THE MONUMENT WITH THE MARATHON EPIGRAMS[1]

When a new fragment of *I.G.*, I², 763 came out of the wall of a modern house in the region of the Athenian Agora, the writer reëdited the whole monument as a cenotaph for the men who fell at Marathon.[2] I supported my identification with the argument that both epigrams referred to the battle of Marathon and that the demonstrative pronoun οἵδε required the accompaniment of a list of names, *i.e.* the names of the one-hundred-ninety-two Athenians who fell in the battle. I showed, furthermore, that the casualty lists resembled ordinary grave monuments of the period except for a plurality of names. When a grave stele had an ordinary poros base, the epigram was engraved on the stele itself, but when it had a more elegant base of marble, the epigram was inscribed across the front of the base as in the case of the Pythagoras monument at the Ceramicus, *I.G.*, I², 1034. The latter, therefore, served as a model for my reconstruction (cf. Figure 1): a marble stele with the list of the fallen, a marble base with the epigrams, and possibly a foundation consisting of three courses of poros blocks.

In a recent article[3] Adolf Wilhelm, who likewise believes that both of its epigrams refer to the battle of Marathon, has nevertheless rejected my reconstruction of the monument containing the Marathon epigrams, and he has himself suggested in its place another type. I regret to find myself in disagreement with so eminent a master, but after careful consideration I am still unable to credit his reasons for rejecting my reconstruction, and I have concluded that the monument which he himself has imagined is impossible because it contradicts the archaeological evidence.

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[1] Drawings by Piet de Jong. Photograph by H. Wagner.

[2] *Hesperia*, II (1933), pp. 480–494, where on the evidence of a passage in the anonymous *Life of Aeschylus* (Wilamowitz, p. 4) I assigned the first epigram to Simonides and argued that the second was the rival epigram of Aeschylus. The bibliography of articles following the publication of the new fragment is already large. J. L. Myres, "Simonides, Aeschylus and the Battle of Marathon," *Antiquity*, VIII (1934), pp. 176–178. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, "Perserepigramme von der Athenischen Agora," *Hermes*, LXIX (1934), pp. 204–206. W. Peek, "Zu den neuen Perserepigrammen," *Hermes*, LXIX (1934), pp. 339–343. To objections raised by Hiller von Gaertringen and Peek against my interpretation I replied in another article, "The Marathon Epigrams," *A.J.Ph.*, LVI (1935), pp. 193–201. Adolf Wilhelm, *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 1934, pp. 89–107. P. Maas and L. Wickert, "Zu den Perserepigrammen," *Hermes*, LXX (1935), pp. 235–238. C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry from Alcman to Simonides* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936), pp. 355–357. The letters τοισζαδαμ[- -] in line 3 were correctly interpreted as τοῖσζ᾽ (= τοῖσδε) ἀδαμ[- -] first by Hiller von Gaertringen.

[3] "Drei auf die Schlacht von Marathon bezügliche Gedichte," *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 1934, pp. 89–118.

The Pythagoras Monument at the Ceramicus
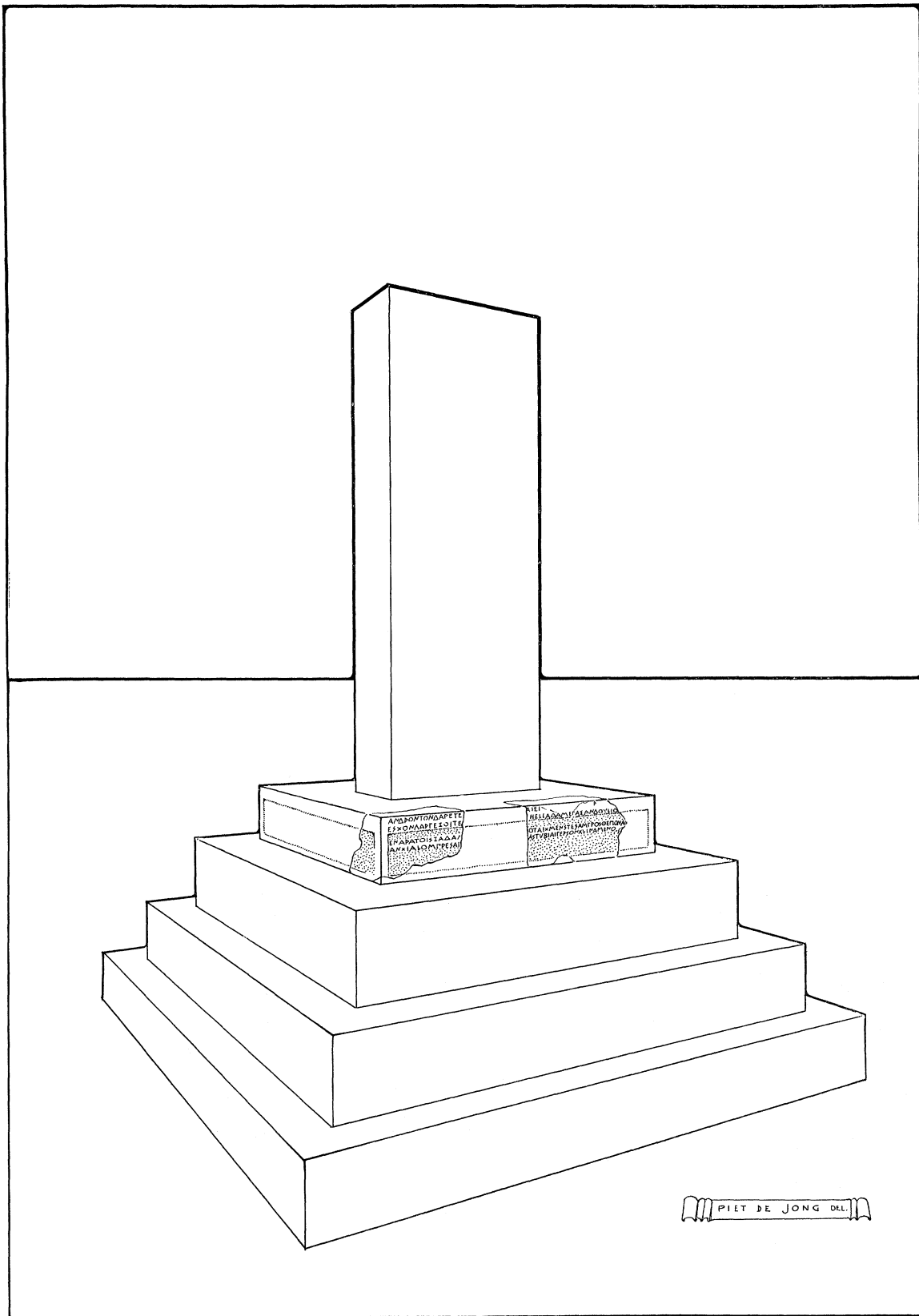
Fig. 1. Reconstruction of Monument with Marathon Epigrams

Wilhelm has returned to an old suggestion of his that the monument was of an archaic type on which the inscription ran not from left to right but from top to bottom. The preserved face which I have called the left side of the base is, according to Wilhelm, the top of the monument; the preserved face which I call the top of the base would be the right side of the monument; and the preserved face which I call the bottom of the marble block would be the left side. This monument, then, stood in the Agora, probably in the Stoa of the Herms, where perhaps some of the epigrams, he thinks, were not inscribed actually on herms.

But the dressing of the stone at the beginning of the new fragment proves that it was not a vertical block as Wilhelm requires. He has imagined a monument of which the left and right sides are perfectly smooth, and of which the front and top are rough-picked. The wider smooth band for the inscription on the front might conceivably have run down the edge rather than the middle of the face, but there would be no reason for continuing over the top the same lopsided decoration (a wide smooth band along the right edge, a narrow smooth band along the front edge and the left edge, and a carefully rough-picked surface in the middle). Wilhelm cited no parallel for this decorative scheme. Indeed, he could not, because a monument with this infelicitous decoration would be an architectural monstrosity. The wider smooth band along the same edge of two contiguous faces is explainable only as marking the upper edge of the front and side of a horizontal block.

We may now consider Wilhelm's objection to my reconstruction of the monument as a cenotaph inscribed with the names of the fallen and consisting of a marble stele set in a marble base that is the part to which the two extant fragments belong. He argues most persuasively that the old fragment, being 0.177 m. thick, in that case would necessarily have retained some trace of the socket in which the stele was set, and in the mind of the reader rises the image of the typical Hellenistic stele with a narrow poros base. The monument, however, is not Hellenistic, nor does it record a decree, and it is not a poros base with a purely utilitarian purpose but one of marble fitting into the aesthetic scheme. Fortunately the question is very easily settled by examining other marble bases of the archaic and classical periods. We may start, then, with the Pythagoras monument, which served as the model for my reconstruction of the monument with the Marathon epigrams. Although it consists of a smaller stele and a smaller base than the one with the Marathon epigrams, the distance from the front of the block to the socket is 0.25 m. (Height of base, 0.25 m.) See Figure 2.

Leaving the Pythagoras monument on the right and continuing along the path at the Ceramicus, one can see another base of Pentelic marble at the left by the Eridanus. The stele is broken away in the socket. It is another funerary monument. The inscription which is engraved on the base dates from the archaic period and will soon be published by Werner Peek. Although the monument consisted of a smaller stele and a smaller base than that with the Marathon epigrams, the distance from the front of the block to the socket is 0.21 m. (Height of base 0.26 m.) Dr. Kübler has generously granted me permission to publish the sketch in Figure 3.
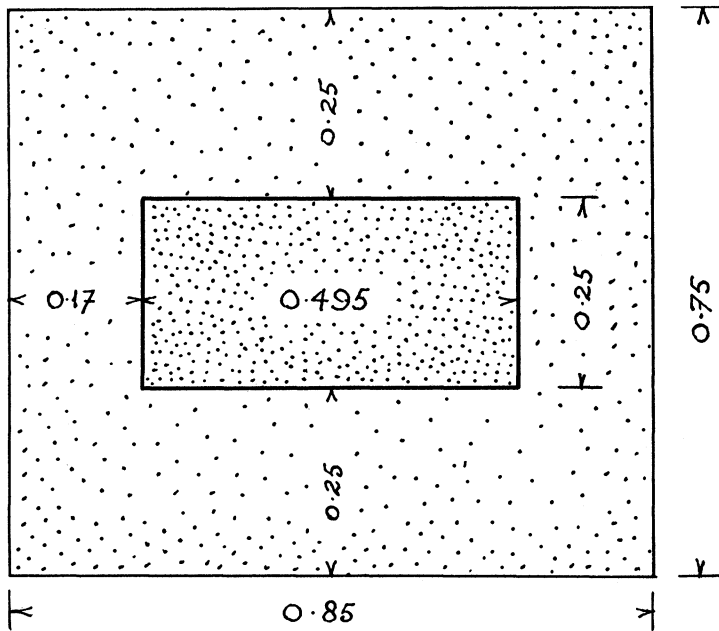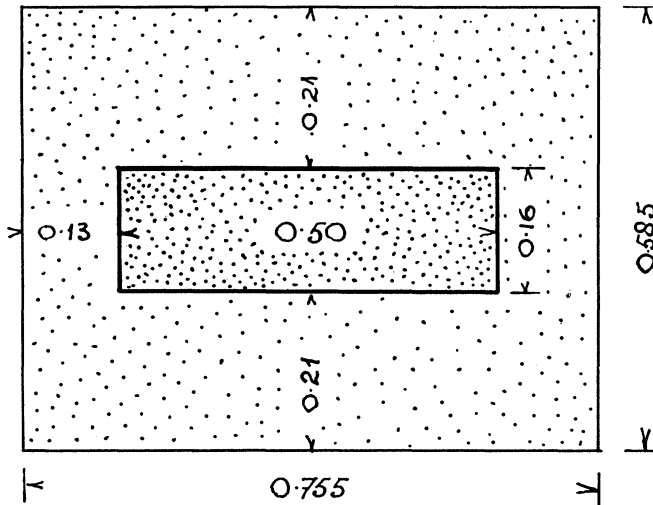
Fig. 2. Top of Base of Pythagoras Monument

Fig. 3. Top of Marble Base found at Ceramicus in 1935

At the entrance to the Epigraphical Museum is another marble base (EM 12809), 0.28 m. high, with an archaic inscription:[1]
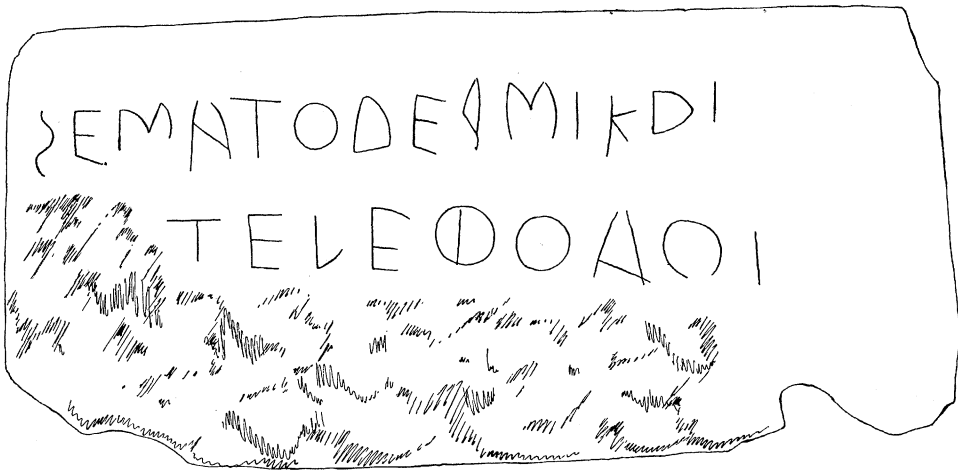

Fig. 4. Inscribed front of EM 12809

The stele is not preserved although the socket remains. The monument consisted of a smaller stele and a smaller base than that with the Marathon epigrams, and yet the distance from the front of the block to the socket is 0.235 m. (See Figure 5.)

With these parallels in mind we may reconstruct the base with the Marathon epigrams as in Figure 6, on the model of the Pythagoras monument.[2] I assume a width of 0.60 m. for the socket because that is about the width of the stele of the casualty list *I.G.*, I[2],

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[1] The base was found by peasants somewhere in the plain of Marathon, and the existence of it was reported by G. Soteriades in the *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, 1933, pp. 42-43. Soteriades assigned it to the first half of the sixth century and edited it *Σῆμα τόδε ἐπὶ κοι*[- - - -] with the observation that the rest was illegible. I think that the name can be recovered in the second line. In the first line, moreover, it seems to me that the stone-cutter started to write *ἐστί* and changed to *εἰμί*, for the letter before the *mu* appears to be corrected from *sigma* to *iota*. This correction misled Soteriades into reading *επ* for *ιμ*. The next to the last letter of line 1 does resemble an *omicron*, but it resembles still more the archaic *rho* in the dedication of Iphicrates which J. Kirchner illustrates, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum* (Berlin, 1935), Tafel 6. I read the inscription:

> *Σῆμα τόδ' εἰμὶ κρι*
> *[τὸν] Τελέφο Ἀφι*
> *[δναῖο]*.

It began as an epigram but the name would not fit in the metre. The adjective *κρι*[*τόν*] may refer to the pretentiousness of the marble base. The occurrence of the word *Ἀφιδναῖος*, if my reading is correct, does not oblige us to date the inscription after the reforms of Cleisthenes, because Aphidna was one of the oldest and most important localities of Attica. (See Milchhoefer's article, *Real-Encyclopädie*, I, 2719 f.) With the man's name may be compared *Prosopographia Attica* 13576. The letters are 0.035 m. high.

[2] The same proportions (not the same actual measurements) are assumed for the base with the Marathon epigrams. The space occupied by the preserved letters indicates that the complete distichs were inscribed on a surface *ca.* 1.05 m. long.
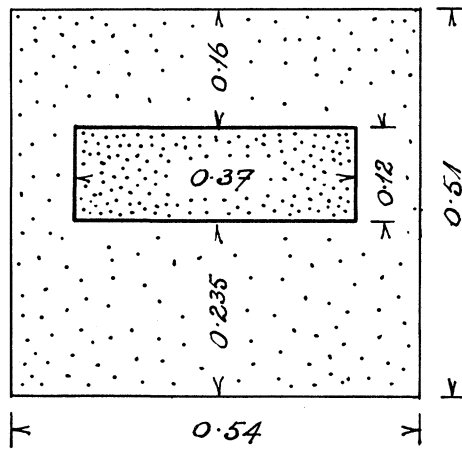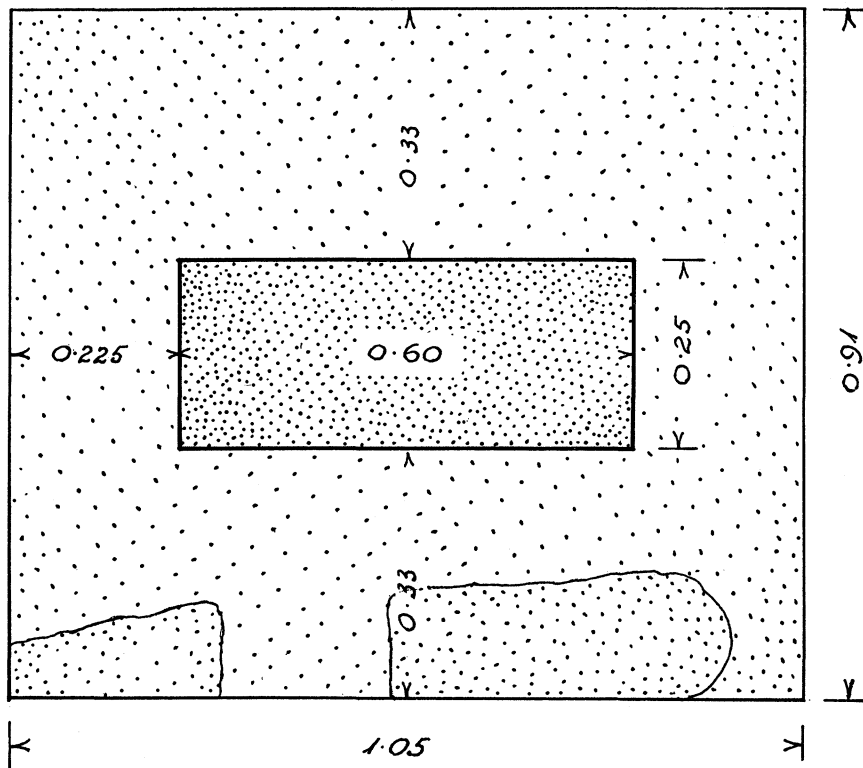
Fig. 5. Top of EM 12809

Fig. 6. Reconstruction of Top of Base inscribed with the Marathon Epigrams

929, which contains a few less names. Obviously the thickness of the extant fragments is not great enough so that the cutting for a socket would have been preserved.

Furthermore, when Wilhelm (p. 107) cites the finding-place of the easily transportable new fragment as an argument that the monument originally stood in the Agora, although the old and larger fragment came from the other side of the Acropolis from Hadrian Street, he is unnecessarily surprised at the suggestion that a stone from the Ceramicus, for example, should appear in the region of the Agora. He has forgotten the great difference between discovery in an ancient context and discovery in a modern wall. When a man at the end of the eighteenth or at the beginning of the nineteenth century set out to build himself a house, a cart gathered stones for him at any convenient place, and both the Acropolis and the Ceramicus were near the Agora. It so happens that by far the largest single group of inscriptions at the Agora is constituted at present of funeral monuments from the Ceramicus, and almost all of these have come from walls or fill of the Turkish and modern periods.

The fundamental difference between my explanation and that of Wilhelm lies in the interpretation of the demonstrative pronouns τῶνδε in the first epigram and τοῖσδε (written τοῖσζ') in the second. As evidence that the pronoun οἵδε indicates the presence of a list of names I could point to a vast multitude of epigraphical documents. If so, it must here have been the casualty list for the obvious reason that it would have been impossible to engrave the names of all the ten-thousand who participated in the battle. This use of οἵδε is familiar, not only from the extant casualty lists and the epigrams which accompany them, but also from a great number of literary epigrams on those who have fallen in battle, for these epigrams too were conceived as accompanying a list of names.

Wilhelm has restored the inscription as follows:

I Ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ἀρετὲ[ς λάμφσει κλέος ἄφθιτον] αἰεί [⧂ εὔτολμοι Πε]ρ[σῶν hοὶ στόρεσαν δύναμιν]·
ἔσχον γὰρ πεζοὶ τὲ[ν ἄλκιμον Ἀσίδος hίππο]ν ⧂ Ἑλλά[δα μ]ὲ πᾶσαν δούλιο[ν ἐμαρ ἰδὲν].

II Ἐν ἄρα τοῖσζ' ἀδάμ[αντος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμός], hότ' αἰχμὲν στὲσαμ πρόσθε πυλῶν ἀγ[τία τοχσοφόρον?],
ἀνχίαλομ πρὲσαι β[ολευσαμένον δ' ἐσάοσαν] ἄστυ βίαι Περσῶν κλινάμενο[ι στρατιάν].

Wilhelm explains the demonstrative τῶνδε in line 1 as pointing ahead to a relative clause. I, on the other hand, feel that this is impossible. A relative clause dependent upon τῶνδε might well have followed, but the demonstrative pointed to a list of names. Such a use of οἵδε at the most would be comparatively rare. With a similar thought in the Eion epigram the poet expressed himself, not οἵδε οἵ – –, but ἐκεῖνοι οἵ – –. To assume also in the second epigram a rare use of οἵδε instead of the simple interpretation that it refers to the same list of names as does the pronoun in the first epigram, seems to me rather forced. But after all, where is the relative clause in the second epigram? Does not the word τοῖσδε here require a list of names?

Wilhelm, moreover, concludes (p. 107) that since according to his restoration the epigrams say that these men have won the battle and saved both Athens and all Hellas,

the epigrams cannot belong to a monument in honor of the heroic dead, because it was not just the one-hundred-ninety-two fallen who won the battle but all the ten-thousand together. I, however, feel that a poet might not have been so exact as Wilhelm. Especially if he himself had fought in the famous battle, as I believe about the author of the second epigram, or even if he did not, the poet might well have said of the fallen heroes that with their courage they had saved Athens and had destroyed the Persian host, and he might not have feared that his readers would receive the impression that the rest of the ten-thousand had given no help. Therefore in Wilhelm's version of the epigram I find nothing incompatible with my own thesis, but, if there were, it would not prove anything, for Wilhelm's restoration, or that of anyone else, is only a restoration which, because of the character of the inscription and the size of the lacuna, could never be more than a mere possibility.

It is interesting to consider the first poem in comparison with the epigram on the men who fell at Tegea:[1]

$$τῶνδε δι' ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὰν οὐχ ἵκετο καπνὸς$$
$$αἰθέρα δαιομένης εὐρυχόρου Τεγέης,$$
$$οἳ βούλοντο πόλιν μὲν ἐλευθερίᾳ τεθαλυῖαν$$
$$παισὶ λιπεῖν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐν προμάχοισι θανεῖν.$$

The latter epigram once stood on the lower part or on the base of a stele engraved with the names of the fallen, but now lost; or, at least, it was composed as for this type of monument. Both Hiller von Gaertringen[2] and Wilhelm have recognized that it displays the influence of the first of the two Marathon epigrams. In my opinion it displays even an affinity of type, but I should be censured for exaggerating a literary reminiscence into an identity of literary type, if I based my argument upon it. And yet with less reason, it seems to me, Wilhelm has done just that in comparing the second of the two Marathon epigrams with the epigram on the Athenians who fought at Eion.

$$Ἦν ἄρα κἀκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἳ ποτε Μήδων$$
$$παισὶν ἐπ' Ἠϊόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοάς,$$
$$λιμόν τ' αἴθωνα κρατερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἄρηα$$
$$πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὗρον ἀμηχανίην.$$

The Eion epigram according to Aeschines (*Ctes.*, 184) adorned a herm, but our stone is obviously not a herm. The Eion epigram belongs to a series with which it is joined by the strong connective καί, but the second of the Marathon epigrams is a unit by itself like any of the three elegies on the monument for the men who fell at Potidaea. In the Marathon epigram does not occur the particle ποτε to suggest that the event happened

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[1] *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 512 (= Hiller von Gaertringen, *Hist. Gr. Epigr.*, no. 39). In the Anthology the epigram is attributed to Simonides.

[2] *Hermes*, LXIX (1934), p. 204.

long ago.[1] In the Eion epigram does not occur the word *οἵδε* to indicate a list of names accompanying the inscription.

Professor Meritt has written to me that he has seen at London the stone with the epigrams of *I.G.*, I², 945 on the Athenians who fell at Potidaea, and that he finds in this block an excellent parallel for the stone with the Marathon epigrams. The front face is smooth and carries the three epigrams. The top surface is in part preserved (a small section about 6×12 cm. near the left end), and is smooth like the front. It was meant to be seen and no other object stood on top of it. The left end of the block is preserved, and has anathyrosis, down the front side and across the top—not along the bottom. This base was not free-standing, then, like the Marathon one, but was set next to some other monument on the left. A modern saw has cut away the whole reverse of the stone, leaving now a depth of only 18 cm. (at bottom) to 15 cm. (at top). This modern saw cut in from the original top surface almost to the bottom, and then the front was split off. The area of cutting and the area of splitting are perfectly clear, and prove that we are dealing with the original top and bottom surfaces. In other words, the height of the stone, 0.32 m., is the entire original height. The cutting for the stele with the names would have been on the other piece which is now lost. The notion that there was ever a sculptured relief above the inscription is erroneous, and it arose only because years ago Boeckh in looking over Fauvel's notes combined into one monument two quite separate drawings that happened to be on the same page (cf. *C.I.G.*, I, 170 and p. 906).

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[1] Cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LIII (1933), pp. 71–82.

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