

CHAIRONEIA 338: TOPOGRAPHIES OF COMMEMORATION*

Abstract: This article examines two funerary monuments associated with the battle of Chaironeia in 338: first, the mound, covering a mass cremation, by the Kephissos; second, near the town of Chaironeia, the mass burial surrounded by a stone enclosure and topped by a colossal stone lion. The accepted identifications are confirmed (the mound is that of the Macedonian dead, the lion monument that of Theban dead, in all probability the Sacred Band), and two propositions developed: the mound does not relate to the tactical dispositions of the battle, and hence the generally accepted reconstruction of the battle must be discarded; the lion monument must date to much later than 338. In developing these propositions, I examine material which has been long known, but never considered in depth; I notably present what I believe are the first photographs of some of the osteological material from the mass burial under the lion monument. More generally, the two monuments, located at different points of the battlefield, set up by different actors and at different moments, offer the opportunity for considerations on the different functions of ‘memory’ surrounding an historical event: the Macedonian mound reflected the needs and self-imagining of the victorious army, imposing a trace in the landscape; the lion monument embeds itself in preexisting topographies, for a more reflective, and more troubled, effect.

‘Auf Chäroneas Heide
Im alten Schlachtgefeld’
Liegt wie versteint in Leide
Ein marmorn Löwenbild.’

E. Geibel, *Erinnerungen aus Griechenland*, stanza 20.

‘In this room are exposed the bones of those who died at Chaeronea, with the sword-cuts showing. This has no bearing on art, and is a rather shocking sight. It would have been better to leave these heroes in the graves they earned so nobly.’

Macmillan Guide to Greece (1908).

On 2 August 338 BC, in the plain between Chaironeia and the Kephissos, Philip II decisively defeated a coalition of Greek states, especially Athens and the Boiotian League.¹ The subsequent settlement confirmed Philip’s political dominance over the Greek states. This most *événementiel* of events, once held to symbolize a watershed in Greek history, took place as a concrete happening; it then existed not just as a historiographical construct, but also as a monumental and cultural phenomenon in a particular landscape. The present paper re-examines the battle from interrelated viewpoints: the details of the battle, ritual practices, topographies of memory.

I. CHAIRONEIA

Ancient Chaironeia (PLATE 4(a)),² like its modern successors (Kápraina, known to generations of travellers, and the contemporary *dhimos* of Cherónia), lies in an important *lieu de passage*, the west end of the Kephissos corridor. The plain stretches east to west, about three kilometres wide from the southern mountain range to the river. On the other side of the river, the range of Akontion

* I thank Polly Low, Graham Oliver and Peter Rhodes for the invitation to give an originally very different paper; I owe the expression ‘cultures of commemoration’ to them. Research for this paper was carried out thanks to a Philip Leverhulme Prize, for which I am glad to thank the Leverhulme Trust. Work in Greece was enabled by James Whitley, Helen Clark, Vassilios Petrakos, Ioanna Ninou, Vassilios Aravantinos, Iannis Phappas, Giorgios Korres, Roza Proskynitopoulou, Mika Palaiokrassa. I also thank the following persons for assistance: Kostas Buraselis, Christophe Chandezon (with whom I tramped around

Kápraina, and who helped me with his Plutarchan and Chaironeian expertise), Angelos Chaniotis, Jim Coulton, Sylvian Fachard, the late Peter Fraser, Tonio Hölscher, Alistar Jackson, Maria Liston, Paraskevi Martzavou, Josh Ober, Karen Schlott, Antony Spawforth. Mistakes and omissions remain my own.

¹ Plut. *Cam.* 19.8 (7 Metageitnion); Hammond (1973) 567.

² Paus. 9.40-1, with Frazer (1898); Fossey (1988) 375-85; Kountouri (2006).

defines the northern edge of the plain. The plain leads towards Phokis and the pass of Parapotamioi, which separates the plain of Chaironeia from the basin of Elateia.³

An important road leads from Thebes to Phokis, via Haliartos, the south edge of the Kopais basin, and Chaironeia, where the road shifts from its east-west direction into the great bend that will take it to the basin of Elateia. The main route to Delphi branched off this road, after Panopeus. From Chaironeia another road leads north-east, towards a crossing on the Kephissos and Opous.⁴ Orchomenos may have been connected with Chaironeia by two roads, one along the foot of Mt Akontion, past the village of Akontio (Bisbardi), until the Kephissos bridge, the other along the right bank of the Kephissos.⁵

Chaironeia, at the foot of a double crag, Petrachos, occupies a small north-south valley. Reckoning eastwards, there are three more such valleys. First comes the well-watered vale of Lykouressi, distinguished by three churches and a monastery; the valley leads up to a metalled road towards Lebadeia. The valley sheltered a shrine of Herakles; the stream in the valley is the ancient Thermodon or Haimon.⁶ The next valley is that of the ancient river Molos:⁷ the lower part is taken by olive culture, the upper part by Mediterranean savanna. The third valley leads, by an easy road through *garrigue*, to a small plateau (and a modern quarry), then down a long slope to Lebadeia. This is the once much-frequented 'Kerata pass'.⁸ Modern traffic now exclusively takes the winding road at the foot of the mountain. The mountain separating Chaironeia from the valley of Lebadeia should not be called Thourion, as on modern maps; the name should be reserved for the mountain west of Chaironeia.⁹

The landscape is also structured by man-made landmarks. Earliest is a Neolithic mound (Magoula Baloumenou) near the Kephissos crossing.¹⁰ Second, a funerary enclosure, including a colossal stone lion, was erected east of the city. This has been identified as the tomb of the Thebans mentioned by Pausanias; specifically, the 255 dead men laid to rest there in a hasty, offering-poor burial have been identified with the crack troops of the Thebans, the so-called Sacred Band. Finally, there is a large tumulus, about 3 kilometres to the east of the Neolithic mound: this is the *polyandrion* of the Macedonians mentioned by Plutarch, and identified on the basis of the sarissa heads and a Macedonian coin found in the cremation level. The identifications are convincing and mutually reinforcing (see below).

II. THE BATTLE OF 338 BC

There is a standard account of the battle, created by Sotiriadis, Hammond and Pritchett.¹¹ We know that Philip and Alexander commanded the army; Philip took the right wing, the royal position, and prince Alexander the left. Philip is said to have deceived the Athenians by a planned

³ On the plain, Conner (1979) 134 fig. 2, 138 fig. 4; Belle (1881) 135.

⁴ Flaubert took the road on 10 January 1851, setting out from Molos on the Malian Gulf, and taking eight hours to reach 'Rapurna' as the name is misspelled in the published version of his notes: Flaubert (1998) 558, from the transcription by his niece Caroline; since R for K is a common mistake made by readers of Flaubert's hand, correct to Kapurna. My thanks to S. Dord Crouslé for advice.

⁵ On the road (unearthed on a 35 m stretch), Aravantinos (1993). An Orchomenian inscription, *IG* 7.3170, mentions 'the road to Lebadeia' and 'the road to Chaironeia'.

⁶ Sotiriadis (1904) 45-50, (1905) 113-20, for the Herakleion and Plutarch. Not a cul-de-sac, as claimed in Hammond (1973) 542: a modern pious inscription (1970) records the Virgin's protection in Easter 1912 for children

walking to the monastery. The starting point of the pilgrimage is not recorded, but is likely to be Lebadeia, or a village on the Lebadeia side of the mountain.

⁷ Sotiriadis (1904), (1905); Hammond (1973) 536-40; Camp *et al.* (1992).

⁸ Lolling (1989) 221-2. Earlier, e.g. Clarke (1818) 172 ('the antient paved way to CHAERONÉA'); Hobhouse (1813) 266 ('wild and rugged' road); Stephani (1843) 64-5 (good road); Flaubert (1998) 559.

⁹ Camp *et al.* (1992).

¹⁰ Sotiriadis (1902), (1910); Tzavella-Evjen (1995).

¹¹ Sotiriadis (1903); Costanzi (1923); Pritchett (1958); Hammond (1973) 534-57, with the meagre sources; Kromayer (1905) 16-23; Braun (1948); Rahe (1981), etc. Buckler (2003) is cautious. See also Buckler and Beck (2008) for a critique of the received version.

retreat, so the Athenians were posted opposite Philip, on the allied left; Alexander defeated the Sacred Band, so the Boiotians were posted opposite him, on the allied right. Alexander camped under an oak tree, not far from the *polyandrion* of the Macedonians identified by excavation, which gives us an idea of where the Macedonian left was; the tumulus is supposed to mark the spot of the hardest fighting, no doubt the site where the Sacred Band was overwhelmed by Alexander.

The tumulus of the Macedonians anchors the whole scheme. Sotiriadis reconstructed the opposing lines perpendicular to the Kephissos valley; but this does not allow the allies access to the Kerata pass towards Lebadeia, where the defeated Greeks took refuge. So the Greek line must have angled forward from the spot of the Macedonian mass tomb. Since the Greek camp occupied the Herakleion in the Lykouressi valley, the left flank of the Greek line must have started west of this valley at the ridge (behind the modern museum) between the Lykouressi valley and the Kapraina valley. Hence we have a long battle line, nearly due east-west, with the best troops, the Boiotians and the Sacred Band, on the refused right flank, and the Athenians thrown forward. If the Macedonian left was indeed located 'not far' from the tumulus, as indicated by 'Alexander's oak', then a great part of the Macedonian battle line formed up in an acute angle between the allied right and the course of the Kephissos, with its back hard against the river and its marshy bed.¹²

None of this holds. There is no reason to suppose that the Macedonian mound marks any precise spot of the battlelines; at Marathon, for instance, the *soros* is located quite far from the actual battlefield. The detail about Alexander's oak does not establish the link between mound and battle lines: the oak could have been located a kilometre or three away; in addition, the detail of Alexander's sleeping there could simply be folklore. The Sacred Band might well have been on the other wing: the story that Alexander 'shook' the Sacred Band belongs to the Alexander Vulgate, and Plutarch does not vouch for it.¹³ Therefore, the allied line formed to the west of the entrance of the Lykouressi valley, and stretched across the Kephissos valley – a short line allowing for the usual Boiotian deep phalanxes. The course of the battle had to negotiate the local micro-topography (notably the various rivers flowing out of the southern ridge), but we have no idea how. The Boiotians, including the Sacred Band, perhaps fought on the left, thrown forward according to the tactics inaugurated by Epameinondas; they might have faced Philip and his best troops. The allied troops lost, with heavy casualties. One thousand Athenians were killed, two thousand captured. Allied survivors made their way to Lebadeia, whence they contacted Philip the next day. The slaughter-strewn field may have contributed to the plague that followed, raging in winter 338/7.¹⁴

There is another source that can be explored: battle archaeology.¹⁵ In this particular case, there are two securely identified mass graves from the battle of 338 (see below), the Macedonian mound and the Theban *polyandrion*. From the Macedonian mound comes a set of instructive finds. First, the human remains from the cremation. The excavator's description of a vast and thick layer of ashes, 75 cm thick in the middle, 100 square metres in area, implies an important number of Macedonian dead. This is confirmed by the material preserved at Chaironeia Museum: two large crates, brimming with bone fragments, sieved out of the ashes.¹⁶ Secondly, the excavation produced a large number of metal artefacts, mostly weapons of the dead, heavily damaged by the cremation and ground humidity. Swords are represented by handles (from *xiphê*, straight swords) and blades,

¹² On the lower Kephissos valley, Theophr. *HP* 4.11; Paus. 9.41.7 (marsh flowers).

¹³ Buckler (1992) 4801-3 considers that Plutarch's information is good and must come from his written sources; see also Leitao (2002). But 'it is said', used here by Plutarch, denotes *ben trovato* stories and sayings in his *Life of Alexander*: for instance, 2-3 (stories about Philip and Olympias), 6.5 (Boukephalas, Philip's exclamation), 10.4 (Euripides quoted to Paus.), 13.2 (alleged kindness to Thebans), 14.3 (Diogenes), 36.1 (marvel of dyed cloth at

Persepolis), 37.4 (Demaratos of Corinth weeps), 42.1 (ear covered when listening to capital accusations).

¹⁴ Theophr. *HP* 4.11.3.

¹⁵ For an overview of the 'archaeology of the common soldier', Osgood 2005; earlier, e.g. Ingelmark (1939); Carman (1997); Fiorato *et al.* (2000); Salazar (2000) on the ancient world. On the archaeology of the mass graves from the battle of Chaironeia, Clairmont (1983) 240-2 (nos. 77d-3), Pritchett (1985) 136-8, both with bibliography.

¹⁶ Sieve: Cooley (1904) 141 (and photograph).

most belonging to *machairai* or *kopides*, curved sabres.¹⁷ Some small javelin heads are present. One spear point and several butt-spikes must belong to the usual *doru*; other spear points are very long (the best preserved one is 42 cm), with a central stiffening ridge, and probably come from sarissas. They are comparable to other sarissa finds from Vergina and Derveni.¹⁸ However, many other elements do not seem to be attested in the Chaironeia finds: the flanged buttspike¹⁹ and the iron sleeve used to join the cornel-shafts together – in other words, the Macedonian troops were armed with an early version of the sarissa. The finds also include a few arrowheads. One perfectly preserved three-finned bronze exemplar might have lodged in the body of a Macedonian. Some finds give a vivid image of Macedonian soldiers on campaign: knife blades,²⁰ or a well-worn whetstone with a hole for a retaining cord. Generally, the material illustrates the forces present: sarissa-armed infantry, probably cavalry, light-armed javelineers (the crack Agrianians already?), archers on both sides.

The other set of material remains relating to the battle of 338 comes from the mass grave of the Thebans, on the other side of the plain. Descriptions of the skeletons found in the grave insist on visible wound-marks.²¹ Some skeletal material was exhibited, before the evacuation of 1940, in case 93 of the ‘third vases room’ in the east wing of the National Archaeological Museum.²²

This material offers shockingly direct evidence for the ‘face of battle’.²³ The bones show many traces of *circa-mortem* trauma. Shinbones exhibit multiple cut marks, a type of wound paralleled in the skeletons from the medieval mass grave at Wisby, and reflecting close-range combat with edged weapons.²⁴ Several skulls bear marks of multiple sword blows. The phenomenon of blows to the head is well paralleled, notably in the medieval evidence (though it is not yet possible to point to any recurrent pattern of *in vivo* damage to the left fronto-parietal region of the skull, such as attests to face-to-face fighting with swords).²⁵ One man received a powerful ‘aft-fore’ cut, followed by a *coup de grâce* to the rear part of the left parietal, probably from a butt-spike of the ‘furniture leg’ or ‘Stabspitze’ type (used notably by the Macedonians). This blow produced a small hole – where the spike punctured the skull – surrounded by a wider circular mark and radiating cracks, in other words, a depressed fracture resulting from the impact of the flaring ring or flange above the spike (PLATE 4(b)).²⁶ In one particularly horrendous case (‘Gamma 16’, i.e. ‘row 3, skeleton 16’,

¹⁷ Sotiriadis (1903) 309. The material awaits detailed publication.

¹⁸ Andronikos (1970); Markle (1977), (1980), (1982); Themelis and Touratsoglou (1997) 109; and most recently Connolly (2000). However, the publication of the Macedonian tomb at Hagios Athanassios challenges Connolly by clearly showing that the ‘infantry’ sarissa had large heads: Tsimbidou-Avloniti (2005).

¹⁹ Vergina: Andronikos (1970). Derveni: Themelis and Touratsoglou (1997) 84 with literature for parallels, 109.

²⁰ On ‘soldier’s’ knives, Markle (1980), (1982).

²¹ Frazer (1898) 6.210; also *Journal des Débats*, quoted in *Rev. Arch* 1880, 2.182-3, lurid; *New York Times* 9 January 1881, p.4 (from *The Athenaeum*).

²² Mentioned in pre-WWII guides to Greece: for instance, *Meyers Reisebücher. Griechenland und Kleinasien* (1901) 170; Macmillan’s *Guide to Greece* (1908) 78 (quoted as an epigraph to this paper); *Guide Bleu. Grèce* (1935) 119. The provenance is also attested by the paper tags left with the boxes in which the material was packed in 1940 (‘third sarcophagus room’); the boxes still contain broken glass from the case. The material was not exhibited after the war (never mentioned in guidebooks).

²³ Inv. no. A.X.28 Δ / Χαίρωνεία I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII. I examined this material in 2005 and 2006: now 6 skulls

(encased in plaster) and parts of two more, and an assortment of bones from the lower limbs (including two feet). M. Liston kindly shared her observations; I remain responsible for the interpretations here (and am guilty of the expression *circa-mortem*, rather than *peri mortem* used by forensic anthropologists). A further skeleton, entirely encased in plaster, has turned up in the National Archaeological Museum (in the ceramics collection, inv. 9802: mentioned and misunderstood under this inv. number in the *Guide Bleu* (1935) 119 as a ‘cast of a skeleton’). There probably is a second skeleton, and perhaps a third, waiting to be rediscovered: see n.76.

²⁴ Ingelmark (1939) 164, 171-8.

²⁵ E.g. Wakely (1997); earlier Ingelmark (1939).

²⁶ On this type of butt-spike, Baitinger (2001) 64-70 (I owe this reference to A. Jackson). It appears in the ‘second tomb’ of the Bella Tumulus at Vergina (Andronikos (1984) 37 fig. 16). An example now in the Greek Museum of the University of Newcastle upon Tyne (inv. 111) bears the letters MAK, perhaps an abbreviation of Μακ(εδόνων), a suggestion of Brian Shefton, recorded by Foster (1978) 13; the weapon would have been ‘government issue’. The hole measures about 6 mm across (8 mm at the widest point, where bone flaked off). On the Newcastle spike, the diameter of the point, immediately under the flange, measures

to give it the nomenclature of the excavator), a blow perhaps delivered from the man's left sliced from temple to temple across the top of the forehead, shearing off the face (PLATE 4(c)): this is compatible with a cavalryman fighting against an infantryman, driving past him in a *mêlée* and hacking down backhanded. Such blows are recorded during the charge of the British heavy cavalry against d'Erlon's corps at Waterloo.²⁷ Five javelin points (?) are preserved among the finds – from the bodies, or swept into the grave with the fill? Hundreds of 'bone buttons' are probably eyelets from *trochades*, 'running sandals': the finds were recorded by proximity to individual skeletons (PLATE 6(a)).²⁸ The men died, and were buried, with their boots on. At least some of the head wounds might have been produced by the *kopis*, the slashing sabre to whose blows a forward centre of gravity lent extra momentum – exactly the type represented by iron blades from the Macedonian mass grave. The traces of numerous sword cuts give direct evidence for tactics and weaponry in action; the wound suffered by 'Gamma 16' contradicts an indication in Livy (derived from Polybios) about the horror felt by Macedonians before the Roman *gladius*.²⁹

From a thigh-bone (possibly belonging to the same man as the skull with the *coup de grâce* to the back of the head), and the sole complete skeleton, we have the height of two of the men: both measured around 1.79m (5' 10½"), significantly taller than the average Greek male of the Classical period.³⁰ The sample (two individuals, one incomplete) is tiny, but it is at least likely that the Theban full-time crack troops were chosen large. The pattern of wounds implies a lack of protection of the legs, and perhaps only light protection for the head. Late fourth-century Attic grave *stelai* show hoplites wearing muscle cuirasses but no greaves; at the risk of a hyper-positivist reading of the visual evidence, I wonder if the Theban hoplites also eschewed greaves, and furthermore if they fought in the 'light' style favoured in the late fifth and early fourth century, under Peloponnesian influence: *pilos* helmet, no greaves or body armour. If so, they were at a disadvantage against the heavily armoured, sarissa-equipped Macedonian phalanx.³¹

The archaeological material gives direct access to an ancient battle – weaponry, Macedonian casualties, but also the rage with which the Thebans were cut down as they held out. The encounter transcends the pornography of violence ('fighting techniques of the ancients'): the modern viewer of the remnants is experiencing a memorial encounter with an old battle – similar to the viewing of relics from Waterloo or the Somme,³² but also to the experience of the ancient inhabitants of Boiotia, whose life and surroundings often involved involuntary battlefield archaeology.³³ The archaeology of battle is a cultural experience, especially when it concerns monuments set up in the aftermath of fighting.

9 mm (thanks to A. Spawforth and A. Parkin for checking), but the hole left by penetrating wounds can be smaller than the weapons that inflict them, since living bone flexes as it admits the point (I owe this information to M. Liston). Square holes in bronze armour dedicated at Olympia have been interpreted as butt-spike punctures (Furtwängler (1890) 152-3; doubtfully, Anderson (1991) 24).

²⁷ Life Guardsman Jack Shaw is said to have sliced off a Frenchman's face 'like a bit of apple', in the words of an eyewitness, admittedly in combat with a cavalryman (Knollys (1876) 32); when capturing the Eagle of the 45th Régiment de Ligne, Sergeant C. Ewart (Royal Scots Greys) cut down two infantrymen 'through the face' (and one cavalryman 'up through the teeth'): Cotton (1862) 60-1; Dalton 1904 (1971) 258, Ewart's own words. But these oft-quoted sources perhaps deserve caution.

²⁸ Inv. no. A. X. 28 Δ / Χαίρωνεία III (263 buttons, 13 fragmentary buttons). The finds were kept in small boxes labelled e.g. Στ' β', νεκροῦ 7, 'Row 2, corpse 7', but the original classification is not preserved. A piece of metatarsal (a bone from the foot) remains attached to one

fragmentary button, strengthening the identification as parts of footwear. On ancient boots, Morrow (1985), especially 63-4, 84-5 on the *trochas*, an 'unusually complex' form of footwear (also Hdt. 1.195 for 'Boiotian boots'); on similar eyelets found on the Athenian Agora, Thompson (1954) 51-5 (associated with hobnails, not present at Chaironeia).

²⁹ Liv. 31.34.

³⁰ E.g. Biesel (1990), on the 'grave precinct of the Messenians', where adult male skeletons of the fourth century average 1.70 m. There are no good published anthropometric data from Boiotia (such as the cemeteries of Akraiphia might provide).

³¹ On the 'light hoplites', Anderson (1970).

³² The Musée de l'Armée in Paris displays relics from Waterloo, notably the breastplate of a Carabinier officer, marred by the huge ragged holes, entry and exit, left by a cannonball. On Waterloo and on WWI I owe much to papers given by L. Yarrington and G. Oliver at a conference on war and commemoration (July 2004).

³³ Plut. *Dem.* 19 (on the folk etymology of the name of the river Haimon); *Sulla* 21 (Orchomenos).

III. THE MACEDONIAN TOMB

The mound in the plain of Chaironeia is a Macedonian tomb, but a very special one. It is located in southern Greece rather than in the Macedonian flatlands; it is collective rather than individual; it was set up by the Macedonian state, rather than privately.

The site was located beyond the actual battlefield, on the northern edge of the plain, closer to the river bed than the road and the southern mountain wall (which lies over one kilometre away). A pyre was erected; the excavation uncovered its remains, with indications of its construction – large stones, bronze and iron nails – but no recorded evidence for the type of wood used (the mountains on both sides of the Kephissos corridor are currently not well wooded). The ‘Brandschicht’ gives a sense of the size of the pyre, but also of the density with which the Macedonian dead were piled up.

The grave offerings were not spectacular: a few coins (one Macedonian),³⁴ some ceramic, an amphora, perhaps containing wine, some strigils and weapons. That the weapons were burned with their dead owners is proved by many of them being fused together. There seems not to have been any defensive equipment among the offerings. There is also a complete lack of precious metal or even bronze vessels; even the coins were bronze. The simplicity of offerings stands in contrast to other Macedonian tombs, notably Tomb II at Vergina and the cist graves at Derveni.³⁵ The Chaironeia cremation reflected the practical circumstances of an army on campaign. Defensive equipment was recovered and recycled. Gold offerings, though popular at home (and increasingly lavish later on, especially after 323), were not left behind in a mass grave away from Macedonia.

In spite of the lack of Macedonian gold, this was a grand funeral. The pyre, bedecked with weapons, made for an impressive spectacle. Inhumation and cremation are both attested in Macedonia; nonetheless, cremation, complex and costly, probably had heroizing, heightened connotations; the weapons emphasized their identity as fighters, thus generalizing aristocratic warrior practices and values to the dead of the whole army. The grand funeral distinguished the Macedonian dead from the hastier burials of their opponents.³⁶ The cremation was part of a wider set of gestures. In his account of the battle Diodoros tells us explicitly of victory sacrifices, and hence feasting, and honours paid to the fallen.³⁷ These rituals constitute the *nomos* and *kosmos* for the dead, to use Arrian’s words in describing military funerals performed by Alexander after his victories.³⁸ Arrian helps us expand Diodoros’ bald mention of ‘honours’: the *kosmos* might have included a parade of the whole army in full array, perhaps even a funerary *agôn*, hippic and gymnastic. All these rituals explain the choice of the site for the cremation: the Macedonian army needed open space for the events, involving tens of thousands of men. If the road attested archaeologically south of the Kephissos³⁹ existed in 338, it might have served both for the gathering of the bodies and for the movements of men and horses during the post-battle celebrations.

Ceremony was followed by monumentalization. The remains of the pyre were covered by a mound: in 1902 Sotiriadis measured it as 7 m high and no less than 70 m across. As a comparison, the Marathon *soros* is 9 m high but only 50 m across; the average dimensions of the tumuli in the Vergina necropolis are 20 m in diameter and at most 3 m in height; the great tumulus (a special case) is 110 m across and 12 m high.⁴⁰ The Chaironeia mound is located in the upper size-range: a large, monumental structure, both by southern Greek and by Macedonian standards. The earth was removed from the surroundings of the pyre: Sotiriadis could still detect the broad

³⁴ Sotiriadis (1902), (1903), (1904) 50.

³⁵ Andronikos (1982); Themelis and Touratsoglou (1997).

³⁶ See below pp. 82-3 for the Thebans; also Sotiriadis (1904) 50-1 for a mass grave found close to the railway track, ‘not far from the [Macedonian] mound’.

³⁷ Diod. 17.86.6.

³⁸ Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.16.5, 2.12.1, 5.20, 5.25.6.

³⁹ Aravantinos (1993).

⁴⁰ Andronikos (1982) 188, 192. The forty-cubit-high mound recorded by Plutarch, *Alex.* 56 for Demaratos of Corinth is unparalleled (emend to forty feet?).

dish-shaped depression after 2,239 years. The fill in the mound contained a great amount of tile fragments and sherds, dated to the fourth and fifth century: these reflect, in concentrated fashion, a phenomenon well known in Boiotia, the scatter of sherds in cultivated fields, due to the practice of spreading household rubbish as fertilizer. At some point, an urn with the ashes of a cremation was buried in the mound: the remains of one or several Macedonian soldiers who died of their wounds after the funeral.

The location of the mound projected meaning into the future, once the Macedonian army had left the battlefield. Its position, pushed forward towards the enemy cities of Thebes and Athens, is aggressive: symbolic considerations determined the position of the mound, as well as ritual activities. The tomb functioned as a victory monument and a reminder of Macedonian power: it acted as a trophy – an institution which the Macedonians did not have, as Pausanias states (9.40.7-9), and as is clear from the narrative of Alexander's battles.⁴¹ There is another way in which the site of the mound mattered. Located along the river rather than the highway, it imitated the Neolithic tumulus further west, to which it was perhaps connected by the road parallel to the river. By aligning the post-battle mound on the old tumulus, the Macedonians claimed the heroic status for those cremated and buried along the Kephissos, by analogy with the ancient mound. They further claimed the same durability in the landscape as the older monument, with political implications for Macedonian power and its nature as heroic project. However, the Macedonians did not associate their monument with a pre-existing focal point or landmark, but created a new landmark in the plain. The visual impressiveness of the mound in the landscape is confirmed by the account of E.D. Clarke, who noticed its high profile as he crossed the eastern end of the Kephissos corridor:⁴² the shape of the earthen cone echoes the grand mountain of Parnassos in the background. The very arbitrariness of the spot chosen expresses power.

The identity of the mound was remembered by the Chaironeians. A nearby oak was associated with Alexander and the night before battle: the topography of this part of the field signified Macedonian victory, both in the 'pre-victory' stage of Alexander's sleep before the clash and in the post-battle monument of Macedonian fighting power and domination. The Chaironeian tradition shows the efficacy of the Macedonian mound in shaping the landscape to expressive purpose. The absence of any sherds around the mound suggests the fields around it were no longer fertilized, because they were no longer cultivated. If this explanation is correct, the funerary and monumental nature of the mound would have been respected in the use of local landscape.

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Photographs document Sotiriadis' 1902 excavation, showing the mound close to the river, and the workers deep inside.⁴³ Some time after the excavation, the mound was densely planted with cypresses: the resulting grove stands out darkly in the plain and is also briefly visible from the Athens-Thessaloniki train as it flashes by (PLATE 4(d)). The mound is now difficult to visit. Heavy ploughing has eradicated any trace of the scooping out of the fill and damaged the mound itself. Under the cypress the slope is steep and treacherous; at the top there are no more trees, only the lip of the huge trench hacked out by Sotiriadis. Rushes spring out, tall and densely packed, like sarissas. Peering back at Chaironeia clearly shows the unlikelihood of any reconstruction of the battle placing the brunt of the fighting as far east as this spot. In contrast, the open ground is suitable for a Macedonian military funeral, with the Parnassos as backdrop.

⁴¹ See further Pritchett (1974) 262-3. Diod. 16.86.6 mentions a trophy after Chaironeia, but this may be a slip; the trophy at 16.88.2 is a metaphor in a speech by Lykourgos against the Athenian general at the battle, Lysikles. Quintus Curtius 7.7.14 mentions Macedonian trophies under Alexander, but as part of a highly wrought speech attributed to the king.

⁴² Clarke (1818) 179-80: the mound bore a Turkish flag; also Wyse (1871) 160: 'very visible even at a great distance ... island-like, pointing conewise up from the plain'.

⁴³ Coolley (1904).

IV. THE LION OF CHAIRONEIA

The other monument of the clash of 338 is well known: the colossal Lion of Chaironeia (PLATE 5(a)). It now sits on a towering base by the south side of the modern road – after a complicated story of discovery, excavation and re-erection.⁴⁴

The Lion was discovered, on 3 June 1818, by four English travellers, John Sanders, William Purser, Edward Cresy (who published an anonymous account in the *Literary Gazette* on 24 April 1824) and George Taylor (whose account was published forty-odd years later).⁴⁵ The travellers immediately identified the huge head and large paw as part of the Lion described by Pausanias, further attributing the Lion to the Sacred Band, a piece of speculation not founded on Pausanias. They had the two fragments reburied, and tried vainly to obtain them for the British Museum. The Lion was seen in 1819 by the French traveller, Louis Dupré, who drew other fragments than the head and paw discovered by the four English travellers.⁴⁶ Who uncovered it in the meantime? One possibility is Odysseus Androutsos, whom Ali Pasha appointed military leader of the Eastern Sterea in 1819; this would explain the persistent but mistaken account that the Lion was blown up by Androutsos in search for gold (already current in 1830s Thebes). All published Greek accounts strenuously deny this canard (a good indication of the emotions at stake in the rebuilding of the monument).⁴⁷ After Dupré, many travellers saw the great head lying graffitto-covered in a cross-shaped, brush-choked excavation in a low mound; the actual circumstances of discovery were quickly forgotten.⁴⁸

Reconstruction was considered in 1839 by the Greek Archaeological Society.⁴⁹ In 1842 U. Welcker successfully petitioned the king, Othon, for permission to rebuild the Lion along the plans of a German sculptor C. Siegel (involving a 24 ft tall base). The project was to be entirely financed by German donors. The project came to grief during the revolution of 1843 and the ensuing insults by the ‘uppity Greek mini-country’ (Welcker) against the ‘great German nation’. Welcker at least published Siegel’s project for reconstruction.⁵⁰ A rebuilding project is mentioned *en passant* by the Rumanian writer Dora d’Istria in 1860.⁵¹ In 1862 casts of the two largest fragments were taken for the British Museum.⁵²

In 1879 the Archaeological Society started afresh. Two archaeologists, with Siegel and the Teniot sculptor L. Phytalis, studied the remains of the Lion. Subsequent excavation by the ephor P. Stamatakis uncovered the original base, and a *peribolos*, preserved up to the top course. During this excavation, surprisingly, no human remains were found. In spring 1880 Phytalis, sent

⁴⁴ Kavvadias (1902) 27-32 (extended narrative of disappointment and ultimate fulfilment); Oikonomos (1938); Lappas (1939), a truculent local history; Conner (1979), illuminating on the history and context of discovery; Clairmont (1983) 240-2, no.77d; Petrakos (1987); Mallouchou-Tufano (1998) 31 and n.84, 231. Most recently, Davidson (2007) 249-53 (inaccurate).

⁴⁵ Vaux (1866) with Cresy’s account from 1824; Taylor (1870-2) 1.109-14 (reproducing Vaux (1866) and expanding his earlier account in *The Builder*, 20 Dec. 1862, 908). Taylor further protests (160) against Welcker’s misattribution of Cresy’s account to the editor of the *Literary Gazette*, ‘Crawford’ (whose name, alas, appears as that of the discoverer of the Lion on the modern plaque recently set up before the monument).

⁴⁶ This is clear from Dupré’s description (Dupré (1825) 22-3, 32), and from his engraving of a Tatar before the Lion (pl.17): the head and what seems to be the Lion’s lower front (minus genitals) are represented.

⁴⁷ Already Mure (1842) 218-20; Göttling (1846) is suitably sceptical about the tale; it is repeated e.g. in Jacob-

Felsch (1969) 136, and Pritchett (1985) 136 n.133. See also Kastorchis (1875), an attack on ‘the Englishman [*sc.* Irishman] Mahaffy’ for suggesting that the reconstruction of the Lion would be an easy task, and that the failure to re-erect the monument reflected Greek neglect.

⁴⁸ Mure (1842) 218-20; d’Istria (1863) 1.95-6; Welcker (1865) 2.55-6; Wyse (1871) 158; Flaubert (1998) 559; Mahaffy (1905) 223.

⁴⁹ The project is mentioned in *Praktika* 1839-40, 88 (*non vidi*).

⁵⁰ Welcker (1856) 1-5; also Welcker (1864).

⁵¹ D’Istria (1863) 96 (proposal before the Archaeological Society).

⁵² *Times*, 12 December 1862, p.4 (arrival of the cast); 4 September 1863, p.9 (exhibited in front of the Lion of Knidos); Vaux (1866) 1; Smith (1892-1904) 3.442-4 no.2698 (head, paws). Conner (1979) 140, believes the cast lost (buried under the great lawn of the British Museum since WWII), but it is in fact kept in a BM storeroom off-site, as I. Jenkins informs me.

again to investigate the feasibility of reconstruction, sank deep trenches and found serried ranks of skeletons. Phytalis' soundings and report are extremely competent and useful, though not always completely clear; he includes a sketch of his finds – the only published record of the excavation of the *polyandrion* (PLATE 5(b)).⁵³ Stamatakis returned to uncover the whole mass grave. Six crates of bones were taken to Athens. Stamatakis may have contracted malaria during the excavation; he died of it in 1885, without publishing his findings (his excavation notes are lost).⁵⁴ The Archaeological Society disagreed on how to proceed (full reconstruction of the monument or simply re-assembly of the Lion, without rebuilding the base), and the project faltered.

In 1894, an offer from 'foreign archaeologists and scholars', notably from Great Britain (mediated by the British School in Athens), to finance the rebuilding was turned down by the Greek government.⁵⁵ The Crown Prince of Greece (the future Constantine I), president of the Archaeological Society, urged the rebuilding of the monument, at all costs, in 1896; work started only in 1902, after various setbacks.⁵⁶ The project was carried out by the sculptor Lazaros Sochos. Photographs, notably in the archive of the Archaeological Society, document early stages of the work: the area was cleared, the ancient fragments gathered, the base shored up, a cast set up under a shed to serve as a guide to the reconstruction of the statue.⁵⁷ In 1904, the *anastylosis* was finished, the enclosure walls completed with one course of new stone to protect the ancient stonework.⁵⁸

The Lion mattered, because it was mentioned in Pausanias as the monument of the Thebans who fell in the Battle of Chaironeia: from the beginning the Lion was identified as a monument of Greek liberty.⁵⁹ It also offered the advantage of being an ancient lion-monument, more prestigious than modern lions such as those at Lucerne (1821, for the Swiss guards killed at the Tuileries in 1792), Waterloo (1826) or Belfort (1879). Siegel had earlier made the Lion of Nauplion, commemorating Bavarians fallen in the Greek war of Independence. However, the exact context, appearance and hence meanings of the monument are far less clear than it seemed in the nineteenth-century.

* * *

What we now see at Chaironeia is a monument of 1902. The enclosure wall, preserved to its original height in 1879, degraded over the following twenty years.⁶⁰ By 1902 what was left was a mere outline. The original courses are now invisible, and all that appears is the misleadingly weathered capping stonework laid in 1902, which does not show the ancient internal buttressing. Likewise, the base, preserved to a considerable height when excavated, seems to have decayed or been plundered. The modern tall base, built on Sochos' instructions in 1902, is basically that proposed by Siegel in 1842 (which he admits was only a possibility: the main purpose was to give an idea of costs); it does not rest on any ancient evidence.⁶¹ The complex, stepped base is typical of

⁵³ Kastorchis (1879), written in March 1880; report by S. Koumanoudis in *Praktika* 1880 (for 1879), 22-5; Phytalis (1880); report by Koumanoudis in *Praktika* (1881) 16-18; Petrakos (1987) 53 fig. 21, draft of Phytalis' plan, more complete than the published version (but extremely difficult to read).

⁵⁴ Kastorchis 1880 (157-8); Petrakos (1987) 279-82. Stamatakis' illness is reported in the Thebes *Sphinx*, 24 June 1879 (mentioned, probably by L. Kaftantzoglou, in *Parnassos* 3 (1879) 623-4). I thank Professor G. Korres for discussing Stamatakis' notes.

⁵⁵ Bosanquet and Tod (1902) 380. There is no surviving correspondence in the archives of the BSA.

⁵⁶ *Times* 2 December 1896, p. 7; Kavvadias (1902) 30-1. The unsuccessful war of 1897 may have reduced the priority of the reconstruction project.

⁵⁷ Petrakos (1987) 99 fig. 60 (from series in Archaeological Society archive; see also, in the same archive, nos. 2218-21, 2225-7, 2894, 3110, taken in 1903); also Sotiri-

adis (1903) 325, fig. 5. The cast was later moved to the Thebes Museum (e.g. *Praktika* 1905, 22; *BCH* 60 (1936) 15), but is no longer to be seen.

⁵⁸ Richardson (1907) pl. no. 84 (fig. 9).

⁵⁹ Kavvadias (1902) 29-30 (on the special meeting of the Archaeological Society of 18 November 1896, and the speech of the Crown Prince).

⁶⁰ Sanborn (1897) 97 (also in Collignon (1911) 233 fig. 152: 'photogr. de l'Inst. arch.'); Bintliff (2004) 146: DAI Athens, c. 1900); Erlangen University photographic archive, VS/XII OH (www.aeria.phil.uni-erlangen.de/photo_html/topographie). Brandt (1894) 46-8, describes the *peribolos*, but with no indication on preservation.

⁶¹ The base is discussed in Jacob-Felsch (1969) 136 no. 241 among ancient monumental bases, but without awareness that it is a modern reconstruction. The profile of the Siegel-Sochos base is apparently inspired by the 'Theseion', the temple of Hephaistos above the Athenian Agora.

modern 'statue-mania' (as seen in Sochos' next work, the equestrian statue of Kolokotronis in front of the ancient parliament in Athens on Stadiou Street).

In addition, it is impossible to tell, standing in front of the monument, which parts of the Lion are ancient and which are modern.⁶² There were enough large fragments to permit reconstruction of the general shape of the statue, as the cast set up in 1902 shows. However, the statue has been patched up extensively, with recarving, as can be seen in the back of the statue: comparison with the cast (documented in contemporary photographs) shows that cuttings for a massive clamp have vanished, and the details of the lower mane have changed; in addition, the Lion's snout was probably touched up.⁶³ This is a modern statue, built out of ancient fragments (on a steel skeleton, characteristic of Kavvadias and his engineer N. Balanos).⁶⁴ Finally, the barrier of cypress trees on three sides was planted during the reconstruction.⁶⁵ Like the cypresses on the Macedonian mound, the trees make the Chaironeia Lion into a modern funerary monument.

What did the ancient monument look like? Excavation revealed an enclosure 22.55 m wide, 13.45 m deep, oriented NNW/SSE, surrounded by a wall 2.18 m high, and within which the base of the Lion, 3.65 m wide and 4.30 m deep, projected. The wall and base were made of local *poros*.

Though it does not seem, from the plan published by Phytalis, that the masonry of the base is bonded with that of the *peribolos*, it is likely that both base and *peribolos* are contemporary. The top course of the *peribolos* and the upper cladding of the base were further executed in the same grey-blue 'Boiotian marble' as the Lion, from quarries at Chaironeia itself.

Was there a funerary mound? Phytalis reported that some blocks from the *peribolos* wall were found at the foot of the wall, thus ruling out any mound overlaying the whole enclosure; however, the well-preserved state of the buttresses inside the *peribolos* implied that these were protected by fill. Phytalis visualized the monument⁶⁶ as a tumulus rising inside the enclosure, with the Lion emerging from the front slope (this is how the *polyandron* at Thespias is reconstructed).⁶⁷ In the nineteenth Century the Lion was found inside a low mound; but it is not clear whether this was the remains of an ancient mound, or build-up from alluviation.⁶⁸

There is little evidence for the original appearance of the base, which was despoiled of its *poros* core and its grey marble cladding. A few original blocks lie near the Lion; it is likely that some of the marble was reused in the church of Panagia and in the fountain near the ancient theatre.⁶⁹ (The fountain still exists, though reclad and now much diminished.) The original height is also unclear. The head of the Lion was found just below ground level in 1818.⁷⁰ The difference

⁶² The recent cleaning of the Lion prevents the viewer from easily distinguishing between ancient fragments and modern additions (*Archaiologikon Deltion* 53 (1998); *Chronika* 2.1, 354-5); see the photograph in Collignon (1911) 235 fig. 153. Iron clamps were replaced with bronze in 1960: *BCH* 85 (1961) 748.

⁶³ Sanborn (1897) 98 for a photograph showing the worn state of the head; also Belle (1881) 132.

⁶⁴ Armagnac (1910) 99; Mallouchou-Tufano (1998) on modern rebuilding of monuments, and Kavvadias' policy.

⁶⁵ Arch. Soc. 2225; also the photograph, from the same series, published in Petrakos (1987) 99 fig. 60; Richardson (1907) pl. 84; Armagnac (1910) 97; here PLATE 5(a). Mahaffy (1905) 225 mentions (mistakenly?) an iron railing.

⁶⁶ Phytalis exhibited a plaster model of the monument in his workshop on Zoodochou Pigis Street. But what happened to the model when, in 1909, Phytalis died in the poorhouse?

⁶⁷ Low (2003), based on Schilardi (1977); Clairmont (1983) 232-4 no.48c.

⁶⁸ The mound is difficult to recognize on the earliest evidence, the watercolour by Taylor (executed immedi-

ately after discovery) and the sketch by the architect J.L. Wolfe (executed in 1821), both reproduced and commented on in Conner (1979); the view by Dupr  (1825) is fanciful.

⁶⁹ Some of the original blocks, with a characteristic step (12 cm x 5 cm), already appear on a photograph of 1902 (Arch. Soc. no.2225), and probably come from the top course of the base. As far as I can tell, they are not published. The blocks in the church have a stepped edge, but of different measurements (4 cm x 5 cm). Fountain: e.g. Clarke (1818) 175 ('a beautiful antient fountain'); Taylor (1870-2) 1.160 ('Of the pedestal I know nothing, except that there were several pieces of mouldings built up in the Conduit near').

⁷⁰ Cresy writes that the head was found by the roadside, which concurs with Kastorchis' indications that the head lay south of the base. Taylor's account of his horse stumbling on the head would imply that it lay north of the base, under the road itself; this should be considered embellishment, since there is no mention of the incident in his, admittedly laconic, journal (Taylor (1870-2), 1.109).

between the top of the enclosure wall and the ground level in 1879 is about one metre.⁷¹ However, the base could have been higher, if alluviation did not reach the top of the base by the time the Lion fell off (perhaps because the master clamp in its back gave out). At least it is clear that the base stood out from the enclosure wall, because of its height, but also its marble surface and masonry: these three features may have evoked a fortification tower, a form which the Hellenistic military writer Philon of Byzantion (86.13-18) recommends for the monuments of the war dead.

The *peribolos* wall does not rest on a foundation trench, but on a wide, shallow foundation course, one block thick and three blocks wide; according to Phytalis' plan the total width of this course is 1.95m. The reason for this arrangement is that the builders did not wish to disturb the mass burial. A possible exception is the base of the Lion, around which a sounding by Phytalis found no bodies.⁷² Were the skeletons removed to ensure a stable foundation under the heavy stone lion? In that case, where were the skeletons reburied? One possibility is that they were placed within the base itself; if so, they may still lie undisturbed within the modern monument.

From the preliminary report, we know that 45 cm below the foundation layer of the *peribolos* 254 skeletons were found, in seven rows, many showing the traces of wounds; in addition, in row 2, between skeleton 13 and 14, a 'heap of bones and ashes' must represent the cremation of one man or perhaps several men, placed there at a later time.⁷³ The finds, mentioned earlier (pp. 75-6), are modest: in addition to the bone buttons (PLATE 6(a)), there were a few coins, some ceramic (PLATE 6(b)), and many simple iron strigils.⁷⁴ Most of the skeletons were reburied under 5 cm of earth, apparently with numbered plaques by the head of each one,⁷⁵ and may still lie there. In addition, there is one complete skeleton from the *polyandrion*, still encased in the plaster used by the excavators to keep it together and transport it: since it was handed over by the Archaeological Society to the National Museum in 1894, it must come from the excavation of 1880.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Phytalis (1880) 348; Petrakos (1987) 53 fig. 21.

⁷² Phytalis (1880) 348-52. Skeletons were found 'below the base' (κάτωθεν τοῦ κρηπιδώματος); his sounding next to the base (η on his plan) revealed no bones (even though he drove the trench to a depth of 1.90 m); he discovered skeletons in a row, 'below the base' (κάτωθεν τοῦ βόθρου). Κάτωθεν must mean 'at a lower level', rather than literally 'underneath': Phytalis ((1880) 352) executed a sounding 'under [lower than] the foundation, at a distance of 2.30 m from the wall' (κ on his plan). I assume Phytalis and Stamatakis could not excavate under the massive *poros* base (at this time, over 2 m high); however, Phytalis' drawing seems to indicate something (a leg?) half-engaged under the base, in his sounding immediately south of the base. There is no description of finding skeletons when the base of the Lion was shored up in 1902 (Kavvadias (1902) 27-32; Armagnac (1910) 99: modern cement foundation).

⁷³ Phytalis (1880) 350 (I am not sure how to reconcile his discovery of skeletons at a depth of 45 cm, with the 40 cm he mentions as separating virgin earth from the lowest course of the base, 348). I wonder if the 45 cm are in fact measured from the deepest level reached by Stamatakis' first excavation of the *peribolos*, so that the skeletons would have been found at a depth of 85 cm (40 + 45); but this does not seem to be what Phytalis says. (The account reproduced in *Rev. Arch.* 1880, 2.182-3, wrongly mentions a depth of 4 m.)

⁷⁴ The finds brought by Phytalis to the Varvakeion School (and probably later taken to the collection of the

Archaeological Society in the Polytechnion) are presumably lost; they included two pots, a glass vessel, five bronze coins (as well as two legs and one skull). The offerings were kept in the National Museum as inv. no. A. X. 28 Δ Χαίρωνεία II, III, IV, VII (pottery), IX-XI. There are now 14 items of ceramic: 3 black-glaze cups, 2 black-glaze saucers, 9 common one-handled bowls. The pottery was seen by Ure ((1913) 23 n.4). Sotiriadis may have conducted further soundings: in a postcard to P. Wolters (23 August 1906) he mentions sherds found 'beim Löwenmonument im theban. Polyandrion' (Braun (1981) 3; many thanks to K. Schlott for this reference); the Greek newspaper *Skrip* (21 November 1904, p.3) mentions the rediscovery of two skeletons during work on the new base. The strigils, in their present state, have often been completed by the gluing on of *cupulae* next to the handle; this seems unparalleled (Kotera Feyer (1993) contains no similar material).

⁷⁵ Sanborn (1897).

⁷⁶ Kavvadias (1900) 82 mentions one skeleton brought to Athens (though there is no mention in Phytalis' and Stamatakis' reports). I thank R. Proskynitopoulou for examining the relevant records of the National Museum. There are probably two skeletons from the grave: the Baedeker for 1905 (Eng. trans.), 88, mentions indications of trauma on 'no.9801' (yet unlocated), whereas the skeleton recently rediscovered at the National Museum is catalogued as no. 9802 – and, being entirely encased in plaster, could not have shown traces of wounds. Hitzig and Büttner in their note on Paus., 3 (1907) 522, mistakenly attribute these skeletons to the Macedonian mound.

Burial, rather than cremation, reflects the unfavourable circumstances of Thebes after the battle. Pausanias states that the monument is the *polyandrion* of the Thebans. The statement has sometimes been challenged on political grounds: Philip would not have allowed the construction of this monument after Chaironeia.⁷⁷ But the difference in funerary practice, the distance from the mound and the likely site of the post-battle ceremonies, and the poverty of grave goods, all argue against the grave being Macedonian despite an overlap in material goods (both *polyandria* show the same pottery, black-glaze fluted cups, and the same type of iron strigils; the explanation must be that the Macedonians collected these offerings locally).⁷⁸

However, many more than 255 Thebans fell in battle; Pausanias' information cannot be strictly correct. From the moment the Lion was discovered, it has been widely assumed that the grave is that of the Theban 'Sacred Band', the 300-strong full-time detachment of crack troops, famous for its part in Boiotian and Theban victories of the fourth century. Since the Band was wiped out at Chaironeia, the number of dead in the grave makes the identification attractive; the missing 45 members could be survivors, or simply bodies that were not found on the battlefield.

The 'Sacred Band' or 'City Company' of Thebes was founded after the liberation of the Kadmeia in 378.⁷⁹ It fought against the Spartan garrisons in Boiotia, and won a notable victory at Tegyra in 375; it probably played an important role in the victory at Leuktra in 371, and in the subsequent invasions of Lakonia. But a Theban élite troop had existed earlier. A group of 'chosen Thebans', with their own leader, had already left a dedication at Tanagra c. 600. A 300-strong band had fought, and been destroyed, at Plataia in 479; the same fate probably befell the élite Theban troops who endured 'unbearable grief' at Oinophyta when the Athenians conquered Boiotia in 458. The élite band was probably recreated when Boiotia freed itself in 446, and fought victoriously against an Athenian invasion in 424, in the battle of Delion.⁸⁰ The unit disappeared again, probably when Thebes was taken over by a pro-Spartan garrison, before being recreated in 378. The Sacred Band was associated with the vicissitudes of Theban history, and specifically with the constant possibility of the re-emergence of Theban power after defeat. The military culture of the Sacred Band, centred around athletic training, homosexuality and heroic titles, reflects the political project of fourth-century Thebes,⁸¹ but also the commemorative nature of the unit: the Sacred Band was a 'site of memory', *lieu de mémoire*, to use the concept developed by P. Nora (and which can be applied fruitfully to the ancient world).

The burial of the Theban élite soldiers was simple, but its location was visible and significant. It was sited at the focal point of the plain, the confluence of the great highway from Thebes, the short-cut to Lebadeia over the 'Kerata pass', and the Lykouresi valley. This location at a crossroads may reflect the topography of the battle. As suggested above (p. 74), it is possible that the last stand of the Sacred Band took place on the allied left; the Sacred Band would have fought to cover the retreat towards the Kerata. The mass burial could have taken place close to this dramatic site: it is locked in an emotional topography, recalling the Greek alliance, setting the clock back to 'pre-battle' time, the starting point before the day went wrong. Specifically, the grave is close to a shrine of Herakles, probably at the chapel of H. Paraskevi on a ridge overlooking the road, at the start of the Lykouressi valley.⁸² The Theban military élite is buried near to a shrine of the

⁷⁷ Costanzi (1923) argues for the Lion being a Macedonian monument; he further believes *Anth. Pal.* 9.288, a fictional epigram under a dedication by Philip and alluding to Dem. *Cor.* 208, to refer to the Lion. See also Hammond (1973) 553-7.

⁷⁸ Sotiriadis, in his postcard to P. Wolters (Braun (1981) 3), declares the pottery from the Macedonian tumulus and the Lion monument to be the same (Kabirion ware).

⁷⁹ Plut. *Pelopidas* 18; Anderson (1970) for the Theban Band in its context. Leitao (2002) offers salutary criticism

of the tradition, but lends too much value to Xenophon's silence and is too dependent on V.D. Hanson's minimalistic interpretation of Leuktra. See now Davidson (2007) 249-53.

⁸⁰ 'Chosen Thebans': *Nomima* I, no.70. Plataia: Hdt. 9.67; Oinophyta: Pindar *Isthmian* 7; both passages are discussed in Kirsten (1984) 100. Delion: Diod. 12.70.

⁸¹ On the link between Theban military affirmation and Herakles, Ritter (2002) 102-20.

⁸² Sotiriadis (1904) 45-50.

Theban hero closely associated with Boiotian militarism in the fourth century. Unlike the Macedonian mound, set up in a virgin site creating its own spatial meanings, the Theban grave meshes with pre-existing topography.

The stone lion and *peribolos* came later—but when exactly? After the defeat, Thebes was treated exceptionally harshly. The élite was decimated by exile and execution, and a pro-Macedonian faction installed; at the same time Philip resurrected Boiotian cities with a strong anti-Theban past, Plataiai, Orchomenos, Thespiiai.⁸³ The pro-Macedonian faction was expelled in 335, as Thebes revolted; Alexander reacted by razing the city. Neither the years 338-335, nor the year of revolt, 335, are likely contexts for the monument, even if we cannot know what Philip did or tolerated;⁸⁴ in the case of 335 Alexander's swift reaction does not leave time for quarrying stone, building a high *peribolos*, fashioning and setting up the Lion.

Hence a lower date.⁸⁵ At the earliest the *peribolos* and Lion were set up after 316, when Thebes was refounded by Kassandros. Arguments such as 'Kassandros would not have allowed this', or 'Thebes would have been pro-Macedonian' cannot hold.⁸⁶ Kassandros' policy was 'revisionist' and idiosyncratic: the foundation of Kassandreia reversed Philip's decision to deprive the Chalkidike of a strong urban centre. The refounding of Thebes was specifically criticized by Antigonos. The erection of the Lion monument, perhaps with Kassandros' financial assistance, would fit his policy; Kassandros' visit in 315, when he financed the city walls, would provide a context.⁸⁷ The monument would represent a very visible homage to the Theban past, at a time when the city's monuments and dedications were being repaired. If Thebes was re-integrated into the Boiotian League only as late as *c.* 285, as recently suggested, this would provide a context for the Lion: fifty years after the original events, at a moment when Boiotian unity was being reinvented and reinforced. Though a monument to a Theban group, the Lion was set up in the territory of another Boiotian city, Chaironeia, and exploited that city's local marble resources: if under Kassandros, his authority will have enabled this gesture, even if Thebes was not yet part of the Boiotian League; if *c.* 285, the monument was set up with the permission of the Boiotian League for the newly reintegrated Thebes. I cannot see any way of deciding between the two contexts, but any later date is unlikely. There is no stylistic argument against this late dating,⁸⁸ which reveals an important phenomenon: a memorial gap of a generation or two, for the rawness and violence of events to settle into something that could bearably be reified and monumentalized.⁸⁹

If this solution is correct, it would explain the fill between the mass grave and the foundation of the *peribolos*. The shallow foundations are also understandable if the monument was built upon a pre-existing mass grave. There might be more bodies outside the *peribolos*: the excavators were determined to clear the enclosed area, but made only soundings outside the wall (three skeletons were indeed found to the north).⁹⁰ Is there an eighth row of skeletons to the south side of the *peribolos*, where the excavation did not clear away the 'low tumulus' in which the Lion was found? The Sacred Band would thus have been buried eight deep, and the missing row (about thirty-five skeletons) would bring the number close to the full complement of three hundred.

The sequence of ritual activity on the site is therefore the following. Shortly after the battle, the bodies of the Theban hoplites were buried in a mass grave, tightly packed, with few offerings (but still wearing their boots), in a phalanx of the dead. This mass grave may have been marked with a simple monument (now irrecoverable). Later funeral activity took place around this mass

⁸³ Justin 9.4.4; Diod. 17.13.5; Paus. 4.27.10, 9.1.8, 9.37.8.

⁸⁴ Philip's removal and subsequent return of the bones of the Theban hero Linos show both harsh treatment and 'leniency' (Paus. 9.29.8).

⁸⁵ Knigge (1976) 170 (not disproved by Mertens-Horn (1988) 52 n.307); Mee and Spawforth (2001) 319.

⁸⁶ Costanzi (1923) 63; Hammond (1973) 553-7, retracted in Hammond (1987) 237.

⁸⁷ Diod. 19.62.2, 63.4; Paus. 9.29. On Kassandros' urbanism, Touratsoglou (1996).

⁸⁸ On sculpted lions, Willemsen (1959); Vermeule (1972); Knigge (1976); Mertens Horn (1986), (1988); Waywell (1998).

⁸⁹ Mayo (1988) on war monuments and memory in sacred landscapes.

⁹⁰ Phytalis (1880) 352.

grave: the deposit of remains from a cremation, possibly at a carefully chosen spot of the original burial; perhaps the scattered burial of other skeletons around the ‘phalanx’. Other mass burials may have taken place on the battlefield.⁹¹ Thirty or forty years later a monumental enclosure (with colossal sculpture) was drawn on the area of the mass grave; it was built with particular care to avoid disturbing the burial.

The Lion’s head is turned to its right, at an angle of 40 degrees or so, which gives the whole statue its characteristic, dynamic stance. This is not a feature introduced by Sochos in the modern *anastylosis* of the monument (as photographs of the cast from behind make clear). What is the Lion gazing at? One answer is Thebes and the rest of Boiotia; the Lion’s stance acts as a reminder of the dead men’s city and of Boiotian history. But there is a more immediate recipient of the Lion’s gaze. It looks across, if not directly at the Macedonian mound, at least in its general direction. The Lion relates the two monuments; it forces the viewer to look over his shoulder, to notice the huge Macedonian mound, to think of the geography beyond the mound, of the way the mound tries to imprint its own meanings on this geography, thus turning the Kephissos plain into a memorial scene of confrontation. This type of ‘intermonumental’ meditation is well known in another context, the competition between dedications in international shrines such as Olympia and Delphi.⁹²

In addition, the choice of a lion was significant.⁹³ It is probably contemporary with a colossal stone lion at Amphipolis, whose nature and appearance remain unclear.⁹⁴ The choice might have been influenced by Macedonian practice.⁹⁵ However, the turn of the head on the Chaironeia Lion is original: this adaptation of the general model of the sitting lion shows how the monument is embedded in a local context and in local meanings.

There are two earlier lion monuments nearby. The first is the lion at Thermopylai, set up by the Amphiktions in honour of Leonidas and the 300 Spartiates.⁹⁶ The Chaironeia monument proposed a historical parallel between the heroic Spartiates and the Theban élite, who also died fighting against a king, for Greek freedom, in a noble defeat. In 479 at Plataia three hundred élite Thebans – the ancestors of the Sacred Band of 338 – had fallen fighting for the Persian King, against the alliance defending Greek freedom; the previous year, at Thermopylai, the Theban contingent surrendered to the Persians, and its men were apparently branded. The Chaironeia Lion, in proposing a parallel with Thermopylai, erased the shame of the medizing of the Thebans in 480-479, an act of historiography through monument; it reframed the battle of 338 in a pan-Hellenic narrative. The road to Opeus, even if in ancient times it did not necessarily branch off the highway exactly opposite the Chaironeia Lion as the modern road does, connected the Chaironeia monument and Thermopylai, acting as a visual cue for the implied parallel. The pathos-laden comparison between the defeat before Chaironeia of the Greek alliance fighting for freedom, and the earlier victorious defence of Greek freedom during the Persian wars, was made early on, for instance at Athens in Demosthenes’ speech *On the Crown*, and in an inscribed epigram for those who died ‘fighting for holy Greece, in the glorious fields of Boiotia’.⁹⁷

The second monument is the *polyandrion* at Thespiiai, probably dating to 424. The general shape resembles the arrangement at Chaironeia: a mass cremation, surrounded by a *peribolos*, covered by a mound, with a large *couchant* stone lion. The relation between the two monuments is problematical, because the historical background is unfavourable. Thespiiai resisted the Theban take-over (or consolidation) of the Boiotian League after 378, and was extinguished as a *polis*

⁹¹ Sotiriadis (1904) 50-1.

⁹² Hölscher (1974); Jacquemin (1999).

⁹³ On lions and animals generally on tombs, public and private, Newton (1862-3) 2.2, 494-501; Frazer (1898) 6.210; Lethaby (1918); Vermeule (1972); Stupperich (1977) 68-9; Vermeule (1979) 85-8; Woysch-Méautis (1982) 73-7; Clairmont (1983) 65; Koch (1984); Oakley (2004) 202.

⁹⁴ Roger (1939); Broneer (1941); Miller and Miller (1972). The fourth-century Attic grave stele for Leon of Sinope (National Museum, no.770; Woysch-Méautis (1982) 133 no.358) with its sitting lion looks very similar to both the Chaironeia and the Amphipolis lions.

⁹⁵ Ritter (2002) 121-34 for Philip II and Herakles.

⁹⁶ Hdt. 7.233; Clairmont (1983) 114-15, no.8a.

⁹⁷ Dem. *Corona* 208; *IG II²* 5226 (the ancient context is unclear, and the text needs re-examining).

soon afterwards; it was resurrected after Chaironeia, and in 335 participated enthusiastically in the sack of Thebes with Boiotians from other cities that had suffered because of Thebes.

Did the Chaironeia Lion allude specifically to the Thespian *polyandria*? The latter is in fact unlike the Chaironeia monument: the enclosure is larger, contains a mass cremation, and was inscribed with casualty lists, in imitation of Athenian practice; the very practice of burying the war dead at home rather than on the field also imitates Athenian habit.⁹⁸ Rather than imitate the Thespian tomb, the lion monument at Chaironeia might have been couched in a local idiom (mound, *peribolos* and sculpture), but in a rendition of problematically massive dimensions (the crouching lion towers at 6 m high, in comparison with the supine Thespian lion, about 3.30 m long and 2 m high). The Chaironeia monument seems to allude to the Boiotian genre, but also transcends it, as a reflection of precisely those Thebes-centred tendencies which aroused strong opposition in the early fourth century. The Sacred Band embodied Theban militarism, continuity and renewal – problematic meanings after 338, and even after 316.

The first monumental intertext, the lion of Thermopylai, enriches any interpretation of the Lion of Chaironeia, by writing it into a pan-Hellenic narrative of liberty and remembered good deaths, in an act of selective memory. The second intertext, the lion of the Thespians, refers the viewer back to a bitter local history. The battle of Chaironeia and the death of the Theban Sacred Band were not simple events. The monument does not bear an inscription, as noted and puzzled over by Pausanias. This absence reflects the difficulty of articulating what the battle actually meant for different Boiotians.⁹⁹ But at the same time, the lack of precisely articulated meanings, as would have been defined by an epigram or a casualty list, allowed the monument to operate effectively: it was expressive and ‘obvious’, thus mobilizing the viewer’s knowledge in the acceptable forms of what he wanted to remember or refer to – the battle against Philip, the history of Greek freedom from Marathon to Chaironeia. At the foot of the impressive but wordless monument, forgetfulness and remembering did their work; Strabo spoke of indeterminate ‘public burials of those who fell in the battle’.

V. CONCLUSION: IN THE SHADOW OF THE LION

This paper elaborates two proposals about the battle of Chaironeia: first, it dissociates the Macedonian mound from tactical dispositions; second, it downdates the lion monument for the Sacred Band to *c.* 316 or later. Unpacking these two suggestions leads to studying commemoration: the celebratory gestures by the Macedonian army immediately after the battle; the unfinished funerary monument erected a generation later, using local topography and history to present its message, but also prevented by these same local elements from fully articulating its meanings.

Chaironeia was a much more complicated site of memory than the sounding performed in this paper suggests. There were other monuments for the dead of 338 mentioned by Plutarch. Another battle took place in 245, another Boiotian defeat, this time against the Aitolians. Yet another battle took place in 86, between Sulla and Archelaos, Mithradates’ general; Chaironeians took a decisive part in Sulla’s victory, and the name of the two leaders of the Chaironeian contingent were inscribed on the trophy set up on Thourion.¹⁰⁰ Plutarch grew up in a small Boiotian *polis* densely textured with historical monuments of which the Lion, never mentioned by Plutarch, was only one part.

The layering of memory continues to our day: the Lion has a modern story of its own. Its long-desired reconstitution was only the beginning of its second life. ‘Alter gewaltiger Löwe von Chäroneia! Eine Thräne trat mir heimlich in’s Auge, als ich vor Dir stand, Dir schönes

⁹⁸ Low (2003).

⁹⁹ For modern parallels, see Rainbird (2003) on the ‘Broken Hill Digger’, or the acrimonious debates about the World Trade Centre monument in Lower Manhattan.

¹⁰⁰ Sotiriadis (1904) 50-1; battle of 245: Pol. 20.4, Plut. *Aratos* 16.1; Camp *et al.* (1992), paralleled in the recent discovery of another Sullan trophy at Orchomenos, as reported in the Greek press in December 2004.

altehrwürdiges Sinnbild des ruhmreich kämpfenden und doch für immer verlorenen Griechenlands!’ For non-Greek visitors, the point of the Lion was that it was broken, which offered a satisfying starting-point for melancholy meditation about the various forms of brokenness to be seen in Greece old and new; for the national archaeological institutions of nineteenth-century Greece, it was imperative to rebuild the Lion as part of a broader narrative of inheritance and identity.¹⁰¹

But after reconstruction, the monument seems to have lost its interest;¹⁰² Mahaffy, who had railed at the Greek state for not undertaking the ‘easy’ task of reconstructing the Lion, found the result bathetic.¹⁰³ The cultural history of the Lion in modern Greece is another topic; a pointer is provided by a full-size replica set up in 1930 as a homage to ‘the fighters of 1821’ in Vathy (Samos), where it stands on Pythagoras Square, surrounded by palm trees. Back in Central Greece, the modern route to Delphi passes through Livadhia, leaving the roadside Lion off the main tourist circuits. Nowadays, the Lion graces guidebooks and textbooks, and doubtless enlivens countless slide or Powerpoint projections during Greek history survey courses.

Here I explored what we could know about this famous, but ill-known monument – topography, photographs, old excavation reports (involving ‘journals archaeology’) – and in the National Archaeological Museum (Athens), material from the Theban *polyandron*, for which the Greek Archaeological Service generously granted a publication permit, and on which I practised ‘store-room archaeology’. This material has now been sent to the Chaironeia Museum, thus to be reunited with the original site after 125 years, and soon to be exhibited again after nearly seventy years’ absence from the public.

The archaeology of the Lion of Chaironeia invites us to think about cultures of commemoration. These include the gestures of the victorious Macedonians, the incomplete Theban / Boiotian monument about a defeat, set up a generation or two later – but also modern archaeological activity, such as the rediscovery and long drawn-out rebuilding of the Lion. Exploring the stratigraphy of commemoration has led to our encountering two objects. First, the mutilated skull of ‘Gamma 16’ (PLATE 4(c)), terrible to behold, all that remains of a 50-year old whose life (c. 388-338) spanned the duration of Theban-led revival and militarism in Boiotia:¹⁰⁴ this trace of his violent death raises questions about the ‘face of battle’, the ‘sharp end’ of battle, the contexts and meanings of violence – to quote the neurologist Cyril Courville, ‘man’s inhumanity’s to man as manifested by wounds of the head is a heritage of his past’.¹⁰⁵ All these questions are channelled, tailored, answered but also silenced, by the monumental Lion (PLATE 5(a)), set over the body of ‘Gamma 16’ a generation or so after his violent end, and proposing multiple statements about his life and his death, in a reminder of the paradoxes of time and memory at the heart of the disciplines of archaeology and history.

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¹⁰¹ Hettner (1853) 291-7; Hettner also uses E. Geibel’s poem on the Lion, quoted at the beginning of this paper: the Lion there serves as an emblem for the fall of Greek liberty and culture, and as a warning to modern Germany (‘O schau’ in diesen Spiegel | Schau’ her, mein Vaterland!’: Geibel (1918) 2.155). See e.g. Wyse (1871) 151-8 on the Lion and the plain as melancholy experience (plagiarized in Belle (1881) 130-2); Mahaffy (1905) 223-4.

¹⁰² Lappas (1939) points out that the ceremonial inauguration of the rebuilt monument, scheduled to coincide with the First International Congress of Classical Archaeology (1905), seems never to have taken place. A lecture by E. Norden, given in 1928, is a late example of the meditation before the monument, uninscribed yet ‘more eloquent than any word’, given new meaning in the context of

post-defeat Germany: Norden (1966) 555. There is a four-letter graffito in Gothic letters on the back of the base (CDRE), which I do not know how to interpret.

¹⁰³ Mahaffy (1905) 225: ‘great disappointment’, ‘ludicrous effect’.

¹⁰⁴ At some point before his death at Chaironeia ‘Gamma 16’ lost two of his front teeth to trauma – perhaps the trace of participation in an earlier battle, or the result of violent training? This individual might have been seventeen or eighteen when Leuktra took place, twenty-six during the campaign and battle of Second Mantinea.

¹⁰⁵ On the archaeology of violence, see Carman (1997); Courville is quoted and discussed there: Wakely (1997) 25; on emotion in the archaeology of death, Tarlow (1999).

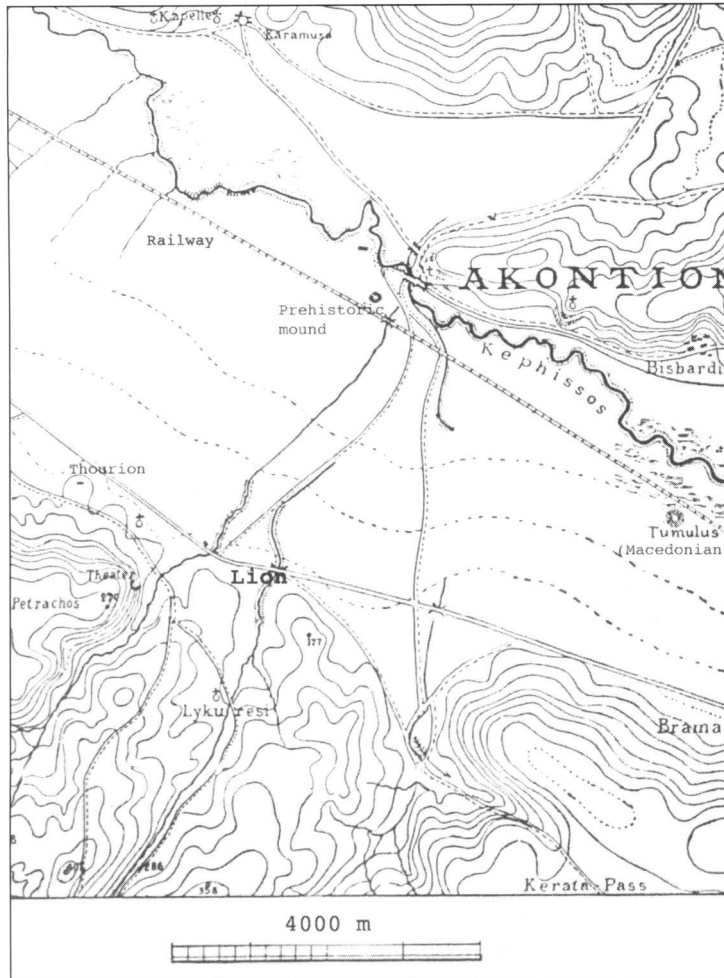
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(a) Chaironeia and surroundings after Sotiriadis (1903)



(b) Skull from the Theban mass grave, showing a *coup de grâce* with a buttspike



(c) Skull from the Theban grave Gamma 16, with massive head-wound

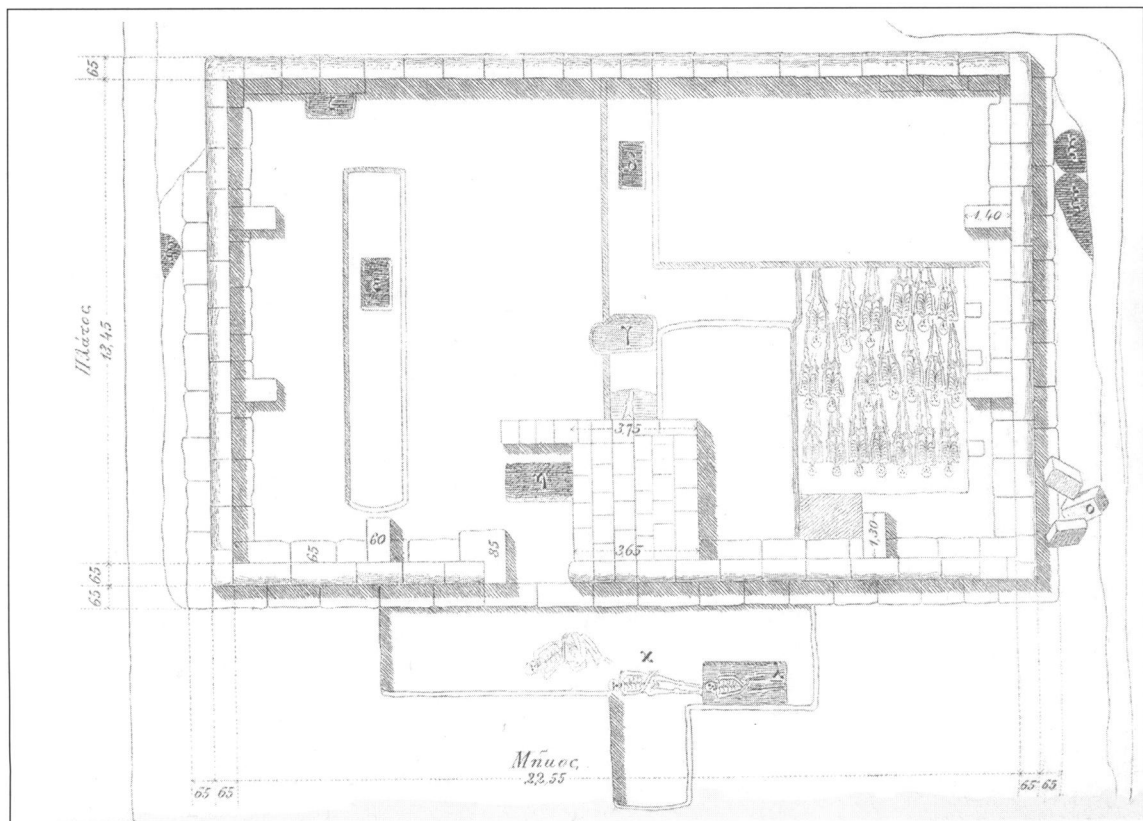


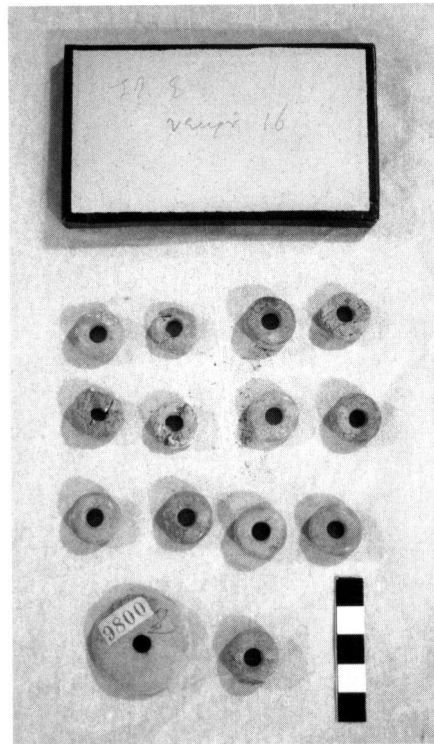
(d) The grave mound of the Macedonians

(a) The Lion
(photo Chr. Chandezon)



(b) Phytalis' soundings





(a) Bone buttons, with box and skeleton number: row 5, from skeleton 16



(b) Ceramics from the Theban mass grave



(c) The Lion through the stereoscope