



## Inscribing Defeat: The Commemorative Dynamics of the Athenian Casualty Lists

Beginning ca. 500 BC, the Athenians annually buried their war dead in a public cemetery and marked their graves with casualty lists. This article explores the formal and expressive content of the lists, focusing in particular on their relationship to defeat. The lists created a monumental, visual rhetoric of collective resilience and strength that capitalized on Athenian notions of manhood and exploited conceptions of shame. For most of the fifth century, the casualty lists were undecorated, austere monuments testifying to the endurance of the community. When decoration began anew, the public reliefs, in contrast to private funerary reliefs, represented, through imagery and setting, struggle rather than victory. The selective remembrance and, paradoxically, frequent forgetting both enacted and enabled by the lists helped the Athenians elide internal political strife and facilitated their repeated return to the fields of war.

Near the end of the mid-fourth-century Social War, Isokrates urged the Athenians to seek peace with her erstwhile allies and to embrace the principles of Hellenic autonomy stipulated by the early fourth-century King's Peace.<sup>1</sup> In his text, Isokrates questions the profits of war and criticizes the aggression of the fifth-century Athenian empire (*archē*):

So far did [fifth-century Athenians] surpass all men in folly that whereas defeats humble the rest of mankind and make them more sensible, they did not teach those men a lesson. And yet they fell into more and greater [defeats] during the period of their hegemony than occurred in the whole

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1. See esp. Isok. 8.16.

history of the city. . . . In the end they did not notice that they had filled the public graves with their citizens.<sup>2</sup>

In this passage, Isokrates presents his reader or listener with two paradoxes. The first is that the fifth-century Athenians, who envisaged themselves in art and text as paradigms of *sōphrosynē* (moderation), whose city Perikles described in a funeral oration as the “school of Greece,” did not learn from defeat.<sup>3</sup> The second is that the public graves, intended to preserve *mnēmē* (memory), were subject instead to a collective *lēthē*.<sup>4</sup> Isokrates’ use of the word *taphos* rather than *mnēma* to describe the tombs removes even the graves’ etymological relationship with memory.<sup>5</sup> The orator also implies that there is a causal, or at the least a temporal, relationship between the two paradoxes: the Athenians were so aggressive in their imperial policy, so blind in their pursuit of power, that they failed to notice the human cost of their undertaking. It is evident, though, that despite Isokrates’ qualifier “in the end,” this act of forgetfulness could not have been performed only in the final years of the fifth century. Rather, fighting, death, and *lēthē* went hand-in-hand. Isokrates even leaves open the possibility of reconfiguring the causal relationship between the two paradoxes: the Athenians did not learn from their defeats because they forgot their dead.<sup>6</sup>

This rhetoric of forgetfulness should come as a surprise because, as Isokrates well knew, in the fifth century the Athenians had a system for commemorating military casualties. In each year of interstate conflict the ashes of the war dead were brought home, put on public display for three days, brought to the public cemetery where a funeral oration was delivered, buried in communal graves marked by casualty lists, and given the tribute of funeral competitions.<sup>7</sup> These practices were not common to all of Greece, since many other *poleis* buried their

2. Isok. 8.85–86, 88: τοσοῦτον δὲ διήγεγκαν ἀνοίᾳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰ συμφοραὶ συστέλλουσι καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἐμφρονεστέρους, ἐκεῖνοι δ’ οὐδ’ ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπαιδεύθησαν. καίτοι πλείοσιν καὶ μείζοσιν περιέπεσον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης τῶν ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ τῆ πόλει γεγενημένων. . . . τελευτῶντες δ’ ἔλαθον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν τάφους τοὺς δημοσίουσ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐμπλήσαντες.

3. Thuc. 2.41.1.

4. Low 2010: 353–57 discusses this passage and the neglect of the public graves at Athens, mostly drawing on the absence of references to the graves in literary texts. A treatment of forgetfulness already underlies the discussion of the war dead in Arrington 2010a. On collective memory, most famously discussed by Maurice Halbwachs, see Coser 1992 and Cubitt 2007: 154–71.

5. Contrast, e.g., Dem. 18.208, where the public graves are *mnēmata*. Since the dead lie (καίμενοι) in these graves, it is clear that both a *mnēma* and a *taphos* could be filled. See also Pl. *Men.* 242c, where the war dead are put (τιμηθέντες) in a *mnēma*.

6. One might object that not noticing (ἔλαθον) is not the equivalent of forgetting, but that objection does not account for the habitual act of forgetting required by the passage. By claiming that the Athenians did not notice that year after year they had filled their cemetery, Isokrates implies that in any given year the Athenians forgot the numbers and costs of the past years. Indeed, he does not say that they did not notice that they were filling the cemetery (with a present participle), but that they did not notice that they had already done so (with an aorist participle).

7. The most important treatments of various aspects of this *nomos* are Jacoby 1944, Stupperich 1977, Loraux 1981, Clairmont 1983.

dead on the battlefield.<sup>8</sup> In other words, the Athenians seem to have gone to particular lengths to remember their dead. Is Isokrates, then, simply wrong?

The funeral orations delivered over the war dead suggest this may be the case, for they repeatedly speak of the immortal glory—and hence memory—of the deceased. Lysias says that their *mnēmai* are ageless (*agēratōi*).<sup>9</sup> He praises the ancestors of the dead for holding that “a glorious death leaves a deathless account of brave men.”<sup>10</sup> Similarly, Perikles (via Thucydides) refers to the undying (*agēron*) praise the dead receive.<sup>11</sup> But the orators speaking over the graves simultaneously throw the efficacy of memory into question. All funerary orations begin with a caveat on the limits of speech (*logos*) to recount the memory of deeds (*erga*).<sup>12</sup> On the one hand, such comments serve to highlight the magnitude of the *erga*, but they also reflect a real inability to fully render an account in one speech of several events and many individuals. And for the most part the funeral orations do not attempt to render such accounts, instead focalizing exploits from the (oftentimes distant) past.<sup>13</sup> Lysias further makes the point that even eyewitnesses distort battlefield memories. When describing the battle of Salamis, he claims: “Indeed because of their present fear they thought that they saw many things they did not see, and that they heard many things they did not hear.”<sup>14</sup> Coupled with these repeated warnings on the insufficiency of commemorative discourse and the frailty of personal recollection are injunctions that survivors actually should forget the dead. Perikles urges the parents of the dead to have children in order to forget their loved ones.<sup>15</sup> Lysias similarly pities those who are too old to forget the dead, implying that forgetting the fallen was the desired norm.<sup>16</sup>

Isokrates’ statement, then, does not seem that far from the truth. Perikles further undermines the view that the Athenian military ceremony successfully preserved the memory of the dead when he questions the capacity of the public graves and their stelai adequately to record memory. In explaining why the memory of the war dead is undying, he shifts the locus of memory work from the graves to individual minds and from written to unwritten testimony:

For the whole earth is the grave of famous men, and not only does the inscription on stelai at home mark (*sēmainei*) [them], but the unwritten

8. Compare, for instance, the case of Sparta, where some war dead received graves in the city, but most others were buried on or near the battlefield: Low 2006.

9. Lys. 2.79.

10. Lys. 2.23: νομίζοντες τὸν εὐκλεᾶ θάνατον ἀθάνατον περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καταλείπει λόγον.

11. Thuc. 2.43.2.

12. Thuc. 2.35.1–2, Lys. 2.1–2, Pl. *Men.* 237a, Dem. 60.1, Hyp. 6.2 (fragmentary).

13. For the “Tatenkatalog,” see Kierdorf 1966: 89–95.

14. Lys. 2.39: ἢ που διὰ τὸν παρόντα φόβον πολλὰ μὲν ᾤθησαν ἰδεῖν ὧν οὐκ εἶδον, πολλὰ δ’ ἀκοῦσαι ὧν οὐκ ἤκουσαν.

15. Thuc. 2.43.3.

16. Lys. 2.72.

memory of their attitude rather than their deed dwells in each person's mind in foreign lands.<sup>17</sup>

At first it may seem that the (imaginative) dynamics adumbrated in this passage would increase the memory of the dead. But when read more closely, the bravura of the rhetoric exposes the speaker's awareness of the mnemonic limits of the Athenian commemorative system. Since this passage is used to explain the reasons the memory of the dead is immortal, the implication of the shift from monuments to hearts is that the graves were not sufficient in and of themselves to preserve that memory but necessitated a further unwritten memory. The importance of the stelai recedes when they are juxtaposed with the whole earth and with every mind in foreign lands. The commemorative capability of the stelai is thrown into further doubt in the manner by which the verb *sēmainō* is deployed in the passage. The verb governs no direct object, leaving the reader or listener to wonder what exactly these stones mark.

*What*, indeed, are the casualty lists, the constitutive elements of the Athenian public burials, commemorating, and *how* are they commemorating it? This immediately presents another question: what and how are they forgetting or neglecting? Whether or not one accepts Isokrates' views, the fact remains that no monument or group of monuments ever can provide a comprehensive history of past events. To the extent that the monuments emplot a particular narrative, gaps inevitably will be present. As Marc Augé eloquently put it, "Memories are crafted by oblivion as the outlines of the shore are created by the sea."<sup>18</sup> But the forgetting, the omitting, and the eliding involved in public commemoration should not be envisaged as something as routine, predictable, and benign as a wave lapping a beach. As Isokrates suggests, forgetfulness could be a strategy with profound consequences. More importantly, commemoration does not entail a simple give and take between forgetting or remembering, an either/or scenario. Defeat and loss could be reconfigured, transformed, and framed to be remembered in a particular manner.

This article seeks to uncover the commemorative dynamics of the Athenian casualty lists. More specifically, it investigates the collective Athenian response to defeat and death in the fifth century, the period to which most of the surviving lists belong, by exploring the narrative the stelai emplotted at Athens. An analysis of the content, form, and setting (socio-cultural, topographic, and political)

17. Thuc. 2.43.3: ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκειᾷ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ' ἐκάστῳ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδιατᾶται. For the translation of γνώμη as "attitude," see Rusten 1989: 148.

18. Augé 2004: 20. Cf. Ricoeur 2004: 85: "Memory can be ideologized through the resources of the variations offered by the work of narrative configuration. . . It is, more precisely, the selective function of the narrative that opens to manipulation the opportunity and the means of a clever strategy, consisting from the outset in a strategy of forgetting as much as in a strategy of remembering."

of the casualty lists shows how they commemorated collective courage and sacrifice, alternately marking and eliding defeat to create a visual rhetoric of collective resilience and continuous struggle (*agōn*). The expressive capacity of the casualty lists reveals how the public commemoration of the war dead was an active rather than a passive process. The ceremony, with its burial and oration and games, was an active response to a situation that challenged the integrity and confidence of the community and an active effort to create, in monumental form, an aggressive, unifying narrative about Athens and the Athenians.

#### THE FORMAT OF THE ATHENIAN CASUALTY LISTS

The casualty lists were erected in the *dēmosion sēma*, the public cemetery, every year in which there were war dead (**Figure 1**).<sup>19</sup> The format of the lists varies in details, but typically they begin with a heading, “These men died,”<sup>20</sup> sometimes specifying “in the war,”<sup>21</sup> “of the Athenians” in the genitive,<sup>22</sup> or “Athenians” in the nominative,<sup>23</sup> once adding “in the same year,”<sup>24</sup> and often including in the heading references to the location of the battles.<sup>25</sup> Geographical rubrics also can appear as subheadings,<sup>26</sup> or the location of the battle may be enunciated in the epigram on the base.<sup>27</sup> On one occasion a catch-all “These men died in the other battles,” without geographical specifications, concludes a list.<sup>28</sup> There might be an epigram on the top of the stele,<sup>29</sup> on the bottom of the stele,<sup>30</sup> or (perhaps more commonly) on the base into which the stele was set.<sup>31</sup> The names of the dead were written without patronymics and organized according to the ten Attic tribes established by Kleisthenes. On eleven stones one or more names are preceded

19. On the *dēmosion sēma*, see Arrington 2010a: 17–50; Arrington 2010b. On the Athenian casualty lists, see esp. Bradeen 1969; Stupperich 1977: 4–22; Clairmont 1983: 46–54; Pritchett 1985: 139–40; Lewis 2000–2003; Low 2010; Low forthcoming.

20. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1147, 1148, 1162, 1166, 1183, 1191, 1193 *bis*; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 5221 and 5222 (for cavalry). I do not include *SEG* 48.83 in this description of content because the full publication of the stele has not yet appeared.

21. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1147, 1166, 1191.

22. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1162, 1183, 1193 *bis*; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 5221.

23. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1191.

24. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1147.

25. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1147, 1162, 1183; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 5221, 5222 (for cavalry).

26. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1144, 1180, 1184; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 5222 (for cavalry).

27. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 503/4, 1179.

28. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1162, ll. 41–42. Cf. *SEG* 52.60, l. 33.

29. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1148; *SEG* 48.83, 49.370.

30. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1162.

31. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 503/4, 1163d-f, 1179; so, too, on the public bases (not for casualties) 1154b and 1178. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1142, 1143, 1167, 1170, 1173, 1181 have epigrams and may be bases for casualty lists. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1148 bears an epigram but is too mutilated to identify as a base rather than a stele.

by an identifying label, such as “trierarch.”<sup>32</sup> Occasionally non-Athenians and servants or slaves were included on the lists.<sup>33</sup>

The lists were carved out of marble, usually identified as Pentelic. They sometimes preserve flat undersides that were set upon a base or into long slots cut into a base.<sup>34</sup> Vertical dowels could be used to secure them in place: *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1186* and *SEG 52.60* preserve dowel holes on their undersides,<sup>35</sup> and on the long base *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1163d-f* there are four cuttings for vertical dowels (**Figure 2**).<sup>36</sup> A stele with inscription and figural relief found east of the Larissa train station, near Palaiologou Konstantinou street and herein referred to as the Palaiologou stele and relief (*SEG 48.83*), is dated to the 420s BC and is the first list with a tenon. The only other is *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1191*, dated to the late fifth century.

The earliest example of crowning decoration for a list (apart from a molding) is preserved only in the report of a lost drawing. A. Boeckh in *CIG* describes having seen a drawing in U. Koehler’s papers made by L. F. S. Fauvel of a frieze associated with the list for the dead from Poteidaia (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1179*, 432 BC).<sup>37</sup> According to Boeckh, the drawing depicted three warriors fighting on a slab above the base for the casualty list of Poteidaia dead. Fauvel’s transcription of the epigram has been found, but not the drawing, and it is quite possible that the relief never belonged with the monument. The earliest surviving example of crowning decoration is the Palaiologou relief (*SEG 48.83*), dating to the 420s and described in detail below. The cuttings on the top of the lists also speak against

32. στ[ρα]τεγῶν (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1147*, l. 5), στρατεγός (*idem*, l. 62), τοχσόται (*idem*, l. 67), μάντις (*idem*, l. 129); στρατεγός (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1162*, l. 4); τριέραρχος (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1166*, l. 2); τοχσόται (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1184*, l. 79); [— — — τριέραρχος (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1186*, l. 75), [— — — περι]πόλαρχος (*idem*, l. 77), ταχσίαρχος (*idem*, l. 79), τόχσαρχος (*idem*, l. 80), τριέραρχος (*idem*, l. 108); τριέ (sic, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1190*, ll. 3, 42), φυσικός (*idem*, l. 152), φύλαρχ (*idem*, l. 179); [τ . . . . αρχος (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1191*, ll. 33, 200), [τ . . . .]αρχος (*idem*, l. 35), [τριέρ]αρχος (*idem*, ll. 37, 39, 41), [τριέρα]ρχος (*idem*, l. 43), τριέρ[αρχοι] (*idem*, l. 56), ἠοπλ[ῖται] (*idem*, l. 60), ἄρχων | τῷ ναυτικῷ (*idem*, ll. 105–106, 108–109), ταχσίαρχος (*idem*, ll. 111, 113), τριέραρχος (*idem*, ll. 115, 117, 119, 121), [τ . . . .]αρχος (*idem*, l. 198), [τριέραρ]χος (*idem*, l. 202); [τριέραρχ]ος (*idem*, l. 204); τριέραρχ (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1192*, l. 8), τριέρ[ρ]αρχ (*idem*, l. 34), ἠππο[τοχσότες] (*idem*, l. 158); στρατηγός (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 5221*, col. VI (l. 2), [σ]τρατηγός[ς] (*idem* col. XI l. 2); φύλαρχος (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 5222*); *hippotoxotēs* (*SEG 48.83*, unpublished).

33. Foreigners (not including instances of non-Athenian names, e.g. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1158*, ll. 3, 5, 7): [Μαδ]ύτιοι (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1144*, l. 34), [Βυζά]ντιο[ι] (*idem*, l. 118); Ἐλευθερῶθεν (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1162*, l. 96); [τοχσόται βάρβ]αροι (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1172*, l. 35); [χ]σέννοι (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1180*, l. 5), [β]άρβαροι | [τ]οχσόται (*idem*, ll. 26–27); ἔνγρ[α]φοι (reading very disputed, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1184*, l. 76), χσέννοι (*idem*, l. 89); χσέννοι (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1190*, l. 65), το[χ]σόται | [β]άρβαροι (*idem*, ll. 136–37); τοχ[σόται] | βάρβαροι (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1192*, ll. 148–49). Servants or slaves: [θ]εράπογγες (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1144*, l. 139); Paus. 1.29.7. On the question of the inclusion of rowers on the lists, see Strauss 2000.

34. Flat undersides: *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1147*, 1150, 1156, 1184, 1186, 1190; *SEG 52.60*; bases with slot cuttings: *IG I<sup>3</sup> 503/4*, 1178; base without slot cuttings: *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1163d-f*.

35. The dowel holes on the underside of *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1186* are not noted in *IG I<sup>3</sup>* but described in Mastrokostas 1955; see esp. Mastrokostas 1955: 182–83, figs. 1–2.

36. On vertical fastening systems, see Orlandos 1959–1960: 189–202.

37. *CIG I*, p. 906 (supplement to no. 170); Hölscher 1973: 104–105, 263n.540; Stupperich 1977: 16–17; Clairmont 1983: 174–75. Stupperich 1978: 92–93 speculates that it might be associated with the relief in Oxford, on which see further 197–98, below.

crowning decoration on the lists for most of the fifth century. The only dowel holes for vertical attachments on the lists are on the late fifth-century list *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1186* and the Palaiologou stele itself, where it probably secured an anthemion above the figural relief.<sup>38</sup> Thus the practice of adorning the casualty lists with sculpture cannot be shown to have existed before the last third of the fifth century, around the same time as private funerary sculpture also began anew. For most of this century, the lists were austere: either completely undecorated or crowned only by a simple molding.<sup>39</sup> The absence of figural decoration carries important implications for the semantics of the lists, including their relationship to private art, that will be addressed in greater detail later in this article.

The tribal organization of the names indicates that the practice of erecting casualty lists must postdate Kleisthenes' reforms of 508/7 BC.<sup>40</sup> A casualty list in Attic script with a tribal heading found on Lemnos dates to the early fifth century and probably commemorates the Athenians who died under Miltiades in 498.<sup>41</sup> Fragments of the tribal casualty lists once decorating the *soros* for the Marathonomachoi were found at the villa of Herodes Atticus at Eva Loukou.<sup>42</sup> At Athens itself, in the area of the *dēmosion sēma*, there was a base for the casualty lists for the Marathonomachoi,<sup>43</sup> and Pausanias mentions graves from a conflict with Aigina that he specifies occurred before the Persian invasion.<sup>44</sup> Also from the public cemetery is a possible tumulus for the war dead dating to the first quarter of the fifth century.<sup>45</sup> We can conclude that the format of the lists was in place ca. 500 and that the habit of erecting casualty lists at Athens began ca. 500, although in this early stage of the *nomos* not all the war dead were buried at Athens.

According to Pausanias' description of the *dēmosion sēma*, the lists were set up throughout the fourth century. He even describes a grave for Athenians who aided the Romans against the Carthaginians.<sup>46</sup> Few examples later than

38. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1161* has a roundish hole in the center of the upper surface not noted in the *IG I<sup>3</sup>* publication, and it is probably modern. For vertical attachments to stelai, see *IG I<sup>3</sup> 35, 40*; *SEG 28.46*; Lawton 1992; Hildebrandt 2006: 106–107, 355–56, 369–70, nos. 292 (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 6007*), 328 (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 6609*).

39. Several scholars have instead thought that friezes were a regular feature of the casualty lists: Brueckner 1910: 193 (but cf. his comments on the sober appearance of the graves on 211); Clairmont 1972: 54–55; Loraux 1981: 51; Pritchett 1985: 157; Rawlings 2007: 199. See also Stupperich 1994, for a view of lavish artistic display in the *dēmosion sēma*. Some might cite as an example of public art earlier than the last third of the fifth century a relief for Melanopos and Makartatos, which Pausanias describes in the *dēmosion sēma*, but it is probably a private relief. It is discussed below.

40. See Arrington 2010b: 503–506 for a fuller discussion of the start date of public burial in the *dēmosion sēma* and the related practice of erecting casualty lists.

41. *IG 12 Supp. 337*.

42. *SEG 49.370, 51.425, 53.354, 55.413*; Steinhauer 2004–2009; Steinhauer 2009: 122; Spyropoulos 2009.

43. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 503/4*; Matthaiou 2003: 197–200; Arrington 2010b: 505–506.

44. Paus. 1.29.7; it may have been in 491/0 or 487/6.

45. Stoupa 1997: 52.

46. Paus. 1.29.14. On the date of the event, probably ca. 200 BC, see Pritchett 1985: 148–49n.164. Bradeen 1964: 58 doubts the veracity of the event.

the fifth century, though, survive. D. W. Bradeen proposes that one inscription, with a tribal heading and the rubric for a general, belonged to the casualty list for Chaironeia.<sup>47</sup> S. Dow has also suggested some candidates for fourth-century lists.<sup>48</sup> Yet the latest securely dated casualty list is for the dead from battles in Corinth and Boiotia in 394/3.<sup>49</sup>

There are two possible explanations for the dearth of fourth-century lists, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The first is that perhaps sometime in the fourth century the names began to be inscribed on the lists in a different manner than before, which has made them more difficult to identify. For instance, the demotic may have been included at this point,<sup>50</sup> which would explain Pausanias' testimony that the casualty lists included the deme, which is at odds with our fifth-century remains.<sup>51</sup> However the change in recording manifested itself, it would have coincided with a change in conscription. In the fifth century, a general or generals drew up *katalogoi* of eligible hoplites by tribe, based on lists provided by demarchs, and with the help of each tribe's taxiarch. Sometime between 386 and 366, the hoplites were conscripted instead by age classes from one master list.<sup>52</sup> It is likely that the same lists were used both for organizing the muster roll and for creating the casualty lists. Thus the change in the epigraphical record may reflect the change in the conscription process. The second explanation for the absence of fourth-century lists may be the location of Athenian rescue excavations, which have fallen mostly along the lines of the ancient roads. Less work has been done in the space between the roads.<sup>53</sup> Not only did the public cemetery certainly extend into this area, but this region may have been less plundered.<sup>54</sup> The graves immediately alongside the road were a more convenient source of raw material than those off the beaten track. If many fourth-century state graves lay between the road that ran from the Dipylon Gate and the road that went from a gate at modern Leokoriou and Dipylou streets, then there may be some hope that future excavations will uncover more of the fourth-century casualty lists.

47. Bradeen 1964: 55–58; *SEG* 21.825; Bradeen 1974: 33–34, no. 25. Bradeen 1974: 33, no. 24 also puts a base for casualty lists in the fourth century.

48. Dow 1983: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2364 (=I<sup>3</sup> 1039), 2365 (=I<sup>3</sup> 1045), 2368, 2376 (according to Dow, ca. 400); 2426 (=I<sup>3</sup> 516, according to Dow, fourth century); 2399 (according to Dow, mid-fourth century); 2392 (=2404, according to Dow, after the mid-fourth century). Lewis 2000–2003: 15–17 discusses how I<sup>3</sup> 516, 1039, and 1045 belong in the fifth century, and II<sup>2</sup> 2392 in the first half of the second century.

49. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5221 and, for cavalry of the same year, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5222.

50. Lewis 2000–2003: 17.

51. Paus. 1.29.4: στῆλαι τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκάστου λέγουσαι.

52. This reconstruction of the conscription process follows Christ 2001.

53. See the maps plotting the rescue excavation locations in Arrington 2010a: 224–25.

54. Lewis 2000–2003: 17 suggests along slightly different lines that a section of the cemetery reserved for the fourth-century graves was covered in antiquity. Thus the lists from that section were not reused for construction material.

A “RHETORIC OF MANHOOD”<sup>55</sup>

The stones name and thereby commemorate the dead. Yet they stress certain aspects of their identity over others: the dead are *Athenians*, they are *men*, and they died *fighting*. Lacking demotics and patronymics, the names become a collective unified under the heading, “These of the Athenians...” The organization of the lists by Kleisthenic tribes points to the democratic ordering of Attica and suggests that the Athenians are categorized and conceived on the stones primarily as democratic citizens.<sup>56</sup> The democratic ideology at work on the lists rarely praises one type of Athenian over another, nor does it privilege a citizen over a non-citizen who died for the city. A hoplite is listed above an archer; foreigners are included, as are slaves.<sup>57</sup> The concept of “Athenian” at work here is broad. The lists on the stones create a collective made possible by democratic ideals, but it is a collective whose common denominator is not Athenian citizenship *per se* but service with the Athenian army. Accordingly, as opposed to other city lists that identify their dead with patronymics or even with a reference to their victories in panhellenic competitions,<sup>58</sup> thereby using extra-polis competition to denote virtue, the few rubrics accompanying the Athenian names refer to military rank. The tie that binds is military service for the city.

It is a rhetoric of manhood, then, that we find on the Athenian casualty lists. For not only do the lists present the casualties as a collective of men who served in the military, but as men who proved their manliness by facing danger and dying while fighting. The epigrams on the lists make this point. The epigram heading the casualty list from the Marathon *soros* found in reuse at the villa of Herodes Atticus at Eva Loukou claims that *phēm̄is* will tell “how they died *fighting* with the Medes ... the few against many.”<sup>59</sup> An epigram for the dead perhaps from 447 begins, “These men by the Hellespont lost their brilliant youth *fighting*.”<sup>60</sup> Similarly, an epigram for cavalry concludes by stating that

55. I take the phrase “rhetoric of manhood” from the title of Roisman 2005.

56. Loraux 1981 stresses the anonymity and collectivity of the dead on the lists. However, her analysis primarily centers on the articulation of a uniform and ideal democratic ideology via the funeral orations. See esp. Loraux 1981: 22–24.

57. Loraux 1981 discusses the democratic aspect of the lists, while Low 2010 argues that an emphasis on the connection between democracy and the lists can oversimplify their purpose and reception; similarly Low forthcoming.

58. Patronymics were included on a stele in the Samian agora for the dead from the battle at Lade (Hdt. 6.14.3) and on the stele erected at Sparta listing the casualties from Thermopylai (Paus. 3.14.1). They also occur on surviving lists from Megara, Mantinea, Thebes, and Corinth. A Thasian decree stipulates that the war dead are to be listed with patronymics. The Thespian lists identify panhellenic victors. See Pritchett 1985: 140–41 and Low 2003 for non-Athenian lists, and for the Thasian decree see most recently Fournier and Hamon 2007.

59. [μ]αρνάμενοι Μέδοισι . . . [π]αυρότεροι πολλῶν δεχσάμενοι πόλεμον (Il. 4–5). The complete text is in Steinhauer 2004–2009: 680.

60. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1162, ll. 45–46: ἡοῖδε παρ’ ἠελλέσποντον ἀπόλεσαν ἀγλαὸν ἠέβεν | βαρνάμενοι.

they lost their youth “fighting against hordes of Greeks.”<sup>61</sup> In each case the present participle *marnamēnoi* is coupled with a verb for dying in the aorist to describe how the men died: with courage. The value placed on fighting until the very end of one’s life recalls the rhetoric of manhood evoked in epic poetry, such as Kallinos’ admonition, “Let each one, with his last breath, hurl his spear.”<sup>62</sup>

A similar rhetoric of manhood permeates the funeral orations, which were delivered in the presence of the casualty lists.<sup>63</sup> Repeatedly the speeches use the phrase ἄνδρες δ’ ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι to indicate that the men were courageous in death.<sup>64</sup> Death was not a prerequisite for being *agathos*,<sup>65</sup> but in facing danger one gave proof of one’s bravery and valor, one’s *aretē*. References to danger pervade the speeches. Lysias, for instance, deploys κινδύων- 39 times. By heightening the risks the men of the recent and distant past faced, he underscores their courage. For instance, when praising the men who fought at Plataia, he says they made Greece free and “in all the dangers gave proof of their valor.”<sup>66</sup> This manly character in face of danger, rather than the outcome of the battles, is what the orators stress. It is the *ethos* of the fallen that the orators want the listener to remember.<sup>67</sup> To put it differently: the *ethos* that was revealed in deeds, not the deeds themselves, rendered the fallen memorable. Lysias near the end of his speech generalizes that the war dead “leave behind an immortal memory because of their *aretē*.”<sup>68</sup> Similarly, Hyperides says that they “have become memorable because of their *andragathia* (bravery).”<sup>69</sup> Such an emphasis on characteristics of manliness like *andragathia*, *tolmē* (daring), and *aretē* may explain why Plato, in his spoof on a funeral oration, describes fathers of the dead with virile hyperbole as “manly fathers of men.”<sup>70</sup>

If one purpose of the discourse on courage was to elicit admiration in the mourners for the dead, another (closely related) purpose was to exploit their sense of shame.<sup>71</sup> Shame was what the dead had escaped.<sup>72</sup> As Perikles says, the dead fled

61. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1181, l. 4; *Anth. Pal.* 7.254: πλεῖστοις ἑλλάδων ἀντία μαρνάμενοι.

62. Kallin. fr. 1 (West), 5: καὶ τις ἀποθνήσκων ὕστατ’ ἀκοντισάτω.

63. On the importance of the orations being spoken in the presence of the lists, see below.

64. E.g., Lys. 2.25 and Pl. *Men.* 237a.

65. Contra Loraux 1981: 98–100. Lysias, for example, describes the enthusiasm of both old and young for conflict during the First Peloponnesian War (Lys. 2.50–51). In both cases, he is describing the attitude of living persons. The elder generation has courage (*aretē*) bred from experience; they have proved themselves brave on many occasions (πολλαχοῦ ἀγαθοὶ γεγενημένοι). They did not die in the process of becoming *agathoi*.

66. Lys. 2.47: ἐν ἅπασιν δὲ τοῖς κινδύνοις δόντες ἔλεγχον τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς.

67. Loraux 1981; Roisman 2005: 70.

68. Lys. 2.81: ἀθάνατον μνήμην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν κατέλιπον.

69. Hyp. 6.29: μνημονευτοὺς διὰ ἀνδραγαθίαν γεγονέναι.

70. Pl. *Men.* 247e: πατέρας ὄντας ἄνδρας ἀνδρῶν.

71. On shame, see Roisman 2005: 64–83, esp. 67–71, where he discusses shame and military defeat in the funeral orations.

72. Roisman 2005: 70.

dishonor.<sup>73</sup> Demosthenes, entrusted with the difficult task of praising the fallen from the Athenian defeat at Chaironeia, is at pains to show how their conduct rather than the outcome of the battle ensures their reputation: the fallen chose a beautiful death (*thanatos kalos*) rather than a shameful life (*bios aischros*).<sup>74</sup> Shame was not just something to be escaped, then, but a force that motivated them. The men at Chaironeia chose death “because they reasonably feared the shame of future reproach.”<sup>75</sup> When they perceived they were losing, they had to die fighting the enemy so that they would not suffer shame.<sup>76</sup> And before the moment when one’s honor compelled one to face death, shame could galvanize one to wage war in the first place. In the Persian Wars, Lysias explains, the Athenians went to battle because they were ashamed (*aischynomenoι*) that barbarians were on their land.<sup>77</sup> This motivating or, at the least, didactic power of shame was articulated to the living via the casualty lists.<sup>78</sup> Survivors who had not proved they could face death would have been ashamed at the sacrifice inventoried on the stones. Those Athenians, for example, who ran away at the Battle of Mantinea in 418,<sup>79</sup> must have been particularly abashed when they stood before that year’s stelai. In 330, when Lykourgos charged Leokrates with treason for having fled Athens shortly after her loss at Chaironeia, he expressed amazement that Leokrates did not feel shame at the elegies on the casualty lists.<sup>80</sup> The rhetoric of the stones, though, was not reserved for such cowards. Athenian men who had fought valiantly and those who had not fought because of young age or because of where they were stationed would have feared future shame: perhaps they might not hold the line and face death when the moment came, but throw their shield and run. In Plato’s oration, the dead themselves warn the living that nothing is worse than being honored because of one’s ancestors’ glory.<sup>81</sup>

#### COMMEMORATING EVENTS, COMMEMORATING DEFEATS

Not only did the names on the lists lack patronymics and demotics, but on many lists the same name was repeated. For instance, on *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1147*, for the tribe Erechtheis, the name Glaukon appears three times. We know from lekythoi images that women visited graves, but the widow looking to find the

73. Thuc. 2.42.4: τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον. The scholiast glosses this phrase with τὸ ὀνειδίζεσθαι ὡς δειλοί.

74. Dem 60.26.

75. Dem. 60.26: εἰκότως τῇ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ’ ὀνειδῶν αἰσχύνῃ.

76. Dem. 60.31: τότε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνόμενοι τεθνάναι δεῖν ᾤοντο, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀνάξιον αὐτῶν παθεῖν.

77. Lys. 2.23.

78. Low 2010: 351–52 briefly discusses how the lists could shame Athenians into military service.

79. Thuc. 5.72.4.

80. Lykourg. *Leok.* 142.

81. Pl. *Men.* 247b.

name of her spouse on a public list would not have been able to identify which name belonged to him. While this anonymity of the individual dead was used to subscribe him into a collective identity of military men, it also means that the stelai commemorated simultaneously individuals *and* the events in which they fell. In other words, as the personal identity of the dead faded, the specificity of the event marked by the stone sharpened. The connection to the event on the casualty lists was emphasized through the inclusion of geographical rubrics. Unlike the listing of the names of the dead, the regions of conflict were clearly identified in the heading proper, in subheadings, or in an epigram. This is one of the instances where the distinction between modern (i.e., post-World War I) war memorials and the ancient lists is most distinct. While any war memorial must commemorate both people and events, most modern war memorials throw their commemorative effort into marking the names of the dead. Specific information such as a date of birth or a date of death often is supplied, and a site index routinely is available to help visitors locate loved ones. The Athenian casualty lists, on the other hand, with their enumeration of anonymous dead coupled with their specification of locale, mark both individual and event, and it is even possible that they commemorated the event more than the individual. Unlike modern memorials, the Athenian stones were erected shortly after the battles in which the men had died: every winter following a season of military conflict. Thus memories of the events were still fresh for mourners who gathered at the lists. In this temporal context, it is inconceivable that the ancient monuments could completely shift their commemorative duty from event to individuals.

Yet this relationship between monument and event presented a problem for the Athenians, since many of the events commemorated by the lists were not cause for celebrations.<sup>82</sup> Nearly every year, the stones marked defeats, some of them minor setbacks, others major disasters. The connection between defeat and casualty lists, in fact, ran deep, because in Greek hoplite warfare, casualties indexed defeat. The winning side regularly had fewer casualties than the losing side;<sup>83</sup> the more Athenian dead on the list, the more likely it was that they had lost the engagement. A large monument in the cemetery suggested the absence of a triumph. Moreover, the request to recover one's dead constituted the (required) official admission that one had lost the battlefield. The Athenian mind, then, readily would have associated the dead with defeat. This thinking would have been encouraged by the prevalent conception, colored by epic, of battle as a set of confrontations between individual warriors.<sup>84</sup> Evidence for this mindset can be found in Athenian art contemporary with the lists, for it has often been noted that, despite the fact that the Athenians fought in phalanx formation, this cohesive unit is absent from Classical Athenian art. Instead, the Athenians depicted war

82. Low 2010: 350, 356–57 also notes the relationship of the lists to defeat.

83. Krentz 1985.

84. For the impact of epic on ancient warfare, see Lendon 2005.

along epic lines, distilling group battles into individual combats in which one figure won victory and glory from the other.<sup>85</sup> The close relationship between athletics and war only deepened the cognitive fragmentation of phalanx warfare into one-on-one encounters. This mindset carries significant ramifications for the Greek view of the lists, for it implies that the individual dead have lost their individual fights.

The casualty lists, then, because of the anonymity of the dead, the connection to events, the nature of hoplite warfare, and the Greek conception of combat in epic terms, could be seen as monuments of defeat. Indeed, to appreciate the impact of military setbacks on the lists, one only need turn to Pausanias' description of the public cemetery. As he wandered through the *dēmosion sēma*, he recorded polyandria (graves with multiple war dead buried together) and casualty lists from the following list of serious setbacks.

Drabeskoi (464): as many as 10,000 Athenian and allied settlers were slaughtered unexpectedly.<sup>86</sup>

Tanagra (458/7): the Athenians lost to the Lakedaimonians and their allies, with heavy casualties on both sides. In the course of the battle, the Thessalian cavalry switched to the Spartan side.<sup>87</sup>

Koroneia (447/6): the Boiotians and their allies defeated the Athenians. Following the loss, the Athenians evacuated Boiotia, whose cities regained their independence.<sup>88</sup>

Delion (424/3): after the Boiotians failed to betray cities to them, the Athenians were defeated near the sanctuary of Apollo at Delion, then again at the sanctuary itself. Some Athenian dead were gathered only after 17 days. Almost 1000 Athenian hoplites fell including the general, compared with 500 Boiotians.<sup>89</sup>

Amphipolis (422): about 600 Athenians, including Kleon, fell and only seven Lakedaimonians.<sup>90</sup>

Mantineia (418): 700 Argives and their allies, 200 Mantineans, and 200 Aiginetans and Athenians, including both generals, perished in a loss where apparently no Spartan allies and perhaps 300 Spartans fell. Following the defeat, the Argives concluded an alliance with Sparta, now dominant in the Peloponnesos.<sup>91</sup>

85. For the epic concept that victory and glory belong to one side *or* the other, see, e.g., Hom. *Il.* 12.328, 13.303, 22.130.

86. Hdt. 9.75; Thuc. 1.100.3, 4.102.2; Diod. 11.70.5; Paus. 1.29.4.

87. Thuc. 1.107; Diod. 11.80; Plut. *Kim.* 17.3–6, *Per.* 10.1–2; Paus. 1.29.6.

88. Thuc. 1.113.2–4; Diod. 12.6; Plut. *Per.* 18.2–3; Paus. 1.29.14.

89. Thuc. 4.89–101.2; Pl. *Lach.* 181b, *Symp.* 220e–221b; Diod. 12.69–70; Cic. *Div.* 1.54.123; Str. 9.2.7; Plut. *Alk.* 7.4, *Mor.* 581e; Paus. 1.29.13.

90. Thuc. 5.7–11, Diod. 12.74, Paus. 1.29.13, Polyain. 1.38.3

91. Thuc. 5.65–74, 5.76; Diod. 12.78–79; Paus. 1.29.13.

Sicily (413): the Athenians lost a significant portion of their fighting force in the night battle at Epipolai, in battle in the harbor at Syracuse, in the subsequent retreat, and when imprisoned. Numbers are difficult to come by, but the force sent in 415 consisted of 100 Athenian ships, 1500 Athenian hoplites, and 700 Athenian thetes as marines. We later hear of 250 Athenian cavalry. Reinforcements consisted of Eurymedon's 10 Athenian ships and Demosthenes' 60 Athenian ships and 1200 hoplites. Thucydides bluntly sums up the disaster, "Few of many returned home."<sup>92</sup>

Corinth and Koroneia (394/3): the Athenians and their allies succumbed to the Spartans at Corinth and fled the scene at Koroneia.<sup>93</sup>

Olynthos (349): the city, despite Athenian support, fell to Philip II.<sup>94</sup>

Chaironeia (338): Boiotians and Athenians (together with other allies) lost the field to Philip II and his son, Alexander. According to Diodoros, more than 1000 Athenians were killed and over 2000 were taken prisoner. Pausanias states that "the disaster in Chaironeia was the beginning of trouble for all Greeks."<sup>95</sup>

Pausanias also describes polyandria of men who were not attended by good fortune (οὐκ ἐπηρεολούθησε τύχη χρηστή): those who attacked Lachares when he was tyrant (before 295), and those who plotted to seize Piraeus from the Macedonians but were betrayed before their attempt (probably between either 322 and 307 or 295 and 287/6).<sup>96</sup> Some notable Athenian disasters not mentioned by Pausanias were the expedition to Egypt (454), when 200 Athenian and allied ships were lost and most of the 50 ships of a relieving force,<sup>97</sup> and the battle at Aigospotamoi (405), when only 9 ships out of 180 escaped, which precipitated the Athenian surrender that concluded the Peloponnesian War.<sup>98</sup>

By commemorating their war dead in a public space, the Athenians risked celebrating their living, victorious opponents. This conceit—the triumph of living victor over dead foe—can be traced back as far as the *Iliad*, when, to take only one example, Hektor boasts that the grave of the Achaean he kills will ensure

92. Thuc. 7.87.6: ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπενόστησαν. On the battles and the polyandria, Thuc. 7.21–25, 36–87; Diod. 13.9–33; Plut. *Nik.* 21–30; Paus. 1.29.11. The text of Pausanias, which states that the same monument listed the dead from Euboia, Chios, Asia, and Sicily, has generated some controversy. See the discussion in Pritchett 1998: 44–53. For numbers of Athenians involved, see Thuc. 6.43, 7.16.2, 7.20.

93. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 5221–22; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.13–23, 4.3.15–23, *Ages.* 2.9–15; Plut. *Ages.* 18; Diod. 14.83.1–2, 84.1–2; Paus. 1.29.11, 3.9.13; Dem. 20.52–53; Frontin. *Str.* 2.6.6; Polyain. 2.1.3, 2.1.19.

94. *FGrHist* 328 FF 49–51; Paus. 1.29.7. Lewis 2000–2003: 15 suggests the conflict referred to was instead a fifth-century battle at Spartolos.

95. Dem. 18–20; Diod. 16.86; *Str.* 9.2.37; Plut. *Alex.* 9.2, 12.3, *Cam.* 19.5, *Mor.* 259d–e; Paus. 1.25.3 (τὸ γὰρ ἀτύχημα τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἅπασι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἤρξε κακοῦ), 1.29.13, 7.6.5, 9.10.1, 9.40.10; Polyain. 4.2.2, *Just. Epit.* 9.3.9–10. On the commemoration of this battle, see Ma 2008.

96. Paus. 1.29.10.

97. Thuc. 1.104.2, 1.109–10; Diod. 11.77.

98. Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.20–29.

the memory of his (*Hektor's*) glory.<sup>99</sup> The grave—and grave marker—of one dead soldier signals the victory of another. This is also how Lysias describes the tomb of the Lakedaimonians, near the Dipylon Gate at Athens, working on the Athenian landscape. He uses the tomb to extol the virtues of the Athenians who perished fighting the Lakedaimonians in the Piraeus:

But nevertheless not having feared the throng of their opponents, but having faced the danger with their own bodies, [the Athenians] raised a trophy over their enemies, and they offer as witness of their *aretē* the graves of the Lakedaimonians, near this tomb.<sup>100</sup>

Yet if the polyandria of the Lakedaimonians can testify to the virtue of their Athenian opponents, acting as pendant to a trophy, then many of the Athenian polyandria in turn could appear to testify to the skills of their enemies. The *dēmosion sēma* could be seen, through hostile eyes, as a showcase of Athenian defeat and a commemoration of foreign success. Isokrates tells us that, in fact, this did occur. When describing the fifth-century Athenian empire, he writes, “It was a common occurrence to dig graves every year, which many of our neighbors and other Greeks visited repeatedly, not to join us in mourning the dead, but to rejoice at our disasters.”<sup>101</sup> The Athenians, too, felt the sting of defeat. Poignant traces of mourning appear in the epigrams for the war dead, as when they lament the young who “lost their glorious youth” or “withered away.”<sup>102</sup> Like a lover, the city “longs for” her men.<sup>103</sup> Casualties could lead to policy changes. Following defeats at Delion and Amphipolis, the Athenians were no longer so confident in their strength, and desired peace.<sup>104</sup>

The topography of military commemoration at Athens may have encouraged such views, for victories were celebrated away from the extra-urban cemetery, within the city itself. Consider, for instance, the year 425 BC, when the Athenians achieved a remarkable victory over the Spartans at Sphakteria. This event would not have been the center of the commemorative practices in the *dēmosion sēma*, for Thucydides reports that the Athenian casualties were few in number.<sup>105</sup> The city center, not the extra-urban cemetery, was the place to celebrate this victory.

99. Hom. *Il.* 7.89–91.

100. Lys. 2.63: ἀλλ’ ὅμως οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων φοβηθέντες, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδυνεύσαντες, τρόπαιον μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἔστησαν, μάρτυρας δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς ἐγγυὸς ὄντας τοῦδε τοῦ μνήματος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων τάφους παρέχονται. Cf. Lys. 2.2: “everywhere and among all men those lamenting their own misfortunes sing the praises of these men” (πανταχῆ δὲ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις οἱ τὰ αὐτῶν πενθοῦντες κακὰ τὰς τούτων ἀρετὰς ὑμνοῦσι).

101. Isok. 8.87: πλήν ἐν ἧν τοῦτο τῶν ἐγκυκλίων, ταφὰς ποιεῖν καθ’ ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, εἰς ἃς πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐφοίτων, οὐ συμπενήθησαν τοὺς τεθνεώτας ἀλλὰ συνηθησόμενοι ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς.

102. *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 1162, l. 45: ἀπόλεσαν ἀγλαὸν ἠέβεν; *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 1179, l. 5: φθ[ιμενοι].

103. *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 1179, l. 10: ἄνδρας μὲμ πόλις ἠέδε ποθεῖ. . .

104. Thuc. 5.14.1.

105. Thuc. 4.38.5.

As Aischines says, “The memorials for all our good deeds are set up in the Agora.”<sup>106</sup> The captured Lakedaimonian shields were placed on the Stoa Poikile and on the bastion of the Temple of Athena Nike.<sup>107</sup> Other dedications, private and public, related to this success may well have been made in the sanctuaries on the Akropolis. The casualty list for this year, on the other hand, would have been filled with the dead from a failed engagement at Eion in Thrace, led by the general Simonides, where many Athenian soldiers were lost.<sup>108</sup> Visitors to the cemetery who gazed on these lists would have been reminded of the defeats of the years, not the victories.

In what ways, then, did the lists respond to this ontological difficulty, to the danger of being seen as signs of Athenian weakness? This questions leads to an analysis of the *how* of commemoration: the form of the monuments and their accompanying imagery; in short, their expressive content. And why did the Athenians adopt a commemorative system that opened up the possibility that the lists could be viewed as markers of defeat? Did this connection to defeat serve any purpose?

#### FROM DEFEAT, STRENGTH

By commemorating defeat, the casualty lists allowed the Athenians to display their collective resilience. The repeated rite of commemoration—held every year in which men died in battle—testified to the ability of the *polis* to survive and continue despite setbacks. In formal terms, this sentiment was expressed through the monumentality of the lists. Despite the fragmentary nature of most of the lists, it is possible to recover the monumental size of some of them. The shortest complete list is 1.54 m. high, while the tallest is 2.10 m. with a frieze or 1.68 m. without frieze.<sup>109</sup> Preserved widths vary from a minimum of 0.45 m. to a maximum of 1.034 m.<sup>110</sup> They are usually about 16–17 cm. thick.<sup>111</sup> The lists were erected on bases, further increasing their overall size. The base *IG I<sup>3</sup> 503/4* was 21.5 cm. high, and *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1163d-f* was 20.5 cm. high. If they were placed on two other steps of similar dimensions, as seems quite likely, then the height of the whole assemblage (base and list) frequently would have been around 2 m., or well over life-size. These impressive heights were matched by impressive lengths. The base for the Marathon casualty lists at Athens, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 503/4*, was over

106. Aisch. 3.187: ἀπάντων γὰρ ἡμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται.

107. Paus. 1.15.4; Lippman, Scahill, and Schultz 2006.

108. Thuc. 4.7.

109. *SEG* 52.60, *SEG* 48.83, and *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1162*.

110. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1162*, 1186.

111. The maximum thickness is 25 cm., on *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1168*, while the list for the Argive dead from the battle at Tanagra (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1149*) is an anomaly with a thickness of 29 cm., perhaps even more (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1149*, fragment m: “a sinistra et, ut videtur, a tergo integrum”). On this list, see now Papazarkadas and Sourlas forthcoming.

5 m. long. The size of this monument is particularly noteworthy since we know that, because few died in conflicts that year, such length was unnecessary. Another base, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1163d-f*, was a little over 6 m. long. Finally, a poros wall perhaps for casualty lists, found in rescue excavations at 35 Salaminos Street, once may have been 10.10 m. long.<sup>112</sup> These lists and groups of lists are not humble stones, but defiant marks on the landscape that use defeat to signify strength and resilience by commemorating the event in monumental terms. As A. C. Danto once succinctly commented, “We erect monuments so that we shall always remember, and build memorials so that we shall never forget.”<sup>113</sup> Monument suggests triumph, victory, success; memorial implies loss. According to this semantic distinction, the lists are more monument than memorial, more triumphant than nostalgic.

The austere casualty lists—carved of hard, glistening marble—stood out in their sepulchral context. They rose not only above mourners, but above the majority of the contemporary grave markers, for whether because of legislation or a change in taste, funerary art in the early fifth century became markedly restrained.<sup>114</sup> Grand statues in the round disappeared and the number and size of tumuli dwindled. Private grave markers were often simple slabs of limestone or slate.<sup>115</sup> In the period of the Peloponnesian War, private commemorations restarted, and around the same time multiple casualty lists from the same year physically were joined to one another and began to be decorated with friezes.<sup>116</sup> The new contiguous style of display created a single imposing structure of stone in place of several smaller ones, thus increasing the sense of monumentality. Friezes would have added to the stones’ height. Perhaps these changes in form and scale were designed to outdo the newly elaborate private monuments.

The stones qua inventories objectified and quantified the dead, thereby enumerating the resources that the community had lost—but this also showcased the rich resources that had been available for spending.<sup>117</sup> Moreover, such an inven-

112. Stoupa 1997: 53.

113. Danto 1985: 152.

114. On the legislation, see Cic. *Leg.* 2.26.64–65; Clairmont 1970: 11–12; Stupperich 1977: 71–86; Clairmont 1983: 249–50n.13; Humphreys 1993: 88–89; Morris 1992–1993: 35–38, 1994: 76, 89n.43; Stears 2000: 42–54; Hildebrandt 2006: 77–84.

115. Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 121–27. Some private stelai were as tall as the state stelai (see *idem*, 124), but these must have been exceptions to the rule.

116. Anathyrosis, indicating contiguous stelai, is visible on *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1150, 1163, 1175, 1177, 1180, 1186, 1189–92*; vertical lines or channels are visible on *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1147, 1147 bis, 1157, 1163, 1175, 1177, 1180, 1189, SEG 52.60*.

117. I thank Athena Kirk for drawing my attention to the importance of comparing the lists as records of resources with the Athenian practice of inscribing public inventories. Brooke Holmes also has pointed out to me the frequent pairing of σώματα (bodies) and χρήματα (goods, money) in Thucydides (e.g., 6.12.1). On the symbolic aspects of epigraphy, see Thomas 1989: 45–68; Thomas 1992: 84–88; Steiner 1994, 64–71; Sickinger 1999: 65; Bodel 2001: 19–30; and Davies 2003: 335–37. The latter discusses the casualty lists. Low 2010: 344 also draws attention to the casualty lists qua lists, which she argues frequently had honorific functions. On the importance of the location of inscriptions, see, e.g., Bresson 2005: 163–66 (on sanctuaries) and Shear 2007 (on the Agora).

tory suggested to the viewer that more resources were available. This rhetoric of power was heightened through the inclusion of geographical rubrics, which expressed the extent of Athenian *archē*. Consider, for instance, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1147*, a nearly complete list for the tribe of Erechtheis, lacking only the base and molding (**Figure 1**). The sides are smooth, so we must envision nine more free-standing stelai, one for each tribe. Each stele, like *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1147*, would have borne a tribal heading followed by the brief assertion, “These died in the war.” There follows a list of the locations of action: Cyprus, Egypt, Phoenicia, Halieis, Aigina, and Megara. Repeated on each stele, this heading conveyed a sense of Athenian might. The casualty lists were in some ways pendants to the Athenian Tribute Lists. The latter recorded the (tithes from the) financial tribute from foreign areas to Athens, while the former recorded Athenian expenditures in foreign areas. Both were products of empire.

The relationship between the lists and military calamities also could be exploited to shame Athenians. While the sacrifice of the dead, as discussed above, could shame individuals who had survived the conflict and could make others, such as those too young to serve, aware of the potential for future shame, a past military defeat could shame the community into action. This is how Lysias describes the effect of the disaster at Aigospotamoi upon the collective of democrats from Piraeus who faced the Lakedaimonians. These Athenians were “no less ashamed by their disasters than enraged at their enemy.”<sup>118</sup> Following defeats the military men—Athenians and metics—were compelled to display their valor and thereby prove that their earlier defeat was not due to character but to fortune or (less frequently subject to blame) poor leadership.<sup>119</sup> By risking sacrifice—being willing to occupy a space on a list—they erased the collective shame of past defeat. As we saw with the way the lists commemorated individual death, the way they marked collective defeat also created an aggressive rhetoric that capitalized on the Athenian sense of shame.

But defeat on the lists also could be elided. This process is particularly evident on the friezes that accompany the lists, which show neither the defeat nor the victory of either side. Unfortunately the public reliefs are few in number. Only three figured friezes have been identified securely,<sup>120</sup> accompanying: (1) the list of

118. Lys. 2.62: οὐχ ἤττον ταῖς συμφοραῖς αἰσχυνόμενοι ἢ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὀργιζόμενοι.

119. On the excuses made for defeat, see Roisman 2005: 68–70; Lévy 1976; Wolpert 2002: 120–22. Lys. 2.74 also mentions that defeats could be consolations for the parents of the dead who fell in earlier conflicts. The city, they must have reasoned, would not have lost had their sons been alive to help.

120. I do not include in this discussion the anthemion relief on *IG II<sup>2</sup> 5222*, for it is not figural. There are two other candidates for public reliefs: one in New York (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 29.47; Clairmont 1983: 214–15; Hölscher 1973: 107–108, 263n.556; Stupperich 1977: 19; Ridgway 1983: 201–202; Ridgway 1997: 199–200, 224–25nn.24–25; Schäfer 1997: 162, no. 2;

cavalry casualties found in rescue excavations near the Larissa train station, here called the Palaiologou relief;<sup>121</sup> (2) a fragmentary inscription in Oxford (**Figure 3**);<sup>122</sup> and (3) a list with the dead from engagements at Corinth and Boiotia, in the Corinthian War (**Figure 4**).<sup>123</sup> The latter is securely dated to 394/3 and preserves the names of six Athenian tribes along with fragments of some names. The stone is broken at the left, where the other four tribes would have been. There is no doubt that this is a casualty list. Underneath the Oxford relief are the remains of the nu and alpha probably of ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΝ, from a heading, Ἰαθηναίων οἴδε ἀπέθανον ἐν . . .<sup>124</sup> Stupperich dates this relief stylistically to the second half of the fifth century.<sup>125</sup> The Palaiologou stele is more unconventional since it lists cavalry and one mounted archer and was found near the Larissa train station, away from the core of the *dēmosion sēma*. This proximity to Hippios Kolonos is not particularly surprising, though, when one considers the historic importance of this place for cavalry.<sup>126</sup> Moreover, the organization of the list by tribes and the use of epigrams and geographical rubrics echoes standard casualty lists and suggests that the frieze also echoes the typology and iconography of public friezes, whether the Palaiologou stele was erected at public expense or not. The stele has two lists of dead. The top one, often interpreted as the later one, is in the Ionic alphabet and lists the dead from an engagement which is assumed to have taken place at Megara since the accompanying epigram mentions the walls of Alkathoös. Four of the names on this top list were inscribed after the others. The bottom list is headed by an epigram that mentions the dead from battles at Tanagra and Spartolos. Tanagra could refer to engagements there in 426 or 424/3 (the Battle at Delion), Spartolos

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Goette 2009: 190–91) and one recently found in secondary use at Aigina (Goette 2009: 202–204, with fig. 5). Neither has an accompanying inscription that can secure its identity. On the New York relief, two non-Athenians—with long hair and piloi, one with an animal skin—are being killed or fleeing. There is a third body on the ground, naked apart from a chlamys; might he be an Athenian? In any event, the attempt through garb and landscape to represent a specific engagement suggests that this may be a votive relief (cf. a votive relief for Pythodoros, Eleusis Museum 51; Hölscher 1973: 99–100; Langenfaß-Vuduroglu 1974: 34, no. 57; Ridgway 1983: 201; Bugh 1988: 91–93; Goette 2009: 198–99; Lawton 2009: 70). The Aigina piece is a thin fragmentary relief of a foot soldier in trousers moving toward the right and a horse to his left moving toward the left. The fragmentary nature of the piece, lack of inscription, and unusual clothing make it impossible to identify whether or not the relief once belonged with a casualty list.

121. Athens, Third Ephoreia M 4551; *SEG* 48.83; Parlama 1992–1998: 536; Touchais 1998: 726; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000: 396–99, no. 452; Arrington 2010b: 521. Unfortunately permission to reproduce the photograph that appears in Parlama and Stampolidis 2000 was not granted.

122. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Michaelis no. 85; Stupperich 1978; Clairmont 1983: 202–203; Stupperich 1994: 94; Schäfer 1997: 162, no. 3; and Goette 2009: 189–90.

123. Athens, National Museum 2744; *JG* II<sup>2</sup> 5221; Brueckner 1910: 219–34; Wenz 1913: 58–61; Stupperich 1977: 17–18; Clairmont 1983: 209–12; Stupperich 1994: 94; Hölscher 1973: 105–107, 263n.543; Langenfaß-Vuduroglu 1974: 11, no. 13; Schäfer 1997: 162–63, no. 4; Schäfer 2002: 268, no. GR 8; Hurwit 2007: 36–37; Goette 2009: 191–92; Arrington 2010b: 521.

124. Stupperich 1978: 91.

125. Stupperich 1978: 90.

126. On the connection of this area with the elite, see Arrington 2010b: 529–32.

to a battle in 429, or one or the other could be events that Thucydides does not mention.<sup>127</sup> Megara was invaded twice a year between 431 and 424.<sup>128</sup>

These public reliefs shun the language of victory and present undecided contest. On the public Palaiologou relief, two Athenian horsemen, moving toward the left, combat two foot soldiers. Though one non-Athenian has fallen, all is not lost. From the left boldly strides his comrade, whose presence is highlighted by his long, wide chlamys, which would have been brightly painted. With his front foot braced on a rock, rear leg straight and strong, chlamys streaming behind him, he lunges toward the Athenian horseman. Nothing about this non-Athenian suggests weakness. Without the accompanying inscription and without the pilos attribute, we may have surmised that the standing footman was the Athenian, his nudity emphasizing his athletic prowess and assimilating him to an Athenian ideal of manliness.<sup>129</sup> The cape anchors him to the ground and contributes to his appearance of solidity, as his hand meets the horse's hoof and checks its advance. His weapon, and that of his comrade, were added in metal, while the Athenian's spear was only painted. Metal confronts pigment; odds favor the non-Athenian. Moreover, the terrain is visibly rocky, which the non-Athenian uses to his advantage to brace himself, but which rendered the footing difficult for the Athenian horses.

The relief in Oxford is more fragmentary, but traces of the undecided contest are still visible (Fig. 3). An Athenian foot soldier lunges from the right toward a naked soldier on the ground, but is countered by the shield of an opponent who must have stood over the naked soldier, defending him.<sup>130</sup>

More rich in narrative content, though still fragmentary, is the public relief from the Corinthian war (Fig. 4). Two Athenians—one on horseback, one on foot—surround a fallen opponent. The opponent is naked except for a round shield. He is not a coward tossing his shield to hasten his retreat, but clings to it tenaciously. The horse clubs the fallen soldier in the chin, while the Athenian at the left savagely forces his knee into the enemy's back. Several decades later than the Palaiologou relief, this scene comes closer to expressing victory and is notably violent. But commentators often miss one important detail: the Athenian horseman lowers his spear. The point does not drive into the enemy, but descends, impotent, to the other side of the horse. The Athenian foot soldier at the left does not dispatch the opponent, but takes him prisoner.<sup>131</sup>

None of these public reliefs illustrates the defeat of the Athenians. This absence, perhaps, is to be expected. But none portrays a clear Athenian victory. Both poles of victory and defeat are elided in order instead to thematize struggle

127. See the discussion in Badian *apud* Moreno 2007: 100–101n.114; Matthaïou 2009: 203–204; Matthaïou 2010: 14–16; Papazarkadas 2009: 69–70.

128. Thuc. 2.31.3, 4.66.1.

129. On athletic and military nudity, see Hallett 2005: 17.

130. Stupperich 1978: 89.

131. Hölscher 1973: 105.

and undecided contest. The most appropriate label to apply to these scenes is *agōn*, which is Thucydides' word of choice for describing war and appears in the epigram for the war dead *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1163d-f*: "Wretched ones, when you saw through such a contest (*agōn*) of unexpected battle/ you lost your lives in war by divine agency."<sup>132</sup> Just as Lysias emphasized the word danger (*kindynos*) in his funeral oration, the public reliefs vividly portray the risks of war. They explain and normalize the death of the Athenians—their individual defeats—for even the most skilled may lose their lives in such confrontations, and in fact the bravest are likeliest to die. Moreover, by depicting the dangers of war, the reliefs illustrate to the onlooker the need for continued sacrifice. The ongoing nature of the struggle on the reliefs matches the verbal aspect of the participle "fighting" (*marnamenoī*) used on the epigrams to describe how the casualties died. The absence of an outcome further underscores that the action takes place in the present tense: risks *are* real, enemies *are* present, sacrifice *is* (still) necessary. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that figural decoration on the lists seems to have begun during the Archidamian War, when battles increasingly were fought close to home. There was a need for sacrifice not just from the hoplite, but from all the inhabitants of Attica who had to stand by and watch as their lands were ravaged.

Although the epigrams on the stelai extol the virtue of the dead, like the reliefs they avoid overt references to triumph or conquest.<sup>133</sup> On the Marathon casualty list from Eva Loukou, for instance—when we know the Athenians won a resounding victory—the success of the venture is only alluded to through the words, "they crowned the Athenians." Their victory is not so much eulogized as transferred to the surviving *polis*. In the remainder of the epigram, the process of defeating the enemy is not described; rather, the danger and the risk of the venture are presented: they were the few facing the many.<sup>134</sup>

The iconography of private reliefs reveals just how calculated and unique the visual discourse of the public reliefs was. Indeed, although scholars frequently point to the similarity between public and private reliefs,<sup>135</sup> the differences between them are striking. While the public reliefs are short friezes that crown long lists of text, the private reliefs often present large images with only some text. Even more telling are the different modes of portraying conflict. The private grave relief for the rider Dexileos, erected in 394/3, unlike the casualty list reliefs, illustrates complete conquest (**Figure 5**).<sup>136</sup> The Athenian dead is portrayed in the guise of a living, victorious, knight, at the moment when he destroys a helpless

132. τλέμονες ἡοῖον ἀγῶνα μάχης τελέσαντες ἀέλιπ[το] | φσυχὰς δαιμονίος ὀλέσατ' ἐμ πολέμοι. (ll. 34–35).

133. The one possible exception is *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1179*, l. 5: νίκηεν. The end of the preceding line is lost so the significance of the word here remains unclear.

134. [π]αυρότεροι πολλῶν δεχσάμενοι πόλεμον (l. 5).

135. E.g. Stupperich 1977: 20; Goette 2009: 196; Neer 2010: 183–97; Osborne 2010: 263.

136. Athens, Kerameikos P 1130; Wenz 1913: 78–81; Hölscher 1973: 102, 262n.527; Langenfaß-Vuduroglu 1974: 11–12, no. 14; Clairmont 1983: 68, 213; Clairmont 1993: 2.209; Ridgway 1997:

opponent. Although the relief does not represent an exact historical moment, it does correspond to a precise time in battle: the rout, when the cavalry chases down the fleeing foe, dispatching them with spears.<sup>137</sup> In this relief, in contrast to the schema on the Palaiologou relief, the Athenian horse's hooves unnaturally encompass the foe: right rear leg, at a sharp angle, over the foe's slightly bent right; right front leg concealing the foe's elbow and compressing his head, visually pulling it in—note the opponent's straining neck muscles—and preventing any defensive use of the sword (once added in bronze). The front right hoof together with the opponent's shield create a constraining frame, making the opponent appear trapped. The posture of the foe heightens this sense of constraint: his left arm is cramped, an impression highlighted by the tightly bunched garment on his left forearm. His left leg is foreshortened and the knee emerges from the composition: this man has no control. Lines on the abdomen indicate that he folds down to his left, forced to offer his right flank to Dexileos' spear. His hand slips out of the shield grip (note in particular the lifted left pinky), strength ebbs out of his right leg which appears pressed down by Dexileos' right foot, and Dexileos' scabbard runs behind, seemingly through, his opponent's body, a visual play emphasized by the placement of the parallel lines defining the fallen's pectoral muscles and upper abdominal fold. Some scholars have argued that here we witness a beautiful death,<sup>138</sup> but this instead is the portrayal of a violent, pathetic death devoid of heroism. Nudity does not represent an athletic ideal in this instance but the vulnerability of the foe.<sup>139</sup> Blood, once brightly painted, runs from a spear wound in his side, spilling over the cloak bunched on his arm. The foe exists in this monument to index Athenian superiority. The positioning of the relief would have increased the sense of Dexileos' power. Set on a high terrace, Dexileos loomed over the viewer, and the opponent would have appeared to be falling out of the scene. The deep carving highlighted Dexileos against the relief background and the horse cast long shadows over the more shallowly sculpted foe. The private relief, in short, eschewed the public rhetoric of undecided struggle and embraced a visual discourse that celebrated the achievements of the known and named individual.

Such hyperbole in representing victory is also visible on the Academy base (ca. 400, **Figure 6**), so called because it was said to be found near the Academy, at one end of the *dēmosion sēma*.<sup>140</sup> Yet the size of the cutting for the stele that once rose above the base corresponds with a private rather than a public stele. On this base, it was not sufficient to portray victory once, but thrice. The Athe-

3–7; Schäfer 2002: 268–69, GR 9; Geominy 2004: 260–61, 268, 275, 291, 523; Kreikenbom 2004: 229, 252, 256; Hurwit 2007.

137. On the rout, see Spence 1993: 157–62.

138. E.g., Stewart 2008b: 238.

139. Hurwit 2007.

140. Athens NM 3708; Hölscher 1973: 262n.530; Clairmont 1993: 2.213; Schäfer 1997: 166, no. 19; Kaltsas 2003: 171, no. 337; Hurwit 2007: 52; and Goette 2009: 193, 195.

nian rider appears on three sides (the fourth is blank), each time distinguished by a chlamys and petasos, each time riding over a different enemy. The opponent adopts varying helpless poses: collapsed with head bent in defeat and knees raised in a common pose for the dead; shield dropped and falling out of the frame; and crumpled under his shield. He never even raises an offensive weapon.

Some scholars have thought that the Albani relief (ca. 430, **Figure 7**) was a public monument, but there is no aspect of the fragmentary piece that points in that direction.<sup>141</sup> The size and representational schema fall instead into the category of private art sketched out in this article. The horseman on the Albani relief is in such control of the situation that he does not even require his horse: with one arm he prepares to dispatch his opponent, with the other, unnaturally straight and taut, he keeps his rearing steed in check. The composition of the scene creates a sharply descending curve running from the peak of the horse's head, over the Athenian's head, downward to the defeated's head. The diagonal created by the Athenian's arms crossing this sharply descending curve places the Athenian at the center of the composition. This position was emphasized through the pinwheel pattern of his chlamys, centered around his navel.<sup>142</sup> Solid and firm, mouth closed (in contrast to the mouth of the horse and the foe), the rider originally anchored his left leg on a rock.<sup>143</sup> In contrast to the frontal, bold strength of the Athenian, the supine vanquished curls in upon himself, drawing up his leg and folding a soft belly. His right arm buckles beneath him. He weakly raises his chlamys (note the drooping angle of his wrist) in a futile attempt to ward off the death blow.

More examples of such private monuments could be adduced: a fragmentary relief in the Third Ephoreia, where a rider, as on the Dexileos relief, tramples his foe;<sup>144</sup> a fragmentary relief in Berlin with an inscription that boasts how many

141. Villa Albani 985; Friis-Johansen 1951: 49; Clairmont 1970: 43, 101; Clairmont 1972: 56; Hölscher 1973: 109–10, 264n.567; Langenfaß-Vuduroglu 1974: 10–11, no. 10; Stupperich 1977: 18–19; Clairmont 1983: 68, 273–74n.45; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986: 31; Harrison 1988: 99–100; Bol 1989: 246–51; Clairmont 1993: 2.131; Ridgway 1997: 21n.9; Schäfer 1997: 162, no. 1; Kreikenbom 2004: 196–98, 229, 252, 256, 512–13; Hurwit 2007: 44; and Goette 2009: 196. The assumption is often that a grave relief of this date, before private reliefs reappear in substantial numbers, and of this size, must be public. The reasoning is not altogether sound. The Melanopos and Makartatos relief (see 205–206, below) suggests that a private relief could be erected under extraordinary circumstances in 457. Moreover, the fact that only one soldier is depicted on the Albani relief points toward a private monument for one individual rather than toward the public monuments, which always include several Athenians. The concept of a memorial where a figural representation of one person could abstractly represent a multitude (the “everyman hero”) is a more recent development in public funerary art.

142. Ridgway 1981: 145 writes of the “somewhat confused system of folds over the stomach of the rider, which seem to conform neither to motion nor to modeling principles.”

143. That there was once a rock is evident from the angles of the two figures' left legs.

144. Athens, Third Ephoreia M 2347; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986; Clairmont 1993: 2.490; Schäfer 1997: 163, no. 5; Schäfer 2002: 271, GR 13.

enemies the deceased has killed and how many trophies he erected;<sup>145</sup> or the grave relief for Aristonantes, whose presence is so imposing that he does not need a sculpted opponent to display his strength.<sup>146</sup> In all such private military reliefs, the deceased were represented in the guise of complete victory. The Athenians could have used such imagery on the public reliefs, but the surviving examples reveal a rhetoric that was more grounded in the present than the aorist tense, in the ongoing rather than the completed, in struggle rather than victory and death.<sup>147</sup>

#### FRAMING *AGŌN*

The final “how” of the stones’ commemorative duty is their collective impact in their unique context and setting. The lists perform their commemorative work in two interrelated and overlapping frames, one socio-cultural, the other topographic. The former is the ceremony of the public burial, particularly the funeral oration; the latter is the public cemetery. The frames of the oration and the cemetery work both to present a particular view of the stelai and to fix a particular memory of the dead.<sup>148</sup> They limit the types and range of interpretations of the stelai available to the onlooker. At the same time, they shape the dynamics of future remembrance. In these framing processes, both oration and cemetery respond to the problem of defeat in different ways.

The casualty lists were erected at the end of the year of military campaigning, in the winter. On many of the lists there is evidence that multiple hands were at work, and it is clear from crowding and additions in different hands that the exact quantity of names was not known before carving began. Names were added as generals reported the results of battles late in the season or as the wounded died.<sup>149</sup> The lists were carved in haste, and the only reason for this speed is that there must have been a desire to erect the lists before the burial ceremony. This implies that the first time the lists were viewed was during this communal event, when the mourners processed with the ashes of the dead from the city to the

145. Berlin, *Antikensammlung 742*; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 7716*; Hölscher 1973: 102, 262n.529; Langenfaß-Vuduroglu 1974: 100, no. 12; Clairmont 1983: 68, 213; Clairmont 1993: 2.130; Schäfer 1997: 165, no. 17; Hurwit 2007: 44; Goette 2009: 193–94.

146. Athens, National Museum 738; Salis 1926; Ridgway 1992; Clairmont 1993: 1.460.

147. The view expressed here differs from that in Thomas 1989: 229–32, which discusses how defeat in the orations is cast in terms of victory. While Roisman 2005: 67–71 analyzes the relationship in the orations between shame and defeat, he similarly concludes that the Athenians stressed success and victory: “The genre permits them to proclaim that the Athenians can never lose and never be dishonored. . .” (71). Loraux 1981 conceives of the funeral orations as portraying a victorious city in the future perfect tense (e.g., 3, with 348n.11 on the future perfect).

148. My use of the term “frame” is similar to the concept of “frames of reference,” for which see Goffman 1974, Lakoff 2004, and Arrington 2010a: 3–4. Some scholars have analyzed how “framing strategies” related to memory shift over time: Irwin-Zarecka 1994 and Koshar 2000.

149. Under what circumstances the wounded who subsequently died were counted as casualties is an interesting question about which we can only speculate. Perhaps the erection of the lists was the cut-off point for such dead being treated as casualties proper.

extra-urban cemetery and heard a funeral oration as they gazed on the stones. The significance of this timing is that mourners' impression of the stones was shaped by the socio-cultural framing device of the oration, which praised the sacrifice and courage of the dead. The orators compelled mourners to look at the lists in a particular way, carefully alluding to defeat to capitalize on the Athenian sense of shame.

The frame of the cemetery, in contrast, facilitated forgetting defeat. Like the friezes on the lists and the wording of the epigrams, the cemetery underemphasized defeat—and victory—to instead create a rhetoric centered on *agōn*. Monument next to monument, grave by grave, the distinctions between success and loss blurred; the landscape testified to long-term, ongoing sacrifice, courage, and resilience. A list's spectators gazed not on the commemoration of a single year's events, but on a topography commemorating a history of conflict and collective survival. In the *dēmosion sēma*, the dead became actors in a larger and longer narrative than their single battle.

Gathered together in the public cemetery, the lists were defiant markers on the landscape, creating a permanent and monumental testimony that despite defeat, the *polis* continued. Indeed, the frame of the cemetery commemorated the dead in civic terms, since the cemetery was not an exclusive and fixed place for the war dead alone, but a space with important civic and religious connotations. Such prominent citizens as Kleisthenes, buried near the Dipylon Gate, and the Tyrannicides, buried near the Academy, lay by the tombs of the war dead; a cenotaph for the Marathanomachoi was located at the core of the cemetery; sanctuaries for Artemis Ariste and Kalliste, associated with childbirth and thus the longevity of the polis, and Dionysos Eleuthereus, the site of a collective gathering before the City Dionysia, lay near the graves; the Academy Road, a wide, open, public space ran through the cemetery; and, finally, the polyandria contrasted topographically with the elite burial ground near the so-called Old Academy Road and Hippios Kolonos to the east.<sup>150</sup> Commemoration, then, occurred in a place with important civic and democratic connotations, which highlighted the community and the ideals for which the Athenians and her allies had fallen, and shifted the mourners' gaze from the dead to the city.

#### THE POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF COMMEMORATION

Yet whose city was it? What type of *place* did the competing political contingents at Athens try to make out of this *space*? The monolithic adjective "public" in "public cemetery" risks glossing over the disputes involved in defining and negotiating the ideological parameters of the very concept of public. The place was (continuously and repeatedly) created and invested with significance, not a given on the landscape. It is possible to trace some of the political contestation

150. Arrington 2010b.

underlying the commemorative discourse, and to discern some of the noise of ideological dispute.

I have argued elsewhere that the nascent democracy intentionally located the *dēmosion sēma* in a region with strong civic and religious connotations but with little prior history of burials in order to create a new democratic place that contrasted topographically and ethically with the elite region to the northeast around Hippios Kolonos. The nascent democracy created meaning through difference, articulating a topographic semantics of space.<sup>151</sup> But as a site of memory, the cemetery was open to continuous political contestation over the dynamics of commemoration.<sup>152</sup> It has often been noted that naval images are absent from the *dēmosion sēma*, and indeed from nearly all Classical Athenian art, despite the contributions that the navy made to the city's military force.<sup>153</sup> The city did not portray the war dead as rowers, usually associated with the masses, and instead sometimes turned to elite visual rhetoric. Similarly, the funeral oration, as Nicole Loraux has shown, was a democratic discourse that evoked an ideal city and celebrated death for that ideal.<sup>154</sup> Delivered by a leading man of the city, the speech crafted civic ideology in part by appropriating aristocratic language and values. Likewise, in the Marathon epigram, the dead "crowned the city," appropriating the epinikian language once used by Homeric heroes who benefited a king, and then by elites to make claims to the polis.<sup>155</sup>

The relief of 394/3, for all the war dead, includes images of cavalry on the Athenian side, while the list specifically for the cavalry from that year is only crowned with an anthemion.<sup>156</sup> Thus appropriation of elite rhetoric—the horses, long associated with the elite—by the masses would seem to be taking place, while that rhetoric was excluded from the elite. Private funerary reliefs in turn could support or critique the politics of the public imagery. Indeed, Josiah Ober has explored how some funeral monuments dialogue with the iconography of the statue group of the Tyrannicides, heroes of the democracy, erected in the Agora in 477/6. On the Albani relief, the direction of the horseman's movement (from right to left rather than the usual left to right) and cocked arm position evoke the pose of the tyrant slayer Harmodios, figuring the elite as a defender of the democracy. In contrast, on the Dexileos monument, the horseman triumphs over a fallen warrior, whose arm position and chlamys might echo the Tyrannicides and

151. Arrington 2010b.

152. Winter 2010: 62–65.

153. On the issue of the absence of naval imagery from Classical art, see Strauss 2000: 266–67; Butera 2010: 34–53; Pritchard 1998; Pritchard 1999; Miller 2010: 327–44.

154. Loraux 1981.

155. Elite use of epinikian language: Kurke 1993. I thank the journal's anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to the dynamic playing out in this epigram.

156. It is possible that once there was a figural relief under the anthemion and cavalry list *IG II<sup>2</sup> 5222*. Contra, Lawton 1992: 242 ("The missing lower stone is usually envisioned as a relief, but there are no parallels for frame, text, and relief arranged in this way").

open an “amphibolic reading” wherein Dexileos (re)asserts the power of the elite over the masses.<sup>157</sup>

The political dynamics of commemoration as enacted through images and spaces can be demonstrated through the etiology of the earliest example of a figured relief, which is preserved only in Pausanias. The periegete, when walking through the cemetery, describes a relief for Melanopos and Makartatos, who died when confronting the Lakedaimonians and Boiotians at the border of Eleonia and Tanagra, which is usually identified as the battle that occurred in 457.<sup>158</sup> This must be an example of a private monument to two individuals in the area of the *dēmosion sēma*. A study of the archaeology of the area demonstrates that private burials did occur in this space,<sup>159</sup> and it is difficult to imagine circumstances in which the polis would have honored only two dead with a relief, especially when no public monuments at this time appear to have had figural decoration. Melanopos and Makartatos were probably companions of Kimon, who, according to Plutarch, was not allowed to join the fight in 457 because the Athenians feared his Spartan sympathies.<sup>160</sup> He sent his comrades in his place and instructed them to fight valiantly to prove the people wrong. They placed Kimon’s armor among themselves as they fought, which implies that they were fighting as foot soldiers, while the Thessalians provided the cavalry force. In the battle, “one hundred fell, and they left the Athenians great longing for them and a change of heart toward those they had unjustly accused.”<sup>161</sup> In this spirit of remorse, the city accorded a particular honor to two of the dead from the elite classes, allowing some family members to erect a relief. The relief for Melanopos and Makartatos with elite hippic imagery in the public cemetery, then, seems to have been for the elite, with the permission of the *dēmos*, to demonstrate the service of the elite to the state. It is significant that a grave of Thessalian cavalry, from 431, was placed near their relief.<sup>162</sup> In the conflict of 457, the Thessalian cavalry had betrayed the Athenians. In 431, their Athenian monument was thematically juxtaposed with other cavalry (Melanopos and Makartatos) whose loyalty had been questioned, but who likewise had redeemed themselves through their military actions.

157. Ober 2005: 237–47. Osborne 2010 sees the Dexileos monument as the first private funerary monument gloriously commemorating individual contributions to military efforts. Tyrannicides group by Kritios and Nesiotes: Paus. 1.8.5, Ridgway 1970: 79–83; more recently Stewart 2008a: 608–10; Neer 2010: 78–85.

158. Paus. 1.29.6. Some scholars have wanted to associate *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1288* with this monument (see Schäfer 2002: 303, V 14), but the lettering is Ionic and probably dates to the late fifth century, the order of the names is reversed, and in any event the name Makartatos is completely restored. For these reservations and more, see Bugh 1988: 43–44.

159. Arrington 2010a: 40–41.

160. Plut. *Kim.* 17.4–5.

161. Plut. *Kim.* 17.5: ἑκατὸν ὄντες ἔπεσον, πολλὸν αὐτῶν πόθον καὶ μεταμέλειαν ἐφ’ οἷς ἤτιμάθησαν ἀδίκως ἀπολιπόντες τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. See also Thuc. 1.107.4–6, Diod. 11.80, Plut. *Kim.* 17.4, Plut. *Per.* 10.1–2.

162. Paus. 1.29.6.

In the public cemetery, the frequent elision of imagery associated with the masses and select deployment of elite iconography may enact what Richard Neer has termed *diallagē*, a socio-political reconciliation, negotiation, or exchange. Working mostly with fifth-century vases, he traces some of the means by which polyvalent, ambiguous, and new (constellations of) imagery enabled mass and elite to work through their place within the democracy.<sup>163</sup> Yet the *dēmosion sēma* was a different place than the aristocratically-charged symposium. The cemetery was imbued from its birth with civic ideology, anchored topographically by graves of the Tyrannicides and the cenotaph for the Marathon dead. The story of Melanopos and Makartatos reveals how, in the public cemetery, elite commemoration could occur in such a way that *stasis* (political strife) dissolved under the unifying trope of service for the polis. An effort to elide political contestation is also evident in the orations, which focalize a list of historic exploits, with minimal discussion of the events in which the eulogized had fallen. This distancing reduced the possibility for political confrontation over decisions, actions, and actors of the recent past. Similarly, during commemorative events in New York City on September 11, 2011, politicians did not read original speeches (with the exception of a short concluding speech by President George W. Bush), but selections from the Gettysburg Address, the Declaration of Independence, and Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" speech. As mayor Michael Bloomberg said, "One of the things that I've tried very hard to do in the ceremonies for 9/11 is to keep politics out of it."<sup>164</sup>

It is, of course, impossible to separate politics from events of national commemoration, but where the funeral orations focalized the past to minimize dissent, the lists could forge a new visual rhetoric that helped dissolve stasis. As we have seen, for most of the fifth century the lists embraced austerity. The casualty lists bore no formal relationship to the aristocratic *kouroi* that marked aristocratic graves of the past. Note, too, the austerity used in commemorating Kimon's victory at the River Strymon in the city itself: no figural reliefs, only herms, distinguished by their masculinity. It is a rhetoric of manhood rather than of political contestation that was sought.<sup>165</sup> Once figural decoration began anew, public art again made a contrast with the rhetoric of private images. The *agōn* conceived on the lists and through the frame of the public cemetery served to unite and focus the Athenians on a common, external threat.<sup>166</sup> In Aischylos'

163. Neer 2002: 135–82.

164. Vivian 2010: 66. Vivian 2010: 64–67, though, draws a distinction between the classical orations and the ceremony on September 11, 2011.

165. Aischin. 3, 183–85; Plut. *Kim.* 7.

166. Note, too, how successful the Athenians were at transforming the civil war waged in the late fifth century into a foreign war, and in forgetting this stasis by implementing collective amnesia (Loraux 2001; Wolpert 2002). The public cemetery played its part. The tomb of the Lakedaimonians who had supported the Athenian oligarchs was placed in the region of the cemetery, rendering the foreign assistance to the oligarchs visually emphatic (Wolpert 2002: 89).

*Eumenides*, Athena pleads with the Furies not to curse the city and not to incite strife among the Athenians. But she adds, “Let there be foreign war, and plenty of it. . . .”<sup>167</sup> Modern studies corroborate the goddess’ formula for internal peace: conflict can socialize groups, binding and uniting them in a common cause.<sup>168</sup> In some ways, the public cemetery, filled with the graves of the war dead, was the most peaceful, conflict-free place in the city.

The commemoration of the war dead at Athens did not entail merely inscribing names, nor did it involve choices simply between either forgetting or remembering. The challenges posed by the lists to the Athenians become especially apparent once one realizes that they occupied a unique place (especially compared to modern memorials) between individual and event, and that they were closely related to defeat. They could be seen as symbols of weakness, and could commemorate events that tore at the fabric of the Athenian community. The active, complex, and sometimes contradictory dynamics of the lists are evident in the ways that they respond to this problem, as they mark, elide, and enmesh defeat into a virile rhetoric of strength and resistance that encouraged viewers to accept sacrifice. This rhetoric of commemoration, evolving around a notion of ongoing *agōn* and exploiting Athenian concepts of shame, was resolutely aggressive. Moreover, it depended upon collective forgetting. The commemorative discourse on the fallen—aided by the frames of the oration and the cemetery—shifted focus from the individual dead not only to the dead of the whole campaign but to the dead of time past. Character was lauded rather than persons; semantic memory rather than episodic memory was promoted.<sup>169</sup> The frame of the cemetery itself facilitated collective forgetting. The dead did not lie along a well-traveled road, like the Sacred Way to Eleusis or a road to a major urban center, but along a road to a local sacred area, the Academy. One may have expected them to be buried along the road from the Piraeus, so that visitors who arrived in the harbor would see the graves as they entered town, but instead they were placed in an area less subject to visitors and less subject to gaze. Forgetting plays an important role in mourning processes, and war monuments can help individuals and communities heal.<sup>170</sup> But compared to modern memorials erected in sovereign nation states, ancient casualty lists had more work to do. The relatively small poleis stood in a perilous position, often threatened by neighbors, foreign hordes, and internal dissension. The Athenian lists, which Isokrates tells us other Greeks visited in

167. Aisch. *Eum.* 864: θυραῖος ἔστω πόλεμος, οὐ μὲν ἴσως παρών (trans. A. H. Sommerstein). I am indebted to Loraux’s analysis (2001: 31–32) of this passage.

168. E.g. Coser 1956: esp. 87–110; Colley 2009: 24–25.

169. Episodic memories relate to past personal events, while semantic memories correspond to acquired knowledge: see Bower 2000: 22–23 and Tulving 2002. The distinction between these two memories was drawn by E. Tulving in the 1970s. Semantic memories are remembered longer than episodic memories (Bower 2000: 23).

170. Winter 1995: e.g., 113–16.

order to rejoice, were charged with remembering and forgetting the dead and defeat in terms that shaped, strengthened, and preserved the living.

The commemorative dynamics outlined here were not without consequences. The cemetery partook of a process of commemorating the war dead at Athens that invited the living to remember manhood, collective strength, and the ever-present risk of defeat, and to forget the human costs of war and social divisions. With their casualty lists, their public cemetery, and their annual burial ceremony, the Athenians laid the cognitive groundwork for an ideology that facilitated their return, year after year, to the fields of battle. Ancient observers and modern scholars alike have often wondered at the apparent tenacity of the Athenians. Nearly a decade after the disaster at Sicily, when most of her military force was lost, the city fought on. Certainly there are political and economic reasons for this stance, but embedded among these explanations are cultural factors, mentalities that were shaped in part by the casualty lists. If the Athenians could time and again risk death, one reason must be that in the *agōn* emplotted through the commemorative dynamics at Athens, death and defeat were inevitable.

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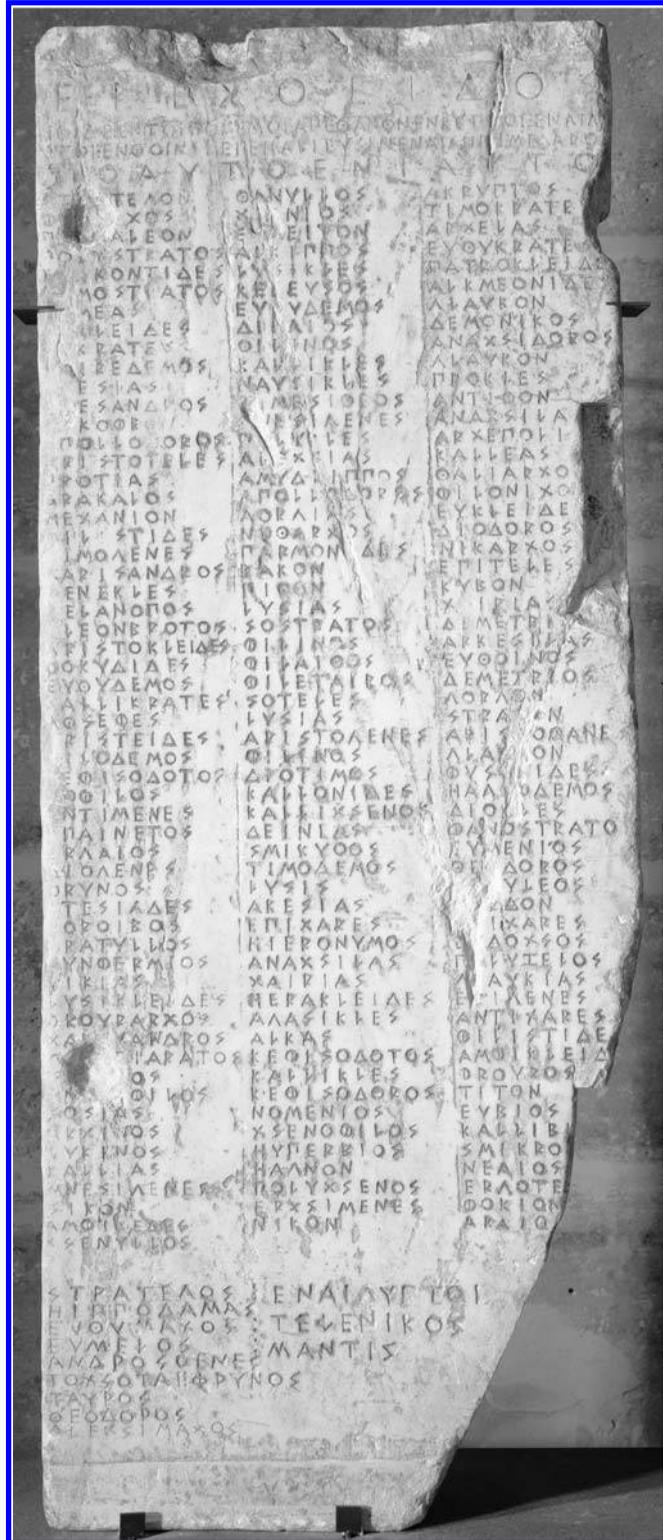


Fig. 1: Casualty list for the tribe Erechtheis, perhaps 460. IG I<sup>3</sup> 1147. Paris, Louvre MA 863. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, New York.

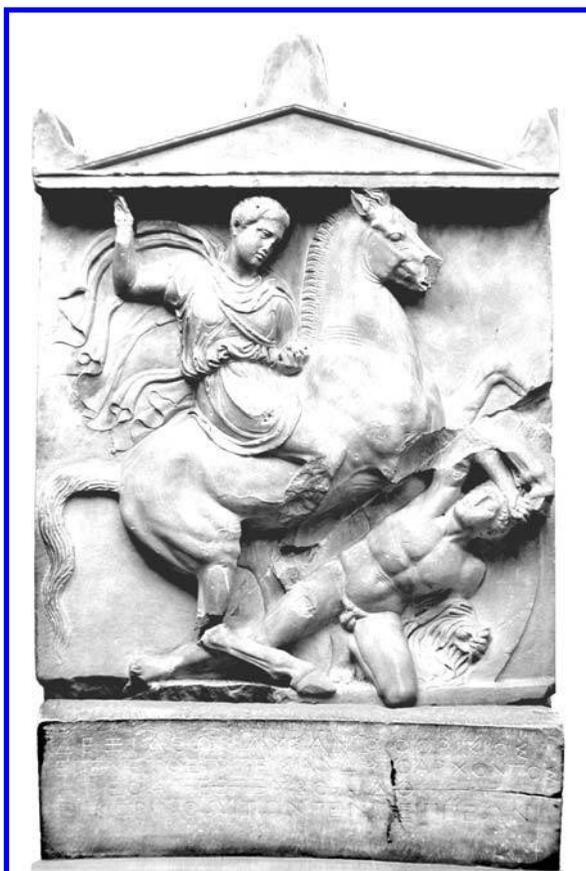


**Fig. 2:** Base for casualty lists, with the weathering lines of the stelai still visible, second half fifth century. *IG I<sup>3</sup>1163d-f*. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 12746  $\alpha$ - $\beta$  and 12747. Photo: N. T. Arrington.



**Fig. 3:** Relief crowning a casualty list, second half fifth century. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Michaelis no. 85. Photo: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

**Fig. 4:** Relief crowning a casualty list for the dead from the Corinthian War, 394/3. Athens, National Museum 2744. Photo: E. Babnik.



**Fig. 5:** Dexileos relief, 394/3. Athens, Kerameikos P 1130. Photo: courtesy of H. R. Goette.



Fig. 6: Three sides of a base for a funerary stele found near the Academy, ca. 400. Athens, National Museum 3708. Photo: E. Babnik.



Fig. 7: Albani Relief, ca. 430. Rome, Villa Albani 985 (plaster cast in Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum). Photo: courtesy of H. R. Goette.