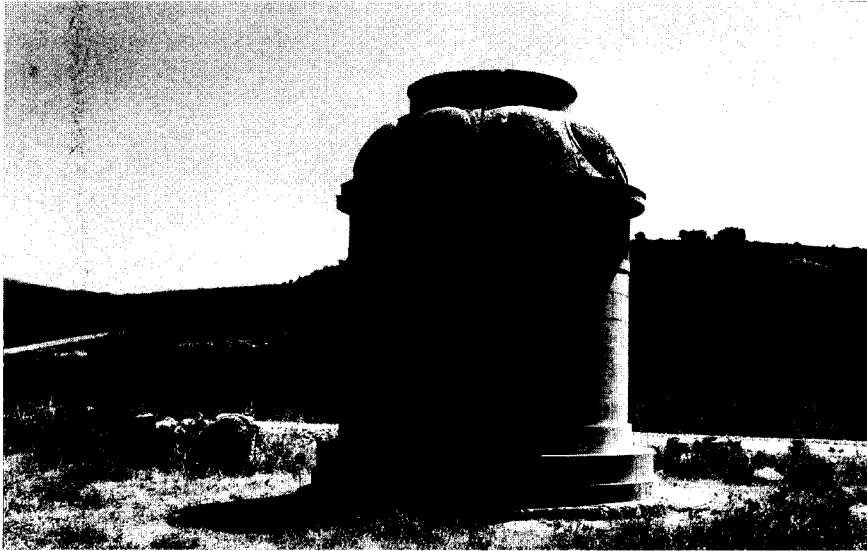
1 a—d. Orchomenos, stone trophy (photo by the author).

others include such an imitation in a larger architectural frame, enriched by sculpture. The earliest example for this are the trophies at Marathon and Salamis, as we

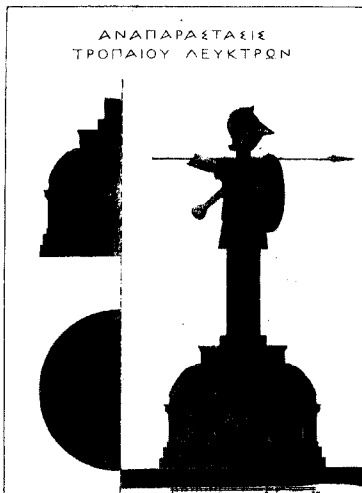
6 Camp *et al.* 1992:448f. fig. 6. Another from the necropolis of Rhodes: Maiuri 1932:57-60 fig. 28-30, Gergel 1991:243f. fig. 12.

will see below, and the best preserved monument known hitherto has been reconstructed at Leuctra⁷ (Figs. 2-4), but the same features have been used in other trophies up to the colossal monuments of the Roman period.

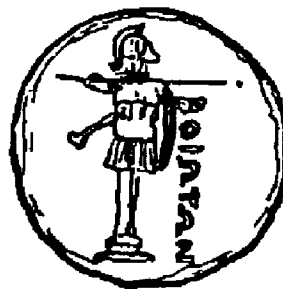
Trophies are special monuments different from victory anathems that were dedicated after battles in sanctuaries.



2. Leuctra, reconstructed monument in the plain below the modern village (photo by the author).



3. Leuctra, reconstruction drawing by Orlandos 1958a:pl. 37.

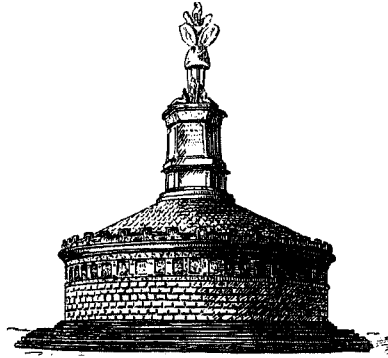


4. Coin of the Boiotian koinon picturing the Leuctra trophy. After Janssen 1957:61 fig. 8.

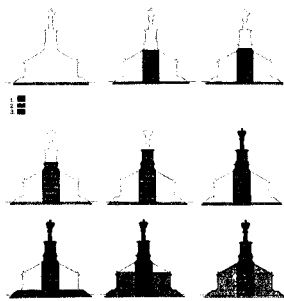
7 Leuctra (Boeotia) see below note 74.

Most of the scholars treating ancient trophies have used the written source material to study their rôle in ancient warfare, their nature as symbols of victory, or their character as monuments, where ritual offerings were made.

The first articles by A. Reinach, K. Woelke and the three monographs that were dedicated to trophies in the 1950s by Z. Gansiniec, A.J. Janssen, and Ch. Picard, mainly concentrated on the Roman trophies. Two relatively well preserved and monumental Roman trophies have been identified by their inscriptions and were studied to some detail: the Tropaeum Alpium at La Turbie, erected by Augustus for his victories over the Alpien tribes in 7/6 BC⁸ and Trajan's trophy erected at Adamklissi in Romania for his victory over the Dacians (Figs. 5-7).⁹



5. Adamklissi, reconstruction drawing of the trophy. After Reinach 1913:fig. 7123.



6. Adamklissi, elevation cut after Benndorf-Tocilescu pl. IV.

8 The Tropaeum Alpium was erected on a summit close to the via Iulia leading from the Italian to Gallic provinces. The monument stands on the very borderline. The overall height of the monument was 50 m. Lamboglia 1964:fig. 27, 28, Mouchat 1995:30-33.

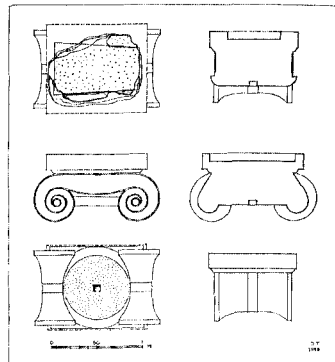
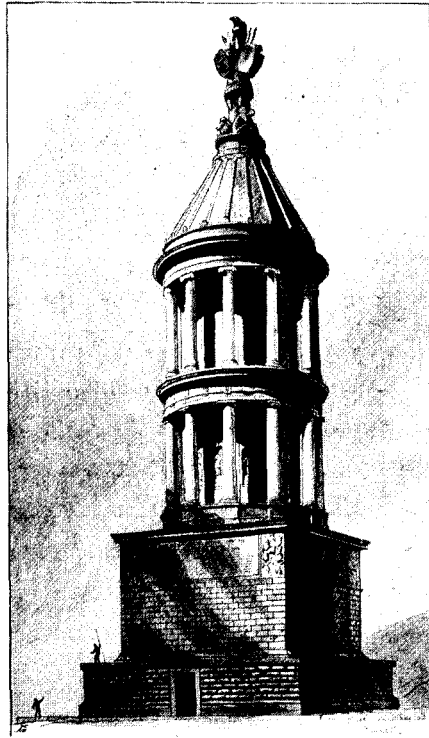
9 Adamklissi (107/8 AD): Florescu 1965, Amiotti 1990:207-13. Augustus' victory monument at Nikopolis, although not fully excavated yet, seems to have had a completely different layout. The reasons for this will have to be discussed once the monument is published. For the time being see Zachos 2001.

7. La Turbie, *Tropaeum Alpium*, reconstruction drawing after Reinach 1913:512 fig. 7122.

On Greek trophies, first A. Orlandos has to be mentioned, who worked for many years on his reconstruction of the trophy for the victory at Leuctra, before the final erection of the restored monument in the plain below the modern village was achieved (Fig. 2).¹⁰

In 1966 E. Vanderpool identified the remnants of a monumental ionic column found near Marathon as part of the trophy erected by the Athenians after their victory in 490 BC. L. Beschi in a recent article published evidence confirming this conjecture (Fig. 9).¹¹ Beschi also closely revised the remains of the trophies erected over the Persians in Attica.

Other trophy monuments have been identified recently through their inscriptions, e.g. the trophy from Kara Tobe (dating to 113/112 BC) found near the lake Kerkinnitis on the Crimean peninsula (Vinogradov and Heinen 1997:493 fig. on p. 498 and pl. 34, 1) and the trophy erected by Sulla at Chaironeia in 86 BC (Fig. 10).¹²

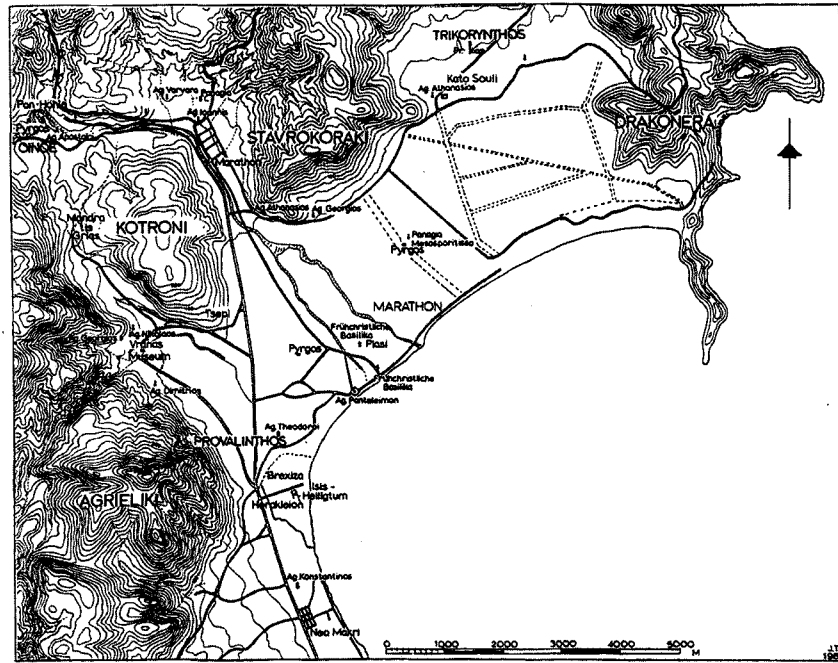


8 a-b. Marathon, column of the trophy, reconstruction by Petrakos 1995:29 fig. 8.

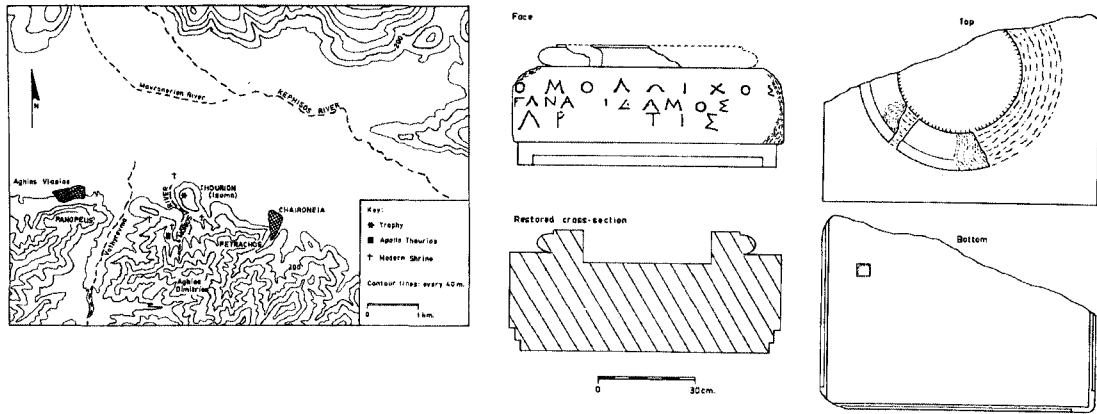
10 See below note 74.

11 Raubitschek 1940:53-59, Vanderpool 1966:93-106, Travlos 1988:254 fig. 315, 316, Petrakos 1995:27ff. fig. 8, Beschi 2002:52ff.

12 Camp *et al.* 1992:443ff.



9. Marathon, plan of the plain, after Travlos 1988:fig. 271.



10 a-b. Chaironeia, plan and fragment of the trophy by Sulla (86 BC) after Camp et al. 1992:fig. 2.

The monuments

The first trophies we know of are the ones erected for the Persian victories at Marathon (Fig. 8),¹³ Salamis¹⁴ and Psyttaleia¹⁵ which were regarded by the Athenians as theirs (e.g. Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 16, 4). At Plataiai, both Athenians and Spartans erected a trophy, maybe a sign of emerging rivalries.¹⁶ Another trophy was erected in 480 BC at Delphi,¹⁷ after the Persian attack there had come to a standstill because of a landslide.

The term τροπή for the moment in battle, when one side gains the advantage and the fighting order of the opposing side dissolves, occurs for the first time in the early fifth century.¹⁸ In Aesch. *Sept.* 276f., Eteokles vows to the gods to sacrifice animals, to dedicate spoils in the temples and to erect trophies for the gods, if victory be granted him. The erection of trophies is mentioned here as a separate act, different from the dedication of the spoils in the temple.

Contemporary with the first introduction of trophies, the dedication of masses of weapons from spoils in sanctuaries, that had been common practice through the Archaic period, almost came to an end, as can be seen by the much reduced number of weapons dedicated in the sanctuaries of Olympia, Isthmia, Delphi or Dodona during the fifth century.¹⁹

No doubt the victories in the Persian wars played an important rôle in the development of the custom. The help of the gods was considered necessary in every victory. Therefore, an immediate thank offering had to be made. The trophy as representation of the helping god was the place where offerings could be made immediately on the battle field, as was the case at Marathon.

There are trophies mentioned in the pre-Persian period, even mythological trophies said to have been erected by Heracles or Pollux,²⁰ but all of them are later applications. No trophies are known before the Persian wars.

Thus, the first version of the story of the Spartan Othryades fighting the Argives in the Thyreatis ca. 550 BC, given by Herodotos (1.82), does mention that the severely wounded man collected weapons from the enemy and thus claimed the

13 Cf. note 11.

14 Beschi 2002:68ff.

15 Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 9.2.

16 Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 20.3—Pausanias saw a trophy 15 stadia (πέντε στάδια καὶ δέκα) above the city (9.2.6).

17 Diod. Sic. 11.14.3-4; Seiler 1986:70, Bommelaer and Laroche 1991:64 no. 34 fig. 4, 5, 13.

18 Franz 2002:237ff.

19 Jackson 1991:228-49.

20 E.g. Heracles's trophies: Soph. *Trach.* 751 (for the victory over the father of Iole); Isoc. 5.112 (for his victory at Troy); Paus. 3.10.6 (over Hippokoon); Pollux' trophy over Lynkeus: Paus. 3.14.7.

victory for his party, but no mention is made of Othryades erecting a trophy. In later versions of the story, composed when trophies were common practice, this myth is altered: now Othryades erects a tropaion with the dedicatory inscription to Zeus Tropaios written in his own blood;²¹ others sources add the standard formula: Ἴ�σκεδαίμονιοι κατ' Ἀργείων.²²

The process of erecting primary trophies

When a battle is decided, the defeated party pulls back or flees, while the victor plunders the weapons of the enemy dead and puts up a trophy with them. It can be observed in most cases that the victorious soldiers are doing this together (τρόπαιον ἔστησαν), but there are cases where the expression is used in singular form (τρόπαιον ἔστησεν) in connection with the name of the commander in charge. It is worth noting that in greek the same word, στήσαι, is normally used both for primary and secondary trophies.²³

The erection of a tropaion by one party means that it is in full command of the battle site. This is proven by the mere fact that it collects undisturbed its dead for burial (cf. Plut. *Vit. Nic.* 6.5). The defeated have to accept that their casualties are being despoiled of their weapons. They send heralds to the winning party asking for the right to collect their casualties under truce.²⁴ This is usually granted, if they accept their defeat.²⁵

The victorious soldiers take a set of these weapons, *i.e.* helmet, shield, spear, and greaves (in some cases also a hoplite's chiton and mantle), in order to erect the tropaion, the symbol confirming their victory. The weapons, if possible splendid ones taken from outstanding men,²⁶ are hung or nailed onto a wooden pole erected for this purpose or to a tree trunk. Plut. *Vit. Ages.* 19.2 testifies that an *aulos* is played during the erection of a trophy.

21 Plut. *Mor.* 306b; Lukian, *Charon* 24; cf. Phaklaris 1987:101-19.

22 Stob. *Flor.* 3.7.68; *FGrH* iv a (1999) 241f. 1078 F 2. On the inscriptions on trophies see below.

23 Picard 1957:20 tried to establish a difference between the terms (ἀνα)στήσαι and ἐγείρειν, claiming the one was used for the primary and the other for the monument type. But the only evidence he mentions is Herodianus from the third century AD. This can hardly be taken as a confirmation for the Greek Classical period.

24 According to Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.14. the Spartans after their defeat at Leuctra, at first considered to force the recovery of their dead, in order to block the erection of a trophy, but after counting their casualties, decided to send heralds.

25 Thuc. 4.97: after the battle at Delion, the Thebans erected a trophy over the Athenians. The Athenians sent a herald but at first they were denied the right to collect their casualties, because the Boeotians wanted them to leave the Delion sanctuary.

26 *E.g.* Thuc. 4.12 and 14 relates that the shield the Spartan leader Brasidas had lost in battle at Sphacteria was used to erect the tropaion.



11. Athens, Kerameikos, inv. P 1534.
Three-sided marble base for a trophy
(photo by the author).

Another tropaion type is mentioned by Xen. *An.* 4.7.25f. and represented several times in monuments, so that its existence cannot be doubted:²⁷ the weapons, mostly shields, are heaped up in a pile (on the top of which, additionally, the tropaion pole stands). A triangular marble basis from the Kerameikos with round shields on three sides and holes on the top that may have been used for the setting up of a tropaion monument in bronze may be quoting this type (Fig. 11).²⁸ Also, the decoration of the frieze above the marble monument at Leuctra with nine round hoplite shields refers to such a monument (Figs. 2 and 3), and a sculpted tropaion in the Kos museum consists of the weapon heap proper.²⁹

27 Picard 1957:20, Lonis 1979:129.

28 Stikas 1961:177f. figs. 31, 31a.

29 Kos, museum, inv. 112.

Greek art developed several types of representations showing the construction of a tropaion. Both on vase-paintings and in reliefs of the late fifth and fourth centuries, Nike plays a central part: the personification of victory either brings weapons to the pole or nails the weapons onto it using a hammer or a stone.³⁰

When are tropaia erected?

In many cases the erection of trophies some time after the battle is recorded, e.g. on the day after battle, if fighting continued until sunset. The tropaion is erected then the next morning.³¹ The reason seems to be that the visibility of the trophy was of immediate importance for the recognition of the victory.

In other cases trophies were erected even days later. Plut. *Vit. Tim.* 29.4 reports that a trophy was erected only on the third day after battle because of the abundance of spoils taken from the opponent.

Restrictions for durable trophies

A difference between victories by Greeks over Barbarians and victories by Greeks over Greeks has been formulated, stating that while the tropaia over the Persians were intended to be visible symbols of the Greek victories, and quoted for many generations,³² trophies over Greeks should be primary ones only.

The Syracusan Nikolaos is quoted by Diod. Sic. 13.24.5 as speaking up after the defeat of the Athenians in 415 BC, stating that no permanent trophies should be erected in order not to create constant reminders of conflicts. Another source for this is Cicero (*Inv. rhet.* 2.23.69f.):

The Thebans, having defeated the Lacedaemonians in battle, set up a trophy in bronze. They were accused before the Amphiktyons, that is, before the common council of Greece. The charge is: "It was not right." The reply is: "It was right." The question is: "Was it right?" The defendant's reason is: "By our valour we won such glory in war that we wished to leave a perpetual memorial of it to our descendants." The counter-argument is: "Still it is not right for Greeks to set up a permanent memorial of their quarrels with Greeks." (transl. H.M. Hubbell)

This sounds like a moral guideline and indicates that there may have been a moral obligation, but no written law.

30 E.g. Kosmopoulou 2002:69f. 177-81 number 13, 15, 19, Imhof-Blumer 1871.

31 Diod. Sic. 13.47.1.

32 E.g. Ar. *Eq.* 1334; Pl. *Menex.* 240D, et al.

Lonis already argued convincingly that this 'rule' is an invention of the fourth century BC, when the unity of the Greeks became a major theme.³³ He quoted a number of permanent trophies that had been erected at the end of the fifth and during the fourth century. The argument that there should be no permanent memorial of the inner-Greek quarrels, is obsolete, given the anathems dedicated for these victories in sanctuaries, like the Nike of Paionios, the painted versions of various battles or even the historical reports written by Thucydides and Xenophon describing every victory and every battle in detail. Consequently, if the victory achieved was an important one, permanent trophies may have been erected by Greeks over Greeks.

Number of trophaia

Normally, one primary trophaion was set up for each victory. The counting of victories of famous generals by numbering the trophies they erected was common practice. Thus, we know that Pericles could claim nine trophies, and Demosthenes (20.78) has the detailed information on Chabrias' victories read in front of the court:

He alone of all our generals never lost a city, a fort, a ship, or a man, as long as he led you; and none of your enemies can boast a single trophy won from you and him (οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδενὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐχθρῶν τρόπαιον οὐδὲν ἀφ' ὑμῶν τε κάκεινου), while you possess many won from many enemies while he was your general. ... the clerk shall read to you an inventory of all the ships he took and where he took each, the number of cities and the amount of treasure captured, and the place where he set up each trophy (καὶ τῶν τροπαιῶν οὐ ἕκαστον). Read. (translation by J.H. Vince)

The keeping of records on who erected trophies, and when, was necessary because the commanders with such achievements had the right to meals in the prytaneion, while the state cared for their children and grandchildren according to an inscription found on the Acropolis.³⁴

There are separate monuments for fights on land and on sea. For the victory at Salamis, for instance, the Athenians erected one trophy for the sea battle on the Kynosoura-peninsula on Salamis and another one for Aristeides' victory, which seized the island of Psyttaleia from the hands of the Persians.³⁵ Two trophies also were erected by Numenios, satrap and strategos under Antiochos IV Epiphanes,

³³ Lonis 1979:135.

³⁴ IG II² 832 line 11-22 (229/8 BC).

³⁵ Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 9.2.

for his victories in land and sea battles over the Persians at Carmania in southern Babylonia in the late second century BC, one for Zeus and the other for Poseidon.³⁶

In rare cases, more than one trophy is erected, because both parties claim the victory. This happened e.g. in 433 in the battle of Sybota, where both Corinthians and Kerkyraeans (who had been fighting together with the Athenians) erected a *tropaion*, because both had recovered their dead and some spoils (Thuc. 1.54).³⁷ It is therefore clear that the free recovery of casualties and the plundering of the enemy dead were seen as reasons to claim victory and proceed with the erection of a trophy.

Decision over the spot

Landscape is taken into consideration as well as the circumstances of the battle before a trophy is erected.

The *τροπή* was the decisive moment in battle, when the fighting order of one party dissolved and the men took to flight for some reason.³⁸ Some *tropaia* were erected on the spot where the enemy turned around and took to flight,³⁹ others at the place of the first collision.⁴⁰

But this obviously was not the only consideration. Especially if there were plans to erect a permanent trophy after the battle, the spot selected had to be seen from afar or by as many as possible. This also must have been the purpose of fixing an inscription on trophies. Therefore, depending on where a battle took place, and what its significance was, we have evidence that the trophy was set up on a hill above the battle field,⁴¹ in or just outside a sanctuary,⁴² in front of city gates,⁴³ and along the main arterial roads (that is, in the neighborhood of the tombs lining these roads), or even within the city.⁴⁴ Another possibility was that the trophy was erected on the borders of a territory.

36 Plin. *HN* 6.152.

37 See also: Thuc. 1.105.6, 2.92 (battle of Naupaktos) and Thuc. 7.34.

38 Franz 2002:309ff.

39 Serv. *Ad. Aen.* 10.775; Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 19.5f.

40 Xen. *An.* 6.5.32.

41 Paus. 9.2.6.

42 Plut. *Vit. Ages.* 19.2 (just outside the temple of Athena Itonia in Koroneia); Olympia: Paus. 5.27.11 and 6.2.8; Argos, sanctuary of Apollon Lykeios: Paus. 2.20.1.

43 E.g. Haliartos: Trophy of the Thebans and people from Haliartos against Spartans. The Spartan general Lysandros fell in this battle: Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.19; Korinth: Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.8; Paus. 3.24.6 (Las) and others.

44 According to Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.4.14 there was a trophy on the Agora of Elis set up for the Elean cavalry victory over the Arcadians. At Sparta, the sanctuary of Zeus *Tropaios* was next to the tombs of the Iamids as well as the Hieron for the two bravest Spartan fighters at Thermopylae, Maron and Alpheios: Paus. 3.12.9.

It is not quite clear in which cases the Greeks decided for the erection of a secondary trophy not on the battlefield but on a prominent spot nearby in order to achieve greater visibility. But there are cases where the actual site of the battle was far away from the spot where the trophy was erected. For example, the trophy the Athenians cavalry erected over the Macedonian Pleistarchos in 319 BC: it is mentioned by Pausanias 1.15.1 as standing on an arch in the Agora near the stoa Poikile, while the encounter had taken place near the city walls (Fig. 12).⁴⁵ The reason for the selection of this spot lay most likely in the fact that the Athenian cavalry was using the area called the 'herms' on the north-western edge of the Agora as a starting point for their training program and their processions (Xen. *Hipparchikos* 3.2; Mnesimachus *apud* Athenaios ix 402f.). The trophy was thus best visible for them and may have served as an incitement for the younger. For the trophies of sea battles, a prominent spot close to the site was selected, if possible, on a promontory. This was the case at Salamis (Figs. 13. 14.),⁴⁶ Abydos,⁴⁷ the island of Syme⁴⁸ and other places.

'Clusters'

In some cases, if there were already trophies of former victories nearby a battlefield, the same spot was picked again for installing a new one. Thus, e.g. in the narrows between Sestos and Abydos in the Propontis, there was a site on the Abydos side where several trophies for marine victories stood.⁴⁹ Also, toponyms like 'Tropaia' in Psophis mentioned by Pausanias 8.25.1 might refer to such places.

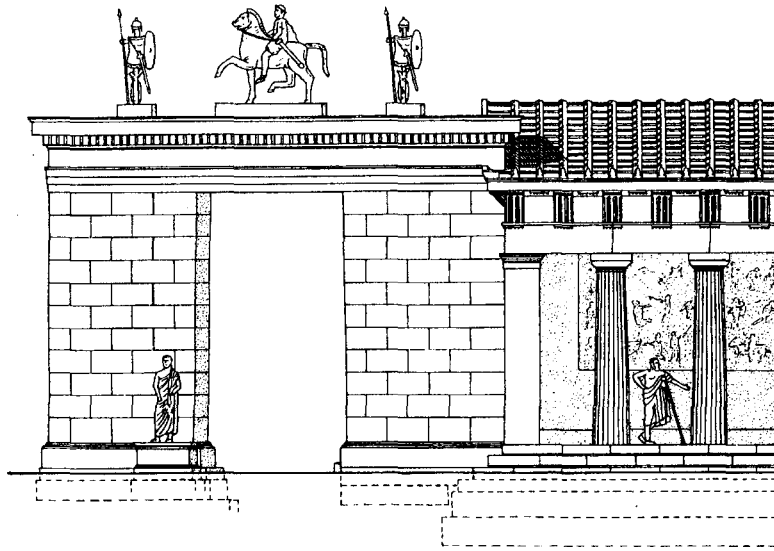
45 The gate on which the trophy was set up has been reconstructed using two massive foundations to the west of the Stoa Poikile by Shear 1984:1ff. esp. 23 fig. 12, Camp 1990:105ff. fig. 60, 61. Commenting on this part of my lecture, Dr. J. Binder has doubted the correct interpretation of the stoa as the Poikile, as well as the reconstruction and date of the gate on the two pillars. She argues that the Poikile must have been farther to the east, whereas the stoa to the north of the Greek agora could be identified as the Herm Stoa. For our context, this would mean that the spot where the trophy was erected was still farther from the battlefield. The reconstruction drawing provided by Shear (here, Fig. 12) is hypothetical in doubling the trophy for symmetry and posing the statue of a rider separately in the center of the arch. Also critical of this reconstruction: Maul-Mandelarz 1990:199 n. 856. While Travlos 1988:25 fig. 36 has argued similarly to J. Binder, identifying the excavated part of the Stoa Poikile with the Stoa of the Herms, Rückert 1998:90 doubts that there existed a special Stoa of the Herms and argues that any of the Stoai of Zeus Eleutherios, Basileios and Poikile may have been called 'Herms' Stoa, because there were so many herms standing in front of them.

46 Beschi 2002:68ff. fig. 10.

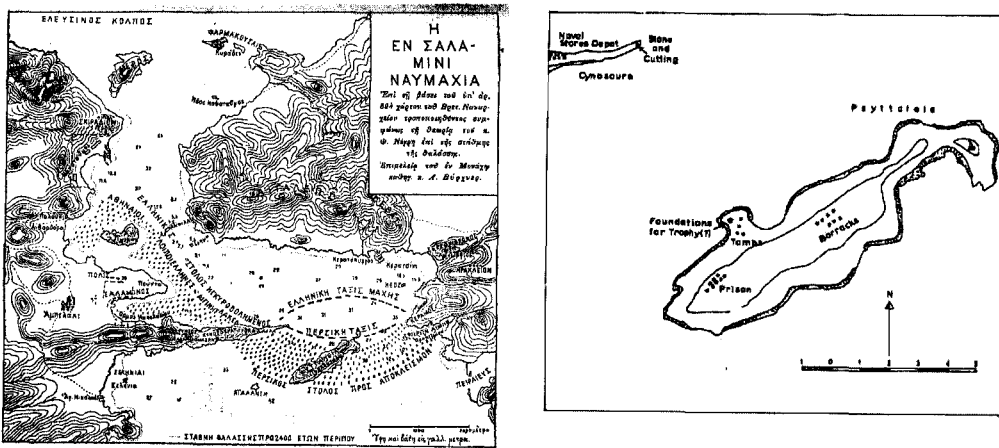
47 Diod. Sic. 13.40.6 and 13.47.1; Krentz 1989:10-14.

48 Falkner 1995:121.

49 See note 48.



12. Athens, Agora, reconstruction of the trophy erected over Pleistarchos in 319 BC. After Shear 1984:23 fig. 12.



13. Salamis, plan of the battle field after RE I A 2 (1920) 1826-31 s.v. Salamis



14. Salamis, Cape Kynosoura, the remains on the site (photo by the author)

Trophies close to the burials of the casualties

The Persian trophies at Marathon and Salamis were also in the vicinity of the tombs of the casualties. The tumuli of the casualties and the burial of Miltiades are mentioned as being close to the Marathon trophy. At Salamis there is a large tumulus on the north side of the Kynosura peninsula, at the cape on which the trophy stood (Fig. 13).⁵⁰ It should be the same tumulus mentioned in *SEG* 26:121, line 33 next to the trophy of Themistokles. The *epeboi* presented yearly offerings at both the tomb and the trophy.⁵¹ At Adamklissi the burial mound of the fallen has likewise been found near the trophy.⁵²

50 Marathon: Paus. 1.32.4f. For a critical review of the identification of the tombs: Mersch 1995:55-64, Mersch 1996:178f. The tumulus at Salamis: *SEG* 26:121 line 33, Culley 1975:213, Goette 1993:259f.

51 *IG* I³ 1 no. 255.

52 Amiotti 1990:207-13.

The trophy inscriptions

Inscriptions form an integral part of trophies of either kind. Their function was first, to give information about the battle, *i.e.* information about the monument, by whom and why it was erected. Secondly, to praise the achievements of the fighters, whose glory reflects back on the city or tribe they fought for.

There are two kinds of sources for the study of tropaion inscriptions: there are seldom original inscriptions preserved on stones;⁵³ more often there are trophy inscriptions quoted by ancient authors or copied by early travellers.⁵⁴ From these, we can deduce the components of which a standard trophy inscription consisted:

1. Name of the battle and topographical information where it took place (in the plain, on a hill, on the bank of a river, *etc.*)⁵⁵
2. Names of both parties⁵⁶ and sometimes the name of the leading general.⁵⁷
3. Dedication to a god,⁵⁸ in many cases Zeus Tropaios (Δὶ Τροπαίῳ).⁵⁹

The standard information can then be enriched by specific details about the battles and the circumstances that led to victory, and even names of outstanding fighters (*e.g.* Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 19.5f., naming Homoloichos and Anaxidamos as the best fighters).

A trophy in the sanctuary of Athena Pronoia at Delphi had an inscribed epigram that is quoted by Diod. Sic. 11.14.4. Inscriptions have given the clue to the latest identifications of tropaion monuments in Chaironeia (Fig. 10 a, b)⁶⁰ and Kara Tobe.⁶¹ Sometimes inscriptions were renewed later, like the one copied from one of the blocks of the Marathon trophy by Fauvel.⁶²

53 *IG VII* 2462 (Leuctra); *Campet et al.* 1992:445 fig. 2 (Chaironeia); *CIL V* 7817 (La Turbie); *CIL III* 12 467 (Adamklissi).

54 *E.g.* Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 19.6 (Chaironeia); Plin. *HN* 3.136ff. (Tropaion Alpium).

55 Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 19.6f.: one trophy Sulla erected at Chaironeia was in the plain on the battlefield near the brook Molos, the second one on the hill Thurion, where the Roman camp had been.

56 Plut. *Mor.* 306c: Ρωμαῖοι κατὰ Σαμνιτῶν; Paus. 5.27.11.

57 Plut. *Mor.* 318d quotes Sulla's full name as given on the trophies of Chaironeia: Lucius Cornelius Sulla Epaphroditus.

58 Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 19.5f. with a dedication to Ares, Nike and Aphrodite.

59 Plut. *Mor.* 306b gives a variation: Δὶ Τροπαιούχῳ. The Roman counterpart of Zeus Tropaiouchos was Jupiter Feretrius.

60 *Camp et al.* 1992:443ff.

61 Vinogradov and Heinen 1997:493ff. esp. fig. on p. 498 pl. 34, 1, 2.

62 Beschi 2002:61.

*The sacredness of a tropaion*⁶³

Trophies seem to have had a form of transitional sacredness that faded together with the wooden pole. It was forbidden to destroy any trophies unless they had been erected without justification.⁶⁴ Primary trophies, therefore, may have been left to decay, but they were never removed because they were sacred to the helping god, in many cases Zeus Tropaïos.⁶⁵

The sacredness also applied to the permanent monuments, as can be deduced from Vitruvius 2.8.15, who reports a trophy at Rhodes:

Then Artemisia took Rhodes, killed the leading citizens, and set up a trophy of her victory in the city of Rhodes, having two bronze statues made, one of the city of Rhodes, the other in her own likeness. She had the latter figured as setting a brand upon the city of Rhodes. But afterwards the Rhodians, being restrained by a religious scruple because it is forbidden for trophies once dedicated to be removed, erected a building round the spot and protected it with a Greek outpost to prevent anyone seeing, and ordered this to be called 'unapproachable' (*abaton*). (transl. F. Granger)

In 353 BC, queen Artemisia of Halikarnassos, after conquering the city of Rhodes, had a tropaion put up in the city ('trophaeum in urbe Rhodo suae victoriae constituit'). It obviously was a complex structure, because part of it was a statue group made in bronze, representing Artemisia herself, brandishing a personification of the city of Rhodes. After getting rid of Artemisia, the Rhodians could not remove or destroy the tropaion nor the statues (they were obviously a part of it), because it was a sacrilege to destroy consecrated trophies ('nefas est trophaea dedicata removeri'). So the Rhodians built walls around the area and put up a Greek guard station, so that nobody could see it, and they called the area '*abaton*.'

Lonis has argued that trophies were always representations of Zeus Tropaïos.⁶⁶ While I can see that the trophies obviously became identified with the gods and, in some cases, received regular offerings, it does not seem convincing that it was always Zeus Tropaïos, since there are many other deities with the same epithet.⁶⁷

Yearly sacrifices have been performed at the Persian trophies: according to the Hellenistic inscription *IG II² 1028.27*, the Athenian *epheboi* set out every year on

63 Lonis 1979:268.

64 An unjustified trophy erected by the Athenians over the Spartans at Panormos near Miletus was torn down by the Milesians: Thuc. 8.24.1f. The reason given is that the Athenians did not really attain command of the area by this victory.

65 Picard 1957:17f. 26ff. Eur. *El.* 671f.; Paus. 3.12.9. For Zeus Tropaïos cf. Pritchett 1974:246-75. Plut. *Mor. Quaest. Rom.* 273cd.

66 Lonis 1979:136ff.

67 Picard 1957:24.

the anniversary of the battle, the 16th of Munichyon (Plut. *Vit. Lys.* 15.1) for a collective trip to Salamis in order to sacrifice at the trophy there to Zeus Tropaïos.⁶⁸ Yearly ceremonies were also performed at the Marathon trophy: in an inscription of the fifth cent. BC from Chalkis, sacrifices for Zeus Tropaïos are mentioned (*IG* I³ 1 no. 255 line 11).⁶⁹

Permanent trophy monuments

Durable monuments in stone or bronze were erected for historical victories whose long-term results were anticipated by the end of the battle. Both at Marathon and at Salamis marble columns formed an important part of the trophy monument. It is not clear, so far, what the architectural framework was—if there was one at all. For instance it is unclear whether there was an enclosure wall encircling a wider area around the monument or not. In the case of Marathon, alterations of later generations (fourth century down to Roman times) obviously included enclosure walls around the trophy, built from orthostates according to a drawing by Fauvel and quoted by Beschi. One of the blocks bears the inscription ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΝ, confirming their connection with the monument.⁷⁰

It remains unclear what kind of monuments the columns really supported. One is inclined to think of an anthropomorphic trophy, but Beschi illustrated a fragment of a marble statue representing a seated person and reiterated the idea of G. Despinis that it once stood on top of the column.⁷¹ On the other hand it also seems possible that this statue formed part of the monument, but was placed somewhere else and not on the column.

It therefore seems likely that, since the time of the Persian trophies, there were also sculptures enriching the ensemble of a trophaion, a fact proven for the fourth century for the trophaion of Artemisia at Rhodes (see above) and common still for the Roman monumental trophies. There are other durable monuments mentioned in the fifth century:

In 420, the Eleans put up a bronze trophy over the Spartans in the center of the Altis at Olympia, where the battle had taken place. Pausanias mentions the inscription and says that the sculpture was made by Daidalos from Sikyon.⁷²

68 Cf. *IG* II² 1006 line 71 (= *SEG* 19 (1963) 40 no. 108).

69 Beschi 2002:68 n. 41 (on the identification of the Kynosoura peninsula at Marathon). For regular cult at the Plataiai trophies: Ducrey 1979:275ff.

70 Beschi 2002:60 fig. 5.

71 Beschi 2002:53 fig. 3.

72 Paus. 3.8.4 (battle); 5.27.11 (trophy in the Altis); 6.2.8 (work of Daidalos from Sikyon).

In 405, the Ephesians erected a bronze trophy over the Athenians. It became a constant reminder of disgrace for the Athenians, who were commanded in the battle by Thrasyllus (Plut. *Vit. Alc.* 29.1 and Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.10).

Leuctra

A new type of trophy has been introduced into research through the reconstruction of the monument at Leuctra by Orlandos.⁷³ First fragments and thoughts published in the 1920s led to the reconstruction shown in Fig. 3. Orlandos finally completed his work by reconstructing the monument somewhat different in the 1960s, with further original stones found and included in 2002 (Fig. 2).

The monument at Leuctra is a circular tower (3,38 m in diameter) erected on three steps. The height of the tower could not be established, because there were not enough original stones. It was therefore restored in proportion. It is crowned by a Doric frieze, followed by a frieze of nine large round shields⁷⁴ and a circular balustrade.

Excavations carried out in the area brought to light some scattered conglomerate blocks, but no foundations *in situ*. So we have no information on whether or not it stood within a defining space.

The interior of the monument is hollow, ἀναμφιβόλως πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ πυρήνος τοῦ χαλκίνου τροπαίου—without any doubt for the reception of the [foundation for the] bronze trophy,' as Orlandos remarked.⁷⁵

The bronze tropaion mentioned in the texts and shown on coins of the Boeotian Koinon (Fig. 4) must therefore have once stood on a pillar-like base in the center of the monument, rising high above the balustrade.⁷⁶

The form of this monument is distinctive, the ground plan can be reconstructed as a round tower with a massive central base carrying the tropaion.

Few analogies are known in architecture, and yet it does not seem likely that the monument at Leuctra was an invention for that occasion. It rather must have

73 IG VII 2462; Diod. Sic. 15.53-56; Paus. 4.32.4ff. Fragments of the monument have been found in 1923 ca. 20 minutes to the north of the actual position on a small hill, next to the ruins of a church. Orlandos 1922:38ff. *id.* 1958a:43f. pl. 34. 36; *id.* 1958b:48-52 fig. 49-54; *id.* 1961a:225 pl. 179; *id.* 1961a:229ff. fig. 245. At Leuctra, a trick was used in order to break the fighting spirit of the Spartans: as recommended by the oracle of Trophonius, Epaminondas ordered Xenokrates to erect a trophy *before* the battle, using the shield of the Messenian Aristomenes, taken from the Trophonion at Lebadeia in a place where the Spartans could see it. The Thebans thus announced they would win from the very start of the battle. The Spartans, recognizing the shield, interpreted it as Aristomenes himself, fighting in the front row. They were much disturbed by the bad omen and this led consequently to their defeat. Beister 1973:65ff.

74 Diameter of the shields: 0,97 m.

75 Orlandos 1958a:43.

76 Reinach 1913:503 fig. 7107, Janssen 1957:61 fig. 8.

stood in line with an older tradition, the type and layout being developed much earlier.⁷⁷

That ancient art was rather conservative with regard to the use of specific architectural types, especially in combination with cult buildings, can be deduced by comparing the main features of the two colossal Roman trophies that are preserved today: both the trophies from La Turbie and Adamklissi have a cylindrical central tower set on top of a quadrangular substructure. Each is crowned by a central pillar carrying the anthropomorphic stone trophy (Figs. 5-7).⁷⁸

The question that arises is therefore: were there any typological forerunners to the Leuctra monument?

Kerameikos

Situated next to the third Horos stone on the left side of the Kerameikos street about 156 m outside the Dipylon gate, there is the so-called 'State burial on the Third Horos' (Figs. 15-17). Though singular in its form and unparalleled as a tomb plot, it always has been interpreted as a burial monument.⁷⁹

The monument has been published in detail by Mallwitz, who also provided the two reconstruction proposals given in Fig. 15.⁸⁰

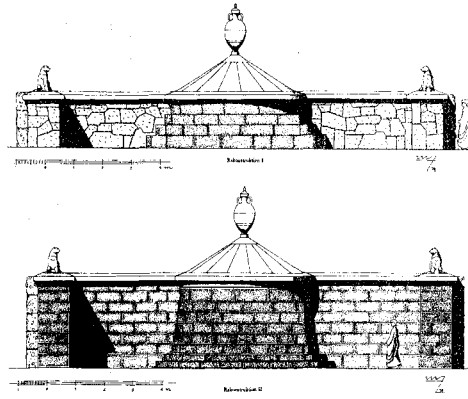
Though part of the monument lies still unexcavated under the Piraeus-street, the excavations since A. Brueckner, who found the monument in 1914, have revealed enough to justify the assumption that the structure was axially symmetric. The restored dimensions are 15, 35 by 5, 5 m. A circular tower, about 6 m in diameter in the upper part, is enclosed by rectangular walls on three sides. The enclosure walls consist of ashlar blocks of conglomerate stone. The façade towards the Kerameikos street was once built in fine limestone, but only the foundations remain. Also, the rear half of the tower is constructed in conglomerate, while the front half was

77 W. Koenigs (1980:52) considered an influence of the circular walls of a tumulus and the weapons heap: 'Bei Denkmälern wie dem Tropaion von Leuctra wird tatsächlich die Grabform und der Waffenhäufen die Gestalt bestimmt haben.'

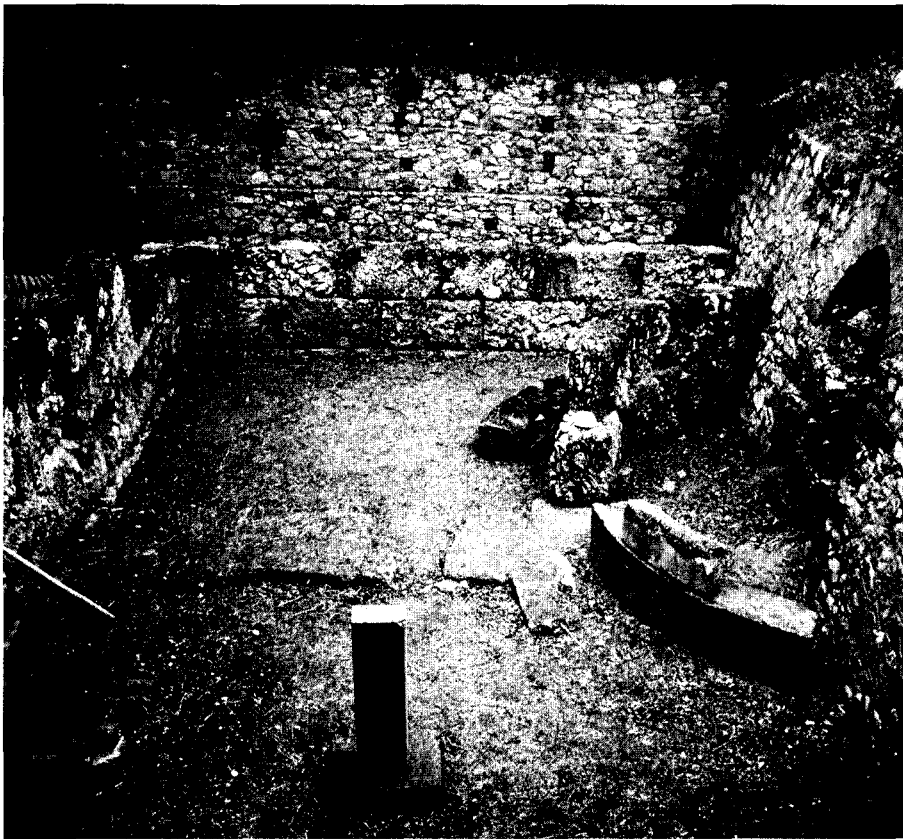
78 See above, notes 8 and 9. There is a controversial discussion on other monuments of this type, like the 8 m high monument on the Panayir Dagh near Ephesus: Benndorf 1906:143-66 fig. 98-106, pl. 5.

79 Brueckner 1914:94f., *id.* 1915:119 (Chabrias), Gebauer 1940:344. 355ff., Gebauer and Johannes 1942:204. Willemsen 1977:139f. interpreted the monument as the burial of the Olympionikes Lakrates, who is mentioned together with the Spartan casualties in 403 by Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.33; Knigge 1988:163 thought the built 'Tymbos' without a burial could be at the same time cenotaph and Heroon for a man who was buried somewhere else: 'ein Kenotaph und Heroon gleichzeitig für einen ... verschollenen oder andernorts bestatteten Toten.'

80 Mallwitz 1980:99-125 pl. 30-34 Beilage 23-31.



15. Kerameikos, monument on the Third Horos, reconstruction drawings by A Mallwitz 1980:Beilage 29. 30.



16. Kerameikos, monument on the Third Horos (photo by the author).

worked in limestone. A L-shaped wall once ran from the tower towards the enclosure wall, turning there at a 90° angle towards the street. Again, only foundations remain. It formed part of the façade, but there is uncertainty with regard to its height. It closed the area between the street, the enclosure wall and the tower, without concealing the character of the complete monument, dominated by the central tower.

The tower encircles a massive, rectangular base made of conglomerate blocks, five layers of which are preserved. The roof of the tower consisted of trapezoid stone slabs that lean against the central basement with their short side, leaving space in the middle for the central pillar, on which a base for the monument crowning the tower has to be assumed.

The building was erected over three potter's kilns of the late fifth century.⁸¹ The marble sculptures used for the reconstruction of the monument are fragments of a reclining Molossan dog and of a marble vessel. In the reconstruction drawing the vessel has been positioned on the center of the central pillar, where it has been placed after excavation (Fig. 16), while the Molossan fragment is kept in the magazines of the excavation. A close examination of Brueckner's excavation diaries and photographs, where they are first mentioned, shows, however, that these fragments were found in Roman layers. If we add to this Brueckner's remark that during excavation he found a pit filled with marble fragments that he believed belonged to a lime kiln, their connection with the monument becomes quite arbitrary.⁸² The presence of marble sculpture in pieces could be easily explained by the existence of the lime-kiln. The marbles had some impact on the interpretation of the monument, though: understood as funeral sculptures belonging to the monument, they seemed to confirm the identification of the structure as a tomb.

Two tile-covered burials of the Hellenistic period and one sarcophagus-tomb were found inside the enclosure, the latter being placed within the space between the enclosure and the façade walls at a depth of *ca.* 0,50 to 0,60 m from the upper edge of the foundations.⁸³ That is unusually shallow if the burial was contemporaneous with the monument. As P. Valavanis has reasonably argued, the burial can be dated to the second half of the fourth century.⁸⁴

81 Gebauer 1940:357f. fig. 30, Monaco 2000:72ff. 96 pl. 27-29. Stichel 1998:138 remarks that some time has passed between the destruction of the kilns and the erection of the monument. It is not clear, though, how much. Gebauer and Johannes 1942:204.

82 Brueckner, diary V (1914:31f. 36, 37). Excavations conducted by E. Vaziotopoulou-Valavani from the Third Ephorate of Antiquities in Piraeus street in an area just on the other side of the surrounding wall, confirms the existence of lime basins close by. Doubt may also be raised as to whether there was enough space on the wall to place the Molossan dog on it.

83 Gebauer 1940:358-62 fig. 30, 31, 33f. The shallow depth can be used to argue for a separation of monument and tomb, because Gebauer 1940:361 mentions that the enclosure had not been filled up completely with earth.

But the question is whether the sarcophagus belongs to the original structure or not? This is important because the dating of the monument—always seen in connection with the burial—has caused some controversy. One group of scholars dated the tomb to 403, connecting the occupant with the *olympionikes* Lakrates (Willemsen 1977:140) or the oligarch Kritias (Stichel 1998:147-52). Another group of researchers has argued for a date in the second half of the fourth century: Brueckner (1914:94) suggested in his first article, that the monument was the tomb of the general Chabrias, Valavanis (1999:204) the tomb of the general Molossos. Mallwitz, who also dated the monument to the fourth century, posed the question, whether the burial belongs to the monument at all, but decided to argue in favour, although he remarked, that the position is eccentric.⁸⁵ An additional argument for a late date for the monument has always been its 'baroque' appearance, which is thought out of place in the fifth century BC.⁸⁶

Both D. Ohly (1965:325f.: mid fourth century) and F. Willemsen (1977:128) have consulted the street levels for their conflicting date of the monument. Since the decisive layers are no longer preserved or still unexcavated under the Piraeus street, both finally used the sarcophagus burial in order to date the monument. A further argument has been raised by Ohly and Valavanis, claiming that the monument must be later than Horos 3 in front of it, because the Horos has not been built into its wall like in the case of the tomb of the Lacedaemonians, but at a small distance from it.⁸⁷ But the Horos is so nicely set within the front line of the monument (Valavanis 1999:187 fig. 1), that one has to turn the argument around: the monument was obviously there before the border stone was placed. More convincing arguments have been proposed by Stichel using the debries from the kilns under the monument to establish a date of 403 BC.⁸⁸ U. Knigge is the only author who separates the monument from the burial.⁸⁹

84 Valavanis 1999:185-205 pl. 27; he gives the recent bibliography on the date of the monument in 192 n. 32.

85 Mallwitz 1980:124. He also quotes Ohly, who raised the argument, that the foundations of the façade of the monument were found to cut the pit that was made for the sarcophagus (Ohly 1965:324), and that the monument was therefore made after the sarcophagus was positioned. For this information Ohly quotes Gebauer 1940:358 but there is no such remark. On the contrary, a look at Gebauer's drawing published in *AA* 1942:203ff. figs. 1 and 2 shows that the sarcophagus is drawn there within the monument, its ditch being untouched by the monument walls, and indeed, the sarcophagus ditch is positioned, as it seems there, with respect to the pre-existing walls.

86 Ohly 1965:325, Mallwitz 1980:123.

87 Ohly 1961-62:18f., Valavanis 1999:192 n. 31.

88 Stichel 1998:137f. pl. 22,6.

89 Knigge 1988:163.

Reviewing the arguments, one can summarize:

1. that the monument can be dated to the end of the fifth century by evidence of the kilns and the pottery underlying it,
2. that the sarcophagus burial can be dated, as suggested by Valavanis, to the middle or the second half of the fourth century BC,
3. that the monument has been erected independently from and earlier than the peripheral and shallow burial in the sarcophagus,
4. that the central round tower and the massive pillar within it are unfamiliar for tomb monuments, but can be compared to the plan of the trophy at Leuctra.

Megara

A monument outside Megara on the western border of the Megarid towards the Korinthia is the closest parallel for the structure in the Kerameikos (Figs. 16-19).⁹⁰ Spectacularly situated high above the sea on the hills of the Geraneia mountains, it lies next to an ancient road leading to the Peloponnese and within a necropolis along this street. It shares many features with the Kerameikos monument: it has high rectangular retaining walls (not completely symmetrical, though), a circular central tower, and within it a massive rectangular pillar. The monument has been excavated completely, and no burial has been found within it. In search of a hidden burial, even the foundation stones for the central pillar were removed, but this yielded no evidence. There are fragments of a round Doric frieze preserved that belong to the monument and allow for a date in the fifth century BC. The Megara monument is larger than the one in the Kerameikos (*ca.* 25 x 12, 5 m), the round tower measures 10 m in diameter. It is built of the local limestone that contains many enclosures of petrified sea shells

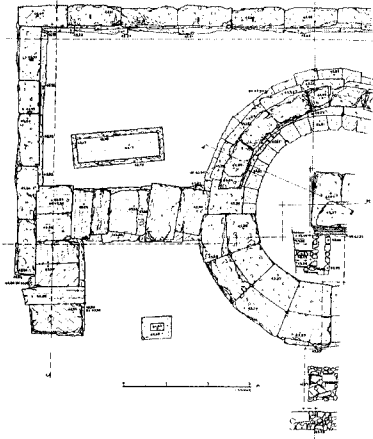
The monument has been interpreted as the tomb-Heroon of Car⁹¹ (but this does not explain the peculiar architecture), and as a watch-tower⁹² (but there are no doors and the decoration with a Doric frieze would be singular).

The monument features a remarkable resemblance with the Kerameikos monument. The typological features it has in common with the Leuctra trophy (tower with Doric frieze and central pillar), the absence of a burial, and the position high above the cliffs on the very borderline to the Korinthia are all features that can argue for an interpretation as a trophy.

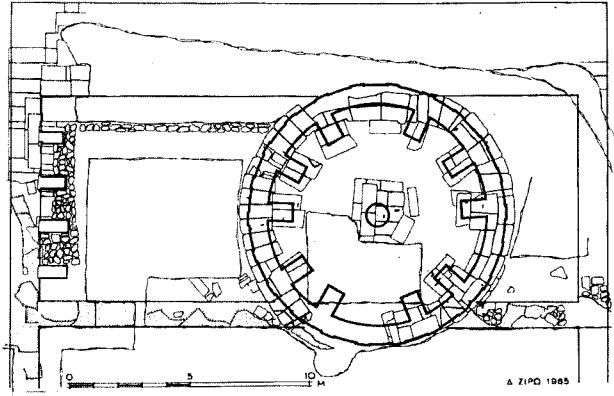
90 Travlos 1988:259, 278f. figs. 348-51, Valavanis 1999:198 fig. 4.

91 According to Paus. 1.44.6 'Among the graves on the road from Megara to Corinth is ... also a tomb of Car the son of Phoroneus: it was originally a mound of earth, but afterwards in obedience to an oracle it was adorned with mussel-stone' (transl. J.G. Frazer). The use of shell-limestone as described by Pausanias is abundant near Megara and typical for the area. Valavanis 1999:198 n. 64.

92 Goette 1993:239f.



17. Kerameikos, monument on the Third Horos, Plan after Stichel 1998:134 fig. 1.



18. Megara, monument on the Geraneia pass, plan after F. Giraud (Travlos 1988:fig. 348).



19. Megara, monument on the Geraneia pass (photo by the author).

It could have been erected by the legendary Attic general Myronides, who gained a decisive victory over the Corinthians in 458 BC.⁹³ The Corinthians had tried to seize Megara in this fight, but the Megarians had asked help from the Athenians. It was the Athenians, then who won the battle. This victory was also important for Myronides, because he fought it with young men against an overwhelming Corinthian force which tried to take advantage of the fact that the regular Athenian troops were all abroad. The Megara monument might well be their trophy: seen from afar, it warned against trying to violate the borders again.

A final suggestion

But was there a trophy in the Kerameikos?

Lysias in his burial speech for the casualties of 394 BC says (2.63) about the brave men fighting the oligarchs under Thrasyboulos in 403 BC:⁹⁴

having felt no fear of the multitude of their opponents, and having exposed their own persons to the peril, they set up a trophy over their enemies, and now find witnesses to their valour, close to this monument, in the tombs of the Lacedaemonians (τρόπαιον μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἔστησαν, μάρτυρας δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς ἐγγύς ὄντας τοῦδε τοῦ μνήματος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων τάφους παρέχονται). (trans. W.R.M. Lamb)

Lysias, therefore, mentions a trophy of Thrasybulos in connection with the tomb of the Lacedaimonians who had been fighting on the side of the Tyrants and were defeated in 403 BC (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.28-33). This tomb of the Lacedaimonians was identified with a *polyandrion* excavated by Brueckner along the western side of the Kerameikos street when a fragment of the inscription was recovered in 1930.⁹⁵

The date as well as the type of the monument would allow the identification of the monument on the Third Horos with the trophy of Thrasybulos. As we can see from the parallels quoted above, neither the position away from the battlefield nor the point along the Kerameikos street next to *polyandria* of the same battle would be unusual for a trophy.

Last but not least, there are parallels for trophy monuments erected under similar circumstances: at Argos, according to Pausanias (2.21.8), a stone trophy had been erected over the tyrant Laphaëis, after he had been overthrown by the Argives in battle.

93 Thuc. 1.105.6; Diod. Sic. 11.79; Lys. 2.49ff. 52f.

94 Strauss 1985:69ff.

95 Brueckner 1930:90ff. fig. 5, Van Hook 1932:290-92, Tod 1932/33:108-11, Willemsen 1977:117-57, Closterman 1999:310f. Nr. D 1, Hodkinson 2000:252f. fig. 12.

Is it coincidence, that before the battle of Leuctra, the Thebans were reminded of Thrasyboulos in a speech given by Pelopidas?⁹⁶ The Theban Pelopidas had been outlawed by the Spartans during the occupation of Thebes. He held a speech to the Thebans, asking them to rise against the occupants who held their city in slavery and encouraged them to overthrow them, 'παράδειγμα θεμένουσ τήν Θρασυβούλου τόλμαν καὶ ἀρετήν.'

Acknowledgements

I want to thank people who encouraged my studies, gave me relevant hints or constructive criticism: above all Synnøve des Bouvrie, Klaus Fittschen, Klaus Hermann, Anette Hupfloher, David Jordan, Alexander von Kienlin, Hermann Lind, Barbara Schmidt-Dounas, Stefan Schmid, Volker Scheunert, and Michael Wedde.

96 Plut. *Vit. Pel.*7.2.

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