Boeotian Monuments for the Fallen Warriors*

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Περίληψη_ **Σταυρούλα Οικονόμου | Βοιωτικά μνημεία πεσόντων *ἐν πολέμωι***

Η περιοχή της αρχαίας Βοιωτίας υπήρξε θέατρο πολεμικών συγκρούσεων, τόσο μεταξύ ελληνικών πόλεων και ξένων εισβολέων, όσο και ελληνικών αντίπαλων δυνάμεων. Όπως και σε άλλες περιοχές, έτσι και στις βοιωτικές πόλεις έχουν εντοπιστεί ταφικά μνημεία, λίγα δημόσια και περισσότερα ιδιωτικά, προς τιμήν των πολεμιστών που σκοτώθηκαν στη μάχη. Εξαιρετικά ενδιαφέρον είναι το γεγονός ότι απουσιάζουν, σχεδόν πλήρως, μνημεία που σχετίζονται με τους Περσικούς Πολέμους.

Κατάλογοι πεσόντων, δηλαδή κατάλογοι με ονόματα νεκρών από μία συγκεκριμένη μάχη, έχουν εντοπιστεί στη Βοιωτία, ενώ δημόσιος κοινός τάφος πεσόντων έχει ανασκαφεί στην Τανάγρα για τους νεκρούς της μάχης στο Δήλιον (424 π.Χ.). Μολονότι τα βοιωτικά ιδιωτικά μνημεία δεν παρουσιάζουν στιλιστικές αποκλίσεις από τις τάσεις της κάθε περιόδου, από τη Βοιωτία προέρχεται μια σειρά εγχάρακτων στηλών, γνωστές στη βιβλιογραφία ως «μαύρες στήλες», οι οποίες συνιστούν τοπική πρωτοτυπία. Η εικόνα του πολεμιστή, συνηθέστερα του οπλίτη, κοσμεί τις βοιωτικές στήλες των πεσόντων, ενώ απουσιάζουν, απ᾽ όσο γνωρίζουμε ως σήμερα, άλλες σκηνές, οι οποίες απαντούν συχνά για παράδειγμα σε μνημεία της Αττικής, όπως σκηνές μάχης και οικογενειακές.

Εξετάζονται δημοσιευμένα μνημεία από τη Θήβα, τις Θεσπιές, την Τανάγρα, τις Πλαταιές, και αλλού, τα οποία χρονολογούνται από τους ύστερους αρχαϊκούς έως και τους κλασικούς χρόνους.

Fallen warriors in ancient Greece were buried either *in situ*, i.e. at the battlefield, or at a nearby location, or they were taken back to their homeland for interment. The choice of the burial place is considered by some scholars to be a political issue[1] and not a practical one. However, it is very possible that *in situ* burials, at least initially, were motivated by the practicalities the armies who operated far from home were facing. Besides, as Pritchett[2] rightly notes, differences in the choice of burial place can be observed not only between different cities but also

* I would like to extend my many thanks to the members of the Scientific Committee of *Ariadne* Journal for including my paper in the volume at hand. My sincere thanks to my post-doc research advisor, Associate Professor of Ancient History at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Yannis Xydopoulos, for his encouragement and support. Special thanks to the Head of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia, Alexandra Harami, for the permission to use images of Boeotian stelae, as well as to the exceptional colleagues of the same Ephorate, E. Kourouni and G. Psarou, for all their kind help.

[1] See Low 2006, 85 and 93. For van Wees (2006, 132–33) the innovation heralded by the Athenians with the creation of the *demosion sema* is the abolition of the practice to exclude prominent warriors from *in situ* burials and the public burial of all the fallen warriors.

[2] Pritchett 1985, 251.

—| https://doi.org/10.26248/ariadne.v28i.1666 |—

within the same city, depending each time on the case. Gradually, especially after the first phase of the Persian wars, one can observe the occurrence of particular burial rituals in a number of cities, as well as the existence of specific legislations.[3]

The evidence emerging from the archaeological research in the locations of the great battles as well as in the cemeteries, confirm the information provided to us by Thucydides in his Epitaph [2.43,2-3], that the fallen warriors are buried in state monuments featuring stelae that bear their names. This custom is not confined to the Athenian Kerameikos[4] but seems to apply to many cities, even though the descriptions of the monuments we find in the texts are brief and not really enlightening. The repatriation of the dead and, most importantly, the common burials, resulted in the necessity to create burial places in the form of either separate cemeteries or distinct sections within the existing ones.[5] One may assume that such places were established in many cities; however these are identified with certainty in Athens, Sparta (for the kings) and in Thespiae, while there are strong indications of their existence also in Thebes.[6]

In the literary sources one can find special references to individual burials; however, these usually are mentioned with regard to the protagonists of the battles, such as Leonidas or Mardonios, and very rarely for other warriors. For example, Herodotus refers to the Athenian Hermolykos, son of Euthoinos and a renowned *pankration* athlete, because he stood out at the battle of Mycale (479 BC). The historian states that Hermolykos was later killed in the war between Athens and Karystos and that his grave is found in Geraestos of Euboea [9.105].

The monuments of Boeotia

The historical setting

At the end of the Geometric period, new settlements were created in the region of Boeotia, such as Thespiae, for example. Some gradually developed into prospering cities, a process that appears to have been completed during the Archaic period,

[3] We are familiar, among others, with the laws of Athens, of the Labyades phratry of Delphi and Kea (see Kurtz and Boardman 1994, 189 ff.; Humphreys 1980, 99; Garland 2005, 123; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 2–12, no.1). The laws of Athens ascribed to Solon (beginning of 6th century BC) are the earliest we know, and they are mentioned by Demosthenes, Cicero and Plutarch. It is thought that they were influenced by the burial legislation of Epimenides for Phaistos, see Garland 1989, 3. See in contrast Stears 2000, 47 who dates the legislation approximately to 480 BC claiming that Demetrios Phalireus used it as a guide to author his own law in order to restrict the hyperbole of the burial monuments of the 4th century BC. The island of Thassos also offers information on burial legislation through the inscription 1032 that dates in the end of 5th – beginning of 4th c. BC. See Pouilloux 1954, 373. See also Bosnakis 2020, 24–27; 191; Oikonomou in press.

[4] For the Athenian burial customs see Arrington 2011; Carroll and Rempel 2011; Barringer 2014; Arrington 2015.

[5] Oikonomou 2013.

[6] For a detailed analysis of the subject see Oikonomou 2012, esp. chapter *Polyandria*.

as indicated by the rich findings in cemeteries of eastern and central Boeotia.[7] The Boeotian cities were probably organised into a type of loose federation already in the 6th century BC,[8] which subsequently evolved into the institution of the Boeotian League, as we know it during the late Classical and Hellenistic times. According to the Oxyrhynchus Historian, at the end of the 5th century BC, Boeotia was divided in eleven sections, each of which provided a *boeotarch* to the confederation of cities. Thebes and Thespiae contributed two *boeotarchs* each, as both of those cities controlled two large parts of Boeotia.[9] Unlike many other Greek cities, the Boeotian ones did not experience the rule of tyranny,[10] but it seems that the attitude of Thebes, which aimed to achieve a prominent and leadership role in the federation, was causing rivalries and conflicts among Boeotians.

Thebes, which according to myth was founded by Kadmos, was an important prehistoric city in ceaseless competition with Orchomenos over the control of Boeotia.[11] From the end of the 6th c. BC it maintained a hostile relationship with neighbouring Athens, as in 506 BC the Thebans – joined by the Chalcidians – unsuccessfully invaded Attica. After all, as mentioned by Herodotus, the Thebans had supported financially Peisistratus' ascent to power. Athens, on the other hand, stood by the side of the Plataeans and, after the victorious clash with the Thebans, granted to Plataea territories south of the Asopos river, an area belonging to Thebes [Hdt. 6.108]. During the first phase of the Persian Wars, Thebes, despite being affiliated to the Medes,[12] did not become entangled in a military conflict; during the second phase, its 400 hoplites, who Leonidas forced to guard the pass of Thermopylae along with the Spartans and the Thespians, surrendered to the Persians. Many of them were executed by the Persians, while others were stigmatised as slaves to the King [Hdt. 7.222,1 and 233].[13] After the battle of Plataea, the Greek cities besieged Thebes as it had provided cover for the retreating Persians,

[7] Schachter 2016, 7.

[8] Demakopoulou and Konsola (1998, 13) place the first formation of the federation around 520 BC. Schachter (2016, 17) notes that the Boeotians shared common traits, such as the dialect and the worship of certain gods. See also Aravantinos 2010, 145–52.

[9] Larsen 1968, 26–36. About the inconsistencies in city and area names occurring in the ancient text see Schachter 2016, 52–54. The institution of the *boeotarchos* is confirmed by Herodotus [9.15,1], who informs us that they led the army of Mardonios from Megara to south Boeotia. Schachter (2016, 63) regards the "Catalogue of Ships" in *Iliad*, where 7 Boeotian captains are mentioned, as the earliest source concerning the organization of Boeotia. He also adds that the number seven keeps reappearing when we read of the *boeotarchoi* of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. See also Bosnakis 2013, 25–26.

[10] Schachter 2016, 18.

[11] Demakopoulou and Konsola 1998, 13.

[12] Pausanias [IX, 6.1-2] writes that the Theban citizens were not to blame for the alliance with Persia, because at the time they were ruled by oligarchs. Demakopoulou and Konsola (1998, 14) note that the Thebans probably formed this alliance due to their rivalry with the Athenians, in the belief that the Persians would help them maintain the unity of their federation.

[13] See the interesting, though unsupported, theory of Schachter (2016, 206) who deems that Leonidas kept the 400 Thebans not as prisoners, but because they were very well trained in

without succeeding in breaching the city's walls. However, they destroyed all of the unfortified villages outside the walls and executed the principal authorities on the accusation of *medism*, who were handed over to the besiegers by their fellow citizens in order to save the city [Hdt. 9.86-88]. Thebes was deprived of the hegemony over the federation and also of territories which were allotted to other Boeotian cities. After the battle of Tanagra (458/457 BC), the Thebans turned to Sparta and they remained its allies until the end of the Peloponnesian War. Besides, after the victory of the Athenians at Oenophyta (457 BC) [Thuc. 1.107,4–108,2], the Boeotian League was controlled by Athens up until the battle of Koroneia (446 BC), when Thebes regained the leadership of the League with Spartan support.[14] Even though after the end of the Peloponnesian War the Thebans wished for the defeated Athenians to be met with extreme brutality, in 403 BC democratic Thebans supported like-minded Athenians against Lysander [Xen. 2.4,2]. In the 4th c. BC, the anti-Laconian politics adopted by Thebes will result in the battle of Haliartos (395 BC), where, along with the Athenians as their allies, the Thebans prevailed over the Spartans of Lysander, who was killed in battle [Xen. 3.5,6–5,25]. After 386 BC – when the King's Peace was promulgated – the Boeotian League was dissolved at the request of the Spartans and in accordance with the terms of the aforementioned peace treaty. Between 382 and 379 BC, a Spartan guard was stationed at the city of Thebes; in 377 BC, Boeotia joined the Second Athenian League and the Boeotian League was re-established. The Laconian threat will be expunged in 371 BC, after the victorious outcome of the battle of Leuctra in favour of the Thebans, a battle which proved to be the most powerful blow against the Spartan army [Xen. 6.4,4-15] and which propelled Thebes to the height of its hegemony, to the point that it succeeded in disuniting Messenia and the Spartans. During the Third Sacred War (356–346 BC) Thebes formed an alliance with Philip II [Diod. Sic. 16.84,5-86]. But it was Alexander III who destroyed the city in 335 BC,[15] after it revolted against the Macedonians; even though it was re-founded by Cassander, it never regained its former glory [Diod. Sic. 17.8,2-14 and 18,21; Paus. IX, 6.5–7.2].

The area where Tanagra was situated was initially under Theban control, while the first references to the existence of the city in historical times date to the 6th century BC,[16] with the city's mythical founder to be Poemandros [Paus. IX, 20.1].[17]

warfare.

[14] From 446/445 BC up until the Peace of Antalkidas, the only Boeotian coin in use was the Theban one (see Aravantinos 2010, 233).

[15] Schachter (2016, 78) notes that not every Theban lost their fortune, nor were they all sent away from the city. According to Pausanias [IX, 10.1], the *polyandrion* for the Theban warriors was situated close to the area where Kadmos had sown the teeth of the dragon. Papachatzis (1992, 77 n.3) places the monument outside the Elektran Gates and the city's enclosure.

[16] During the LH III (1600–1100 BC) important settlements existed in the territory of Tanagra (Demakopoulou and Konsola 1998, 12). Schachter (2016, 101–3) mentions among others the Tanagra relief – which depicts Dermys and Kitylos – dating to the beginning of the 6th c. BC as an example of a society with a flourishing economy.

[17] See Schachter 2016, 88 esp. note 49, for all the ancient texts on this myth.

As almost all other cities of Boeotia – with the exception of Plataea[18] and Thespiae – it joined forces with the Persians during the Persian Wars and was soon put under Theban control.[19] According to Thucydides [1.107,4-108,1], in 458/457 BC the Spartans who had been stranded in Boeotia clashed with the Athenians in Tanagra and defeated them. Two months after the battle, the Athenians returned to Boeotia and, following their victory in the battle at Oenophyta, they destroyed the walls of Tanagra and took prisoners 100 Opuntian Locrians [Thuc. 1.108,2-4]. At the outburst of the Corinthian War (395 BC), the Oxyrhynchus Historian informs us that Tanagra contributed a *boeotarch* and sixty advisors to the Boeotian League, a fact which signifies that it participated in the Boeotian army with 1.000 hoplites and 100 horsemen.[20]

According to Herodotus [5.79], Thespiae played a key role in the Boeotian League for a comparable time period to that of Thebes, with which they were closely allied. At the battle of Thermopylae, 700 Thespians were killed along with the 300 Spartans of king Leonidas [Hdt. 7.202 and 222]; as a result, their city was burned to the ground by Xerxes immediately afterwards. At the battle of Plataea 1.800 Thespian *psiloi* (lightly-armed infantry) joined the Greek battle line, according to Herodotus [9.30]. After the battle of Delion in 424 BC, the city was destroyed by the Thebans [Thuc. 4.133,1], while during the Corinthian War, although the Thespians initially adopted an anti-Laconian position, they later stood by the side of the Spartans. Thus, from 386 up to 373 BC the city was autonomous; however, in the wake of the battle of Leuctra it was destroyed by the Theban victors. After it was rebuilt (no evidence of the event survives), Thespiae once more turned against the Thebans, alongside Alexander III this time, in 335 BC [Diod. Sic. 17.8,2-14].

Plataeans were allied to the Athenians, mainly due to their rivalry with the Thebans. Plataea[21] was in fact the only Boeotian city that did not accept the hegemony of Thebes even before the Persian Wars.[22] At the battle of Marathon they were the only ones who aided the Athenian army, according to Herodotus [6.111]. In the battle of 479 BC, which took place in the plain outside their city, 600 Plataeans joined in the left flank along with the Athenians [Hdt. 9.28,6]. After the first time their city was destroyed by the Spartans in 427 BC [Thuc. 3.68,2-5], the Plataeans were forced to flee to Athens [Paus. IX, 1.4], where they served as part of the Athenian forces. Several Plataeans moved to Skione in Chalcidice after it was captured by the Athenians in 421 BC. Plataea was rebuilt in 387/386 BC and the Plataeans

[18] Plataeans were forced to follow the Persians unwillingly, as they themselves state in front of the Lacedaemonians [Thuc. 3.64,5].

[19] Schachter (2016, 105–6) comments that the prosperity of Tanagra is evidenced by the two sculptures created by Kalamis for the city during the first half of the 5th c. BC, one of Dionysos and the other of Hermes *Kriophoros*.

[20] Schachter 2016, 81.

[21] Pausanias [IX, 1.1] writes that the city took its name after the daughter of the river Asopos.

[22] Demakopoulou and Konsola 1998, 13; Schachter 2016, 61.

returned to their city [Paus. IX, 1.4], which would be entirely destroyed for a second time in 373 BC by the Thebans, whereas once again the Plataeans found refuge in Athens. The city was rebuilt by Philip II after the battle of Chaeronea in 338 BC [Paus. IX, 1.8],[23] while, when Alexander III destroyed Thebes in 335, Plataea benefited from an endowment of territories controlled by the Thebans up to then.

The monuments

The Theban stelae[24] of the 6th century have a slender form and bear sphinx or anthemion pediments – like the Attic ones. The stele of Tanagra,[25] which depicts Kitylos and Dermys embraced, remains unique up to date. Pediment stelae appear early in the 5th century BC and most probably influence the equivalent Attic monuments dating to the end of the same century, whereas stelae made with a simple, horizontal border, date mainly to the 4th century BC. The Boeotian funerary *trapezai* – which emerge initially in the 5th century BC – are adorned with relief motifs, such as a kantharos, pomegranates, animals and birds, depictions to which Despinis[26] attributed a symbolic, chthonic character. The interesting aspect of those trapezai is that they are crowned by a Boeotian helmet, carved in the same single piece of stone, and that they served as funerary stelae.

The figures of the warriors on the funerary stelae do not vary greatly: they are depicted either in static form or dynamic, hastening eagerly into battle.[27] In the early examples, figures bear breastplates and greaves, whereas later they wear only a short *chiton*, one-shoulder tunic or a *chlamys* and hold a round shield. The horsemen are usually portrayed on a galloping horse facing right.

I. Thebes

There are just two archaic monuments linked to fallen warriors. The earliest warrior stele is exhibited at the Museum of Thebes. Only the bottom half is preserved and on it a hoplite is portrayed in right profile, wearing a *chitoniskos*, a breastplate, greaves and holding a spear (**fig. 1**). Some researchers date it to the end of the 6th century BC[28] not least due to its resemblance to the Athenian stele of Aristion, while Richter, Demakopoulou and Konsola[29] place it to the beginning of the 5th century. The rendering of the figure as well as the material used (Pentelic marble) suggest that it was the work of an Attic workshop.[30]

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[23] See Kalliontzis 2014, 346–67 for a detailed catalogue of the monuments associated with fallen Plataeans.

[24] For the typology of the Boeotian stelae and their evolution see Schild-Xenidou 2008, 143–51.

[25] Athens NAM 56 (580/570 BC). The stele was found in the Kokali cemetery of Tanagra.

[26] Despinis 1963, 64–65.

[27] For the iconography see Schild-Xenidou 2008, 185–92.

[28] Schild-Xenidou 2008, no.5; Aravantinos 2010, 225.

[29] Richter 1961, no.68; Demakopoulou and Konsola 1998, 43.

[30] Demakopoulou and Konsola (1998, 42) as well as Schild-Xenidou (2008, 15) note the sim-

Fig. 1 : Grave stele of a warrior, ca 500 BC. Pentelic marble, 123 x 48 x 28 cm. Archaeological Museum of Thebes, 13. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Resources Fund

Stele 99.339 housed in the Museum of Boston constitutes a unique example. Fashioned out of Pentelic marble, dating between 490–480 BC, portrays a rider facing right who wears a helmet, and has been attributed to a Boeotian monument.[31] However, we cannot safely state that this work stood on a tomb, much less that it adorned a private monument.

The aforementioned pro-Persian attitude that Thebes adopted during the Persian wars is most probably the reason that up to date no funerary warrior monuments of this period have been discovered. However, the relief stele 90.AA.129 of Boeotian provenance, from the early 5th century BC, housed in the Getty Museum (**fig. 2**), is of rare interest. It depicts a hoplite bearing a round shield and a helmet, moving to the right; above the figure, one can read the following inscription, written in Megarian alphabet:

λέγο Πόλλις Ἀσοπίχο φίλος *h*-
υιός : ὸ κακὸς ἐὸν ἀπέθνασκον
*h*υπὸ στ[ί]κταισιν ἐγόνε.

I, Pollis, Asopichos' beloved son
say: for not being a coward,
I died at the hands of the branders.

Pollis, according to the inscription, was among the hoplites who remained at the side of the Spartans at the battle of Thermopylae, unlike those who were stigmatized, fought and was killed. The use of the Megarian alphabet could be interpreted as only natural, if we accept Reeves' conjecture that Pollis was Megarian, perhaps the son of a Megarian consul in a Boeotian city.[32] It is possible that the stele was erected somewhere in Boeotia, since the reference of the inscription to skin marking – in line with Reeves'[33] interpretation – alludes to the Theban hoplites who surrendered to the Persians and were branded with the King's seal, as mentioned

ilarities of the stele with the Attic stele of Aristion (Athens NAM 3071).

[31] Schild-Xenidou 2008, no.10. In her catalogue there are two more pieces with horsemen (nos 11 and 12), dating after the Persian Wars (470/460 and 460/450 BC) that are similar to the Boston relief. One was found in Thespiae and the other in Thebes.

[32] Reeves 2018, 178–79.

[33] Reeves 2018, 176–78.

by Herodotus [7.233,1-2]. According to Grossman,[34] who published the stele in the corpus of funerary monuments of the Getty Museum, the Pollis stele was broken on the upper part and repaired already in antiquity. A bold, if not unprovable, suggestion would be that the damage may not have been inadvertent, but caused intentionally by the Boeotians who were offended by the content of its inscription, be it Thebans friendly toward the Persians, or those close to the Thebans who were stigmatised.

The earliest inscribed stele referring to fallen Boeotian warriors was discovered in 2001, at the NE cemetery of Thebes.[35] The unearthed cist grave 359 had been constructed with reused material, principally with funerary stelae. One of these bears a four-line inscription written twice, in both Boeotian and Ionic alphabets, the first predating the second by a century:

A. [----------]ΕΡΕΤΟΝ[[..]Τ[.]
[---------- ἐν π]ολέμυ [θ]ανέμεν
[----------]πατρίδος πέρι Θέβας
[----]εντο ᾰ̓θλα κράτιστ᾽ ἀρετᾶς
B. [----------]ΛΥ..ΗΡΕΤΟΝ[[.]ΥΤΟ
[---------- ἐν π]ολέμοι θανέμεν
[----------]πατρίδος πέρι Θείβα[ς]
[.]ΝΑ[----]εντο ᾰ̓θλα κράτιστ᾽ ἀρετᾶς

The text, according to the *editio princeps*, uses words that remind Pindar (such as *θανέμεν*) and it clearly makes reference to fallen warriors of a battle sometime in the 5th century BC, either during the Persian wars or perhaps the battle of Tanagra in 458/457 BC.[36] Papazarkadas

Fig. 2 : Grave stele of Pollis, ca 480 BC. Parian marble, 153 × 45.1 × 15.9 cm. © The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California, 90.AA.129

[34] Grossman 2001, 98.

[35] Papazarkadas 2014, 223–33.

[36] For the participation of the Thessalians in the battle of Tanagra and the monumental inscribed stele of Theotimos son of Mainyllos, see Helly 2004; Bosnakis 2013, 54–55; 144–46.

believes that the word *ἄθλα* implies the funerary games held in Thebes, but he cannot determine whether the stele was part of a private or a public monument, though he inclines towards the latter. It would be reasonable for one to suggest that the stele is dated to 458/457 BC, thus ascribing the inscription to the fallen warriors from the battle of Tanagra, a battle that was victorious for the Thebans and their Spartan allies. Even though Papazarkadas[37] has reservations about the same text being written in two alphabets, he maintains that the two texts are not contemporaneous and that possibly the Ionic version was inscribed after the Boeotian. As for the use of two alphabets, Papazarkadas argues, and probably rightly, that since the Ionian was the new alphabet used in Thebes after its liberation in 370 BC, the re-inscribing may very well be a state initiative that shows both topicality and effort to create ethnic/political identities.

Most of the private Theban monuments known today are linked to the military activities ensuing the Peloponnesian War. The so-called "black stelae" (**fig. 3**) owe their name to the local rock from which they are made of, and they are most probably the product of the same workshop. Vollgraff believe that the black stone comes from the mountain Ktypas (Messapio) on the way to Thespiae and Chalcis,[38] while Keramopoullos opines that the stone can be found anywhere around Thebes and Tanagra, even in Mt Cithaeron.[39] These are pediment stelae with etched, dotted and painted – perished today – decoration,[40] above which the name of the dead is inscribed in nominative. The dead is depicted with the characteristics of a hoplite, while the pediment is decorated with nature motifs or scenes.[41] In the stelae of Mnason, Byillei and Rhynchon, the hoplite charges to the right, thus allowing the viewer to see the inside of the shield he is holding in his left hand. In the last stele, one can see stone missiles on the ground near the warrior, while the inner side of his shield is adorned with the scene of Bellerophon fighting Chimaera. Keramopoullos, who had published the then known (five) stelae, had no doubt that the depicted hoplites are fallen warriors from the battle of Delion (424 BC). Among his arguments is the alphabet used for the inscriptions, which is not the Ionic one.[42] On the topic of the stele of Mnason, Keramopoullos remarks[43] that the dead would have been one of the *αἰχμήτας* and a descendant of a wealthy

[37] The dating of the text was based solely on the lettering, as the archaeological context is not known (Papazarkadas 2014, 230–33).

[38] Vollgraff 1902, 554.

[39] Keramopoullos 1920, 1.

[40] On the technique, see Schild-Xenidou 2008, 65.

[41] Schachter associates nine stelae with the battle of Delion, of which seven are of known provenance: three come from Thebes and four from Tanagra. He discerns the hand of at least three different masons in the eight inscribed stelae, and notes that the inscription was completed after the decoration (Schachter 2016, 198–202, 210 with a catalogue). See also Aravantinos 2010, 258–87. Demakopoulou and Konsola (1998, 75) date only the stele of Mnason to the end of the 5th c. BC and the others to the early 4th c. BC.

[42] Keramopoullos 1920, 1.

[43] Keramopoullos 1920, 2.

family, judging from the *sema* that was erected on his grave. On the other hand, Schachter[44] observes that Rhynchon is dressed as a *parabates*.[45] The "black stelae" offer further information of the dead they portray; Keramopoullos believes that Rhynchon was a priest of Ismenius Apollo, not only because of the jewelry, his garment and the wreath he is wearing, but also because of the scene depicted in the pediment, which he interprets as related to the hieratic duties of the dead.[46] In contrast, Schachter[47] notes that in the pediment of the stele of Rhynchon mourners are depicted, while he emphasizes that most of the warriors bear wreathed helmets, a custom that applies to the fallen warriors of Sparta. Still, we should strongly stress here that the wreath accompanied all the dead, warriors or not, as part of the funerary customs of the Greek cities. On the other hand, wreaths are worn by the victors in sporting events,[48] and it may be that the warriors in the Boeotian stelae are depicted as crowned victors, not in imitation of the Spartan custom, as Schachter proposed.

Fig. 3 : Grave stele of Mnason, 423-410 BC. Black limestone, 97 x 64 x 21 cm. Archaeological Museum of Thebes, 54. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Resources Fund

Keramopoullos[49] discussed the identity of the artist of the stelae, who would have been a sculptor and a painter; he concludes that the name was that of the Theban Aristides, an apprentice of Polykleitos, while Aravantinos[50] suggests also the name of the painter Euxeinidas. Although Stupperich[51] has propounded the idea that the Boeotian stelae follow the Athenian style, Schild-Xenidou notes that the iconography of the warrior who moves to the right, holding with his left hand

[44] Schachter 2016, 202.

[45] *Παραιβάται* or *παραβάται* were the warriors who fought standing beside the cavalry (or the chariots).

[46] Keramopoullos 1920, 4–8. Threpsiades (1963, 14) thinks that a family scene in the presence of the dead is depicted on the pediment.

[47] Schachter 2016, 200–1.

[48] See Kefalidou 1996.

[49] Keramopoullos 1920, 18.

[50] Aravantinos 2010, 258.

[51] Stupperich 1994, 95.

Fig. 4 : Grave stele of a warrior, ca 390 BC. Marble, 111.8 x 68.6 x 11.5 cm. © Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund, 1970.82

a round shield with a decorated interior, occurs also in the Boeotian vase painting from the last quarter of the 5th century BC.[52]

The iconography of the "black stelae" seems to echo on a marble pediment stele – of unknown origin,[53] dated to 400-390 BC and now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (**fig. 4**); the dead is striding to the right, on a rocky outcrop. He wears a conical helmet and he holds the sword with his right hand and his sheath with the left, thus in contrast with the usual iconography wherein the warriors hold the shield with their left hand.

The battle of Leuctra in 371 BC between the Spartans and the Thebans ended in victory for the Theban army, commanded by Epameinondas, who orchestrated the successful tactic of the "oblique phalanx". Lacedaemonians lost 1.000 men and the Thebans either just 47, according to Pausanias [IX, 13.12], or 300, as stated by Diodorus Siculus [15.53-56].[54] The number 300, which alludes to the dead Spartans in the battle of Thermopylae, cannot be coincidental, particularly as the battle of Leuctra was the first (important) military defeat for the Spartans.[55] A limestone stele from the 4th century BC from Pyri in Thebes, mentions the names of the *boeotarch* and of the two generals, while the six-line epigram, inscribed in smaller characters underneath the names, reads:[56]

[52] As an example, she uses the Boeotian kantharos in Athens (NAM 12486), by the painter of the Athens Great kantharos, dated to 420 BC. On that vase, the young warrior is crowned with a wreath, but does not wear a helmet (Schild-Xenidou 2008, 65 n.320).

[53] Schild-Xenidou 2008, no.28, includes it in her catalogue of the Boeotian reliefs.

[54] The battle is also mentioned by Xenophon [*Hell*. 7.1] and Plutarch [*Pelopidas* 1.6]. See in addition Aravantinos 2010, 239–41. The trophy of the Battle of Leuctra was found in pieces by A. Orlandos in the site of Marmara, and he went on to make the first representation of the monument (*Ergon* 1958, 48–52; A. K. Orlandos, *PAE* 1958, 43–44).

[55] My sincere thanks to Yannis Xydopoulos, Associate Professor of Ancient Greek History at the Aristotle University, for this remark.

[56] *IG* VII 2462. The stele is housed in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes (AE 88); see Demakopoulou and Konsola 1998, 30; Aravantinos 2010, plate on p. 230; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 150–51, no.30.

Ξενοκράτης,
Θεόπομπος,
Μνασίλαος.
vacat
ἀνίκα τὸ Σπάρτας ἐκράτει δόρυ, τηνάκις εἶλεν
Ξεινοκράτης κλάρωι Ζηνὶ τροπαῖα φέρειν
οὐ τὸν ἀπ' Εὐρώτα δείσας στόλον οὐδὲ Λάκαιναν
ἀσπίδα. «Θηβαῖοι κρείσσονες ἐν πολέμωι»
καρύσσει Λεύκτροις νικαφόρα δουρὶ τροπαῖα,
οὐδ' Ἐπαμεινώνδα δεύτεροι ἐδράμομεν.

When Sparta was still mighty,
Xenokrates was chosen by chance to bring the trophy to Zeus,
without fear of the Eurotas' army or of the Laconian shields;
Thebans are superior at war!
The trophy for the battle at Leuctra clearly states it.
We were not second not even behind Epameinondas.

The only public monument of Theban fallen warriors that has been located up to date, is the tumulus of the dead of Chaeronea (338 BC).[57] According to Diodorus Siculus [16.85,3-87,3], as his ambassadors failed to dissuade the Thebans, Philip II went to battle, in which the then very young Alexander earned remarkable distinction. The Thebans suffered great losses, while many were taken as prisoners. The tumulus of the Thebans[58] was located east of Chaeronea, along with the one which was attributed to the Macedonians. It covered a large pit with 254 burials in three rows and seven successive layers, while outside the pit two more dead were discovered. All the dead had received a strigil as a grave gift, while the tomb was crowned with a marble lion, which as per Pausanias φέροι δ' ἂν ἐς τῶν ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα τὸν θυμόν [IX, 40.10-11].

II. Tanagra

A list of fallen warriors that has been attributed to the Tanagran warriors killed at the battle of Delion (424 BC)[59] came to light in the cemetery of Tanagra (**fig. 5**). In the inscription *IG* VII 585, 63 names, with no reference to patronymics, are preserved, two of which are identified as Eretrians, while mentioned among the men from Tanagra are Nikias (I.15), Saugenes (IV.4) and Koiranos (IV.1). Those three names are also inscribed in black limestone pediment stelae originating from the

[57] For the tumuli and the relative ancient texts, see Oikonomou 2012, 144–47.

[58] P. Stamatakis, *PAE* 1880, 22–25; Clairmont 1983, 240–42; Pritchett 1985, 136–38; Schröder 2020, 203–4.

[59] Schematari Museum 217. For the catalogue's attribution to the battle of Delion (424 BC) and not of Tanagra (426 BC), see Vénencie 1960, 611–14; Schilardi 1977, 22. Jeffery (1990, 94–95) notes that the mason of this inscription has less characteristic writing style than the mason of the Thespiae inscription. See also Schachter 2016, 108 notes 82 and 213.

Fig. 5 : Casualty list for Tanagra fallen warriors of the battle of Delion, 424 BC. Black limestone, 34 x 81 x 84 cm. Archaeological Museum of Schematari, 217. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Resources Fund

area of Tanagra and most probably coming from the same workshop as the ones from Thebes.

In the stele of Saugenes, the hoplite thrusts to the right, thus allowing the viewer to glimpse the inside of the shield he is holding with his left hand; as with the Theban stele of Rhynchon, the shield is adorned with the battle of Bellerophon against Chimaera. Saugenes seems to be under threat from a missile pictured near his head.[60] Keramopoullos believed that the dead worked as a metallurgist, as in the pediment, which depicts a funerary dinner, tools of this trade are displayed. On the other hand, Schachter[61] notes that the pediment of the stele of Saugenes – who is dressed as a *paravates*, like the Theban Rhynchon – depicts a symposium. Schröder[62] comments that this *stele* constitutes proof of the "utilisation of the fallen

[60] Keramopoullos 1920, 12–13. Threpsiades (1963, 14) comments that "the scene has the drama and vividness of the instant".

[61] Schachter (2016, 200–6) proposes that the dead depicted on the "black stelae" dressed as *paravatae*, that is Rynchon, Saugenes and perhaps also Pherenikos, belonged to a special corps that served as the model for the Theban Sacred Band. He bases his theory on the text of Thucydides [7.19,3 and 7.43,7], according to which, in 413 BC, the Spartans and their allies sent an army to Sicily; the Boeotians sent 300 men – a number that we encounter again later as the number of hoplites comprising the *Hieros Lochos* – with one Thespian and two Theban captains. He traces the origins of this special corps in the 6th c. BC as well as in the Persian Wars, and he believes that the testimony of Diodorus Siculus about the presence of charioteers and parabatae as *πρόμαχοι* (front line soldiers) at the battle of Delion proves that this elite troop existed.

[62] »Die Instrumentalisierung des Kriegstodes zum Repräsentation aristokratischer Eliten war in Tanagra also trotz der gleichzeitingen Verwendung von Gefallenenlisten gesellschaftlich anerkannt« (Schröder 2020, 225).

warriors for the projection of the aristocracy". The stele of Koiranos, partially saved, also belonged to a warrior monument, as evidenced by the preserved helmet worn by the figure.[63] Finally, the stele of Nikias depicts a warrior who charges to the right, wearing a conical helmet, and bearing a round shield and a spear.[64]

Two more black stone stelae are known today, however their precise provenance (Thebes or Tanagra) is not certain, as they were illegally sold abroad. The stele of Athanias, which was returned to the Museum of Thebes by the Getty Museum in 2006 (**fig. 6**), portrays the dead in a serene pose, while the inner side of his shield is decorated with the myth of Chimaera, again. A warrior is clearly depicted in a small fragment of a stele found in the Louvre,[65] where only the head of the figure is preserved, wearing a wreathed helmet.

Fig. 6 : Grave stele of Athanias, ca 400 BC. Black limestone, 170.2 x 80 x 19 cm. Archaeological Museum of Thebes, 47484. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Resources Fund

III. Thespiae

At the battle of Thermopylae, by the side of king Leonidas and his 300 elite men, fought 700 Thespians, under the command of general Demophilos, son of Diadromes [Hdt. 7.222]. Among those who stood out in the battle, was the Thespian Dithyrambos son of Armatides, as per Herodotus [7.227]. Over the tomb of the dead there was the epigram, ascribed to Philiadas of Megara [Steph. Byz. s.v. *Thespeia*]:

> ἄνδρες, τοί ποτ' ἔναιον ὑπὸ κροτάφοις Ἑλικῶνος
> λήματι τῶν αὐχεῖ Θεσπιὰς εὐρύχορος
>
> *Those men used to live on the slopes of Helikon;*
> *for their courage brag the spacious Thespiae*

However, neither the Spartan nor the Thespian tombs have been located.

[63] Thebes Museum 58; Schild-Xenidou 2008, no.58; Schachter 2016, 201.
[64] Athens NAM 5705; Schild-Xenidou 2008, no.63.
[65] Schachter 2016, 201. Schild-Xenidou 2008, no.62, does not believe he is a warrior.

The casualty lists linked to Thespiae, date after the Persian Wars. The earliest is preserved in a stele with 20 or 21 names, discovered in 1936.[66] Roesch believed that the letters denote an earlier date than the battle of Delion and he suggested a dating between 479 BC (battle of Plataea) and 447 BC (battle of Koroneia).

Eight intact marble stelae and a fragment of one more, which record the names of 102 men without corresponding patronymics, were located in the perimeter of a large funerary pyre near the east gate of Thespiae. The tomb and the stelae were attributed to the Thespians killed in the battle of Delion (424 BC).[67] They all have the same dimensions (1.05 x 0.46 m) and the names are inscribed line by line in the local alphabet and in the Boeotian dialect, by the same mason.[68] Initially, these stelae had been erected along the facade of the monument or on the tumulus and, in line with its reconstruction, it appears to have comprised 25 stelae with 300 names of fallen warriors.[69] At the midpoint of the tomb's north side, stood a marble lion.[70]

Between 410 and 400 BC a piece of stele is added, portraying a man in a standing pose, who wears a petasos and is holding a sword and its sheath, with a dog discernible behind his legs.[71] The fragment of a stele found on the way from Thespiae towards Leuctra, is dated to that same timespan.[72] The dead, clad in a breastplate, is depicted in the foreground holding a sword with his left hand, while in the background his horse is carved in (lesser) bas-relief.

Part of a marble casualty list was located in 1891 in Thebes.[73] Under the title: [ἐν τοῖι] πολέμοι ἀ[πέθανον], it retains fragments of 10 to 14 names, with no patronymics, and has been attributed to the fallen warriors of the Corinthian War.

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[66] *IG* VII 1889; Roesch 2009, no.484.

[67] The grave was located 50 km away from the battlefield, near the east gate of the city of Thespiae, where most probably the main cemetery was situated (see Schilardi 1977, 11). Despite the conclusion of the first excavator (P. Stamatakis, *PAE* 1883, 67–68) that the dead were the fallen warriors in the battle of Plataea in 479 BC, the interpretation of the inscriptions by Kirchhoff (1887, 139–143) showed that they were from the end of the 5th c. and therefore they are linked to the dead of Delion.

[68] Thebes Museum 2016–23; *IG* VII 1888; Schilardi 1977, 29–34; Jeffery (1990, 94–95) notes that the mason has made a very refined engraving.

[69] Schilardi (1977, 25, 29) thinks that were perhaps 30 stelae. Of particular interest is the fact that two of the names which are followed by patronymics are related to games, *πυθιονίκης* (winner in the Pythian Games) and *ὀλυμπιονίκης* (winner in the Olympic Games). Polynikos is identified as the winner of the Boys' Wrestling in the 83rd Olympic Games in 448 BC; Schilardi 1977, 29 and 34.

[70] P. Stamatakis, *PAE* 1883, 67–74; Kurtz and Boardman 1994, 226, 234–35; Clairmont (1983, 241) believes that the lion of Thespiae follows a tradition of symbolism, which began with the grave of the Lacedaemonians at Thermopylae. Schröder (2020, 223) thinks that the grave of the Thespian warriors influenced that of the Thebans in Chaeronea.

[71] Thebes Museum 37; Schild-Xenidou 2008, no.30.

[72] Thebes Museum 35; Schild-Xenidou 2008, no.31. Demakopoulou and Konsola (1998, 42), in contrast, date the stele to the early 4th c. BC. Aravantinos (2010, 273) places it between the late 5th and early 4th c. BC.

[73] Thebes Museum 1413; Roesch 2009, no.486; *SEG* 2.186.

Another stele, dating to 350–300 BC, bears the names of five dead along with the place of their deaths:[74] Φιλολάϊος vac.(?). | Φηγήας ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις. | Λαυκλῆς ἐν Ὠρωποῖ. | Φιλολάϊος ἐν Ὠρωποῖ. | Φιλολάϊος ἐν Κορωνείη. Jamot,[75] the first to publish the inscription, is not certain whether the order in which the names were inscribed necessarily corresponds to the chronological order in which they were killed. He surmises that the battle of Oenophyta is the one that took place in 458/457 BC, where the Athenians prevailed over the Spartans and the Boeotians, while Thucydides [9.95] identifies Oropos as a location that played an important role in 411 BC, when a naval battle was fought between Athenians and Spartans off the coast of Eretria, for the control of Euboea. He proposed that the battle of Koroneia took place either in 457 BC or in 394 BC. Schachter[76] comments that, if the names of the dead have been carved in the order they were killed, then Phigias was killed at Oenophyta in 458/457 BC, the following two dead perished at the battle of Oropos – which is perhaps more commonly known to us as the battle of Delion (424 BC) –[77] and the last dead was killed in the battle of Koroneia, in 394 BC. We should note, of course, that although Roesch includes this stele among the thespian *polyandria*, clearly in this case we are talking about a family monument and not a public monument for the fallen warriors.

IV. Plataea

Plataeans were the only ones to aid the Athenians in the battle of Marathon in 490 BC. Spyridon Marinatos published in 1970 a tumulus he had excavated in the valley of Vrana, 1.5km NW of the Athenian tumulus, which he attributed to the fallen Plataean warriors. This identification was not, however, accepted by all scholars.[78]

Pausanias [IX, 2.5] writes about the tombs of the fallen warriors from the battle of Plataea (479 BC), which were situated close to the city, as the traveler approached it moving eastwards, and he retells the information set out by Herodotus about the separate tombs of Spartans and Athenians, further noting that they were scribed with epigrams by Simonides. Although excavations took place in the area during the 1970s, in a continuous attempt to locate the tombs of the fallen warriors of 479 BC, the tombs were not identified.[79]

Only a single stele linked to the fallen warriors comes from Plataea, and it was located in second use, built in a modern dwelling in 1924. It is a marble casualty list,

[74] P. Jamot, who first published the stele, considers that it is a copy of the original stele that perished during the destruction of Thespiae by the Thebans in 423 BC (Plassart 1958, 133 no.174).

[75] Plassart 1958.

[76] Schachter 2016, 111.

[77] According to Schachter (1996, 117), the battle of 424 BC is titled the battle of Delion by the Athenians, because they sustained great losses there, as attested by Thucydides [4.91], but it is possible that the Boeotians referred to it as the battle of Oropos. The name *Philolaos* is inscribed on the stele of the fallen warriors of Delion (*IG* VII 1888).

[78] On this, see Oikonomou 2012, 112–16.

[79] Papachatzis 1992, 32–33 n.3. For the *Eleutheria* festival mentioned by Pausanias, see recently Schröder 2020, 307–8.

which was only just published in 2014,[80] and it contains 22 names in two columns, with no patronymics. The catalogue refers to the fallen Plataean warriors in Olynthos during the siege and the total destruction of the city by Philip II in 348 BC, but it is a copy of the original; this copy was erected around the 1st century BC.[81] Kalliotzis[82] believes that, since the city of Plataea was destroyed in 373 BC and was rebuilt after the battle of Chaeronea (383 BC), the text was carved on the stele of a cenotaph, which perhaps comprised part of a larger monument connected with fallen warriors from different battles and not just this particular encounter. He regards the prevalent trend observed during the 1st century BC to commemorate the heroic past, as one of the reasons for the erection of this monument, and he proposes that the cenotaph was situated at the centre of the city, most probably the Agora.

V. Other cities

An inscribed stele from **Thisbe**[83] is dated to 500 BC, in the transition from the 6th to the 5th century. The text names the dead who was killed in battle:[84]

> ἀσστοῖ[ς] καὶ χσένοισι Φάνες φίλος [ἐνθάδε κεῖται],
> [hó]ς ποτ' ἀρισστεύον ἐν προμάχοις [ἔθανε].
>
> *Loved by citizens and foreigners Phanes [lies here],*
> *who showing his valour in the front line [fell].*

According to Schachter, the dead most likely perished in the battle of 506 BC against the Athenians. The use of the words *ἀρισστεύον* and *προμάχοις* appears also in an ode by Pindar, written for the pankration athlete Strepsiades, around 454 BC.[85]

From the ancient **Kopae** (now Kastro) north of Boeotia,[86] comes an inscribed stele dating to either 479 or 457 BC:[87]

> [– ⏑⏑ – μ' ἔθ]ραφσεν, ἐπ' Ἀσοποῖ δὲ δαμασθὲς[. . . – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑]
> [– ⏑⏑ – – . . (.) θ]ρῆνον ἔθεκα, *h*ὲ τόδ' ἐπέστ[εσε ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑]
> [– ⏑ ⏑ – –. — — …]οισα τὸν *h*υιὸν Καφι[… — — —].[88]

[80] Thebes Museum 2343, see Kalliontzis 2014.

[81] Both the form of the letters as well as the use of the symbol in the second line, which appears to separate the first two names of the stele, bring to mind a text from the 1st c. BC; Kalliontzis 2014, 339.

[82] Kalliontzis 2014, 339–45.

[83] Thisbe was in south Boeotia – west of Kreusis – and it had access to the Corinthian gulf through the Vathy bay (see Papachatzis 1992, 200 n.1).

[84] *IG* VII 2247; *CEG* I 112.

[85] Schachter 2016, 205–6.

[86] This lakeside city was situated on a hill, by the north bank of lake Kopais; see Papachatzis 1992, 161 n.1.

[87] Fossey (1991, 169–70), who saw the stele *in situ* before it was taken to the Museum of Thebes, notes that it was located SW of the hill, toward lake Kopais, where there was a cemetery.

[88] Fossey (1991, 174) filled in the text as follows: [ΟΝΟΜΑ μ' ἔθ]ραφσεν, ἐπ' Ἀσοποῖ δὲ

Koumanoudes,[89] who first published the text, opined that the inscription, written in dactylic hexameter, speaks of a hoplite killed in a battle that took place close to the Boeotian river Asopos, that is to say the battle of Oenophyta in 457 BC. Fossey[90] disagrees with Koumanoudes' interpretation of the term *μ' ἔθ]ραφσεν*, as he does not believe that it makes any reference to some depiction of the dead on the stele. Furthermore, despite being skeptical about attributing the stele to a fallen warrior, he seeks other battles predating 457 BC, where the dead could have been killed; nevertheless, he suggests none, nor does he take a clear position about dating the stele. Schachter[91] on the other hand, considers that the stele most likely dates to 479 BC and is linked to the battle of Plataea, even though the form of the inscribed letters can be used as an argument of either the earlier or the later chronological dating.

Another stele comes from **Atalante**; despite being found almost intact, today only the bottom half is preserved. It depicts a warrior striding to the right, a portrayal reminiscent of the iconography of the "black stelae", and is dated between 420 and 410 BC.[92]

A fragment of a stele, depicting a warrior who libates from a phiale in his right hand, dates to 410 – 400 BC. The stele originates from **Kreusis**, a seaport of Thespiae in the Corinthian Gulf. The hoplite is in right profile, wearing a helmet and holding a shield and a spear with his left hand, and a libation *phiale* with the right. Quite possibly, as claimed by Schild-Xenidou,[93] a second figure was also depicted in the same stele.

A black stone stele found in **Asopia** portrays the dead Pherenikos charging to the right. His shield is adorned with the battle of Bellerophon against Chimaera, as in the aforementioned cases of Rhynchon and Saugenes.[94]

Conclusions

One would expect that the image of a hoplite or horseman would be enough to conclusively identify the depicted dead as a fallen warrior. Still, we can never be certain, if the capacity of the dead is not stated explicitly in an inscription on the

δαμασθὲς | [μάχῃ ματέρ' ἐμᾶι πένθος πολύ]θρενον ἔθεκα, | *h*ὲ τόδ' ἐπέστ[εσε σμα ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑] | [– ⏑ ⏑ – – δακρυ]οῖσα τὸν *h*υιὸν Καφι[σόδορον.]

[89] Koumanoudis 1969.

[90] Fossey 1991, 175–80.

[91] Schachter 2016, 111 no.6. Wallace (1970, 104) also agreed with the earlier dating. See in addition Clairmont 1970, 167–68.

[92] Schild-Xenidou 2008, no.26.

[93] Schild-Xenidou 2008, 66.

[94] We know of two more pediment "black stelae": the stele of Bresadas (Thebes Museum 190) – of unknown exact origin – which may be linked to a warrior, if indeed a horse or a horseman is depicted on its left worn section (see Schild-Xenidou 2008, no.64), while we cannot be certain about the stele of Panharos from Akraiphia, because the preserved part of dead's head does not bear a helmet. Schachter (2016, 231) thinks that the name of Pherenikos could be inscribed in the casualty list of 424 BC from Tanagra but has not been saved.

sema. On the other hand, if we accept the interpretation that some warrior images do not belong to fallen warriors, we should try and seek the reason for employing the warrior iconography. There is, of course, the issue of *status* display through the burials and the monuments, a long lasting debate between the researchers; many[95] have argued that the presence of weapons as burial gifts and the image of warriors on the monuments should be interpreted not only in connection with war but as pure *status* symbols. Despite that, most researchers recognize the interpretation of the fallen warrior for all dead depicted with warrior symbols, even when the figure is set amidst a family and not a battle scene. It is really hard to imagine employing the iconography of a warrior for a dead who was not killed in battle, nevertheless, nothing could prevent a family from portraying their dead according to their (or his) wishes.

The funerary monuments of Boeotia do not present the same chronological discontinuity as their Attic counterparts,[96] since their production was not interrupted, at least from the 6th until the 4th century BC. However, among the corpus of the known Boeotian funerary monuments, those linked to fallen warriors – public and private – are few. This could be interpreted in several ways. On the one hand, it is to be expected that the cities which had joined forces with the Medes would not keep monuments of that period; in contrast, the two cities, Plataea and Thespiae, who fought alongside the other Greeks, suffered great destructions. Also important, is the lack of findings due to the relatively limited excavations in the area, in combination with the inevitable damages ensuing from the continual habitation and use of this area up to date.

The earliest casualty list known to us is the one of the warriors killed in Marathon in 490 BC.[97] Larger pieces and fragments of catalogues are abundant in Attica. However, catalogues gradually appear in other cities too, an occurrence which can be attributed to the influence of the Athenian tradition.[98] That said, it is significant that all Boeotian casualty lists known today originate from Thespiae, Plataea and Tanagra, however, not from the city of Thebes.[99] This absence may be due to the rivalry between Thebans and Athenians and also to the influence of Athens mainly on its allied cities. Schröder[100] proposed that the monument of

[95] One of the first was Nicholas Coldstream (1977, 152, 196, 350 and elsewhere), followed by Antony Snodgrass (1980, 300) who re-visited the concept of "aristocratic warrior-ethic", and more recently by Nathan Arrington (2011, 195–96) who argued that the Athenian casualty lists through the place-names of the battles, could bring to mind of the reader the Athenian sovereignty.

[96] For the monuments of Athens and Attica, see Oikonomou forthcoming.

[97] Steinhauer 2004–2009; Valavanis 2010.

[98] Schröder 2020, 221–23.

[99] Schröder (2020, 226) categorises *IG* VII 2427 – which dates to just before the middle of the 4th c. BC – as a casualty list of Theban fallen warriors. However, it is not certain that this catalogue, which preserves 28 names followed by patronymics, was in fact a casualty list.

[100] Schröder 2020, 224.

the fallen Thespian warriors in the battle of Delion constitutes additional proof of the propagation of the Athenian customs to other cities, as the transportation of dozens of dead 50 kilometres away from the battlefield resembles the Athenian *patrios nomos*.[101]

Schachter,[102] commenting on the fact that the majority of the Boeotian "black stelae" is attributed to Tanagrans and Thebans and none to Thespians, concludes that the answer lies in the immense losses sustained by the Thespians in Delion in 424 BC, in line with the information provided by Thucydides. He underlines that the city of Thespiae honoured its dead with a common monument, clearly of considerable importance, and that the number of families who had lost someone was so great, that it was impossible to have private stelae erected. Nevertheless, Schachter's argument is rather unconvincing, since there was a common monument in Tanagra also – as suggested by the presence of the casualty list with 63 names – and some of the dead were celebrated with a private stele as well.

Private warrior monuments have been located all over Boeotia, although of limited iconographical diversity, compared with the equivalent Attic stelae. In any case, the existence of private monuments for the fallen warriors buried in a common grave and honored with a common monument, like in Tanagra for instance, does not appear to be explained on the basis of socioeconomic interrelations, as in the case of Athens. And that is because, the existence of a public cemetery or ritual has not been established for any Boeotian city in the very specific form of the Athenian *patrios nomos*. On the other hand, the presence of private stelae for warriors, buried in a common grave with their comrades in arms and honoured in a common monument, is certainly linked with the family's desire and its means to distinguish their dead, in the manner in which they saw fit. Schröder's observation with regard to the employment of the iconography of fallen warriors in order to promote the aristocracy is of great interest. Should we accept this claim, then we could establish the existence of the attempted distinction of certain dead for reasons of aggrandizing their aristocratic line in the case of Boeotia (at least in Thebes and Tanagra). In fact, perhaps the association of the "black stelae" with the dead of the battle of Delion, where the Thebans, the Tanagrans and their allies successfully faced the Athenians, might also not be coincidental. As a result of this battle, stelae were erected, in which some of the dead with attributes were portrayed: a) as victors bearing wreathed helmets, and b) with clear references to a known myth also related to the triumph over a monstrous enemy. One cannot exclude the possibility that the victory in Delion and the funerary monuments built for those killed in the battle, comprise the first opportunity afforded to the two cities that had joined forces with the Medes to honor their dead warriors and, what's more, as the victors over a longstanding enemy, the city of Athens.

[101] For the Athenian *patrios nomos* see Jacoby 1944; Clairmont 1983.

[102] Schachter 2016, 199.

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