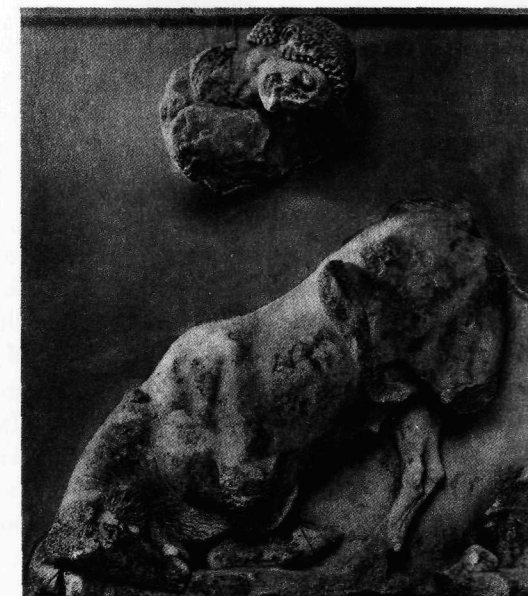


What follows is not a definitive account – not everyone is convinced of what Pausanias records about Marathonian memorials, and some of the monuments he notes as Marathon-inspired, for example the Temple of Artemis Eukleia at Athens (I. 14.5), have simply not been traced. But there is nevertheless a substantial archaeological witness to Marathon's legacy.

The Athenian Treasury at Delphi. It is a measure of the confidence that some Classical archaeologists have in their own dating systems that they are prepared to challenge Pausanias when he states (X. 11.5) that the Athenian Treasury at Delphi was put up with the spoils seized after Marathon. In purely stylistic terms, the architecture and sculptural decoration of this bijoux building are plausibly pre-490 BC, though by hardly more than a decade. Those reluctant to accept Pausanias hypothesize that he gained his idea of a Marathonian memorial from an inscription which runs along a base below the south-facing wall of the Treasury, and which can be reconstructed as: *Athenaioi toi Apolloni apo Medon akrothinia tes Marathoni maches*: 'The Athenians [dedicate] to Apollo spoils from the Medes of the battle at Marathon'. This, they say, was a subsequent dedication, and does not relate to the entire Treasury. And yet Pausanias is unequivocal about his attribution: moreover, rather than quoting the inscription, he mentions the Median general at Marathon, Datis, as if he fully understood the historical implications of this commemorative building.

A solution to the dating difficulties may be to regard the Athenian Treasury as a turn of the century project which was 'usurped' by Marathon: that is to say, the victory became a retrospective *raison d'être* for the Treasury, very soon after its erection. If so, the choice of subjects for the metopal decoration of the Treasury was uncannily apt. On the north side were select deeds of Herakles – and it should be remembered that the Athenians and their Plataean allies gathered at the shrine of Herakles at Marathon before the engagement (and that later mythology alleged the participation of Herakles himself in the battle). On the east side was a scene of Greeks versus Amazons; Amazons who had, mythically, invaded and been repulsed from Attica like the Persians and also dressed like them (trouser-suits), and fought like them (bows and arrows, on horseback), and came from the Orient too. On the south side – which was the most conspicuous, since it faced the Sacred Way, and would have been noticed by all pilgrims toiling up to the main Temple of Apollo – were deeds of Theseus, including his forays against the Amazons, and one of his exploits in Attica: wrestling with the monstrous bull of Marathon (ill. 89). If these metopes were carved before 490 BC, they were done with great iconographic foresight. It was under these scenes of Theseus – also believed to have come to the aid of the Greeks at Marathon – that the Persian spoils (*akrothinia*) would be displayed.



89 Theseus and the Marathonian Bull on an early fifth-century BC metope from the Athenian Treasury at Delphi.

This makes sense as a symbolic ensemble. It has to be pointed out, however, that the inscribed base was much altered in antiquity, and some have wondered whether this was not in fact the base of the monument that Pausanias saw just inside the entrance to Delphi, with statues of Apollo, Athena, Miltiades and others upon it, which in a subsequent re-ordering of the sanctuary was shifted up to the Athenian Treasury. We shall address that monument shortly (below), but, whatever the truth of the matter, we are still left with the fact that Pausanias thought the Treasury a Marathonian monument.

Delphi was certainly an effective site for broadcasting triumph to other Greek states. The sanctuary could almost be termed a gigantic pan-Hellenic war memorial. At another Athenian contribution to the sanctuary, the Athenian Stoa, pride of place went to the display of lengths of cable cut from the pontoon bridge Xerxes built across the Hellespont. Even if it was not originally conceived as such, it was entirely appropriate that the Athenian Treasury should have been presented at Delphi as a thank-offering for the Marathon victory.

The Stoa Poikile. Erected in the northwest corner of the Athenian Agora, the Stoa Poikile ('Painted Colonnade') was, for hundreds of years, one of the great rendezvous-points of Athens. Frequented not only by philosophers (hence 'Stoics'), its public location heightened the importance and influence of the paintings commissioned to decorate its walls. Though we

cannot be sure what they looked like, nor even who painted them, their subjects – described by Pausanias and others – are crucial knowledge for anyone seeking to understand the iconography of Classical art. One mural depicted a battle between Spartans and Athenians at a Peloponnesian site called Oenoe, a battle which remains otherwise undocumented, though commemorative inscriptions at Delphi refer to it. Another mural, by the painter Mikon, depicted a battle between Greeks and Amazons, perhaps placing this mythological encounter at Marathon. A third mural, by Polygnotus, depicted the Greek seizure of Troy; and the fourth, perhaps a joint enterprise between several painters, showed Marathon.

The Marathon painting was undoubtedly considered the most important of this quartet. Pausanias says that it portrayed the main engagement of the Athenian–Plataean troops with the enemy, the flight of the Persians into marshy ground, and further action at the Persian ships. In addition to a portrait of Miltiades, other figures within the scene were recognizable: one Kynegiros, who had his hand lopped off as he grabbed a Persian prow; Kallimachos, the *polemarch*, who, though pierced by multiple arrows, refused to collapse; an Athenian struck blind in the heat of the action; a loyal dog who charged into battle with his master. The plough-hero Echetlaeus, mentioned elsewhere by Pausanias, was apparently depicted; also Theseus, ‘seeming to rise out of the earth’ – a timely epiphany or *anodos* by Attica’s proprietary hero (cf. Plutarch, *Life of Theseus*, 35).

The Stoa Poikile may have been put up by Kimon’s brother-in-law, Peisianax, and Kimonian touches are manifest: distinction for his father, Miltiades, and assistance from Theseus, whose bones Kimon claimed to have found on the island of Skyros in the course of one of his eastward campaigns. But more importantly, we see (as the Classical Athenians saw) where Marathon stood as an event: on a par with the mythical struggles against Amazons and Trojans, and as a battle which not only defined Greeks against barbarians, but also Athenians against Spartans – hence perhaps the inclusion of the battle of Oenoe in this programme of paintings. Even if we do not know much about it, Oenoe at least reinforces the conspicuous failure of the Spartans to join the action at Marathon. Some scholars, worried by our paucity of information about the battle of Oenoe, suggest that Pausanias got it wrong, and the painting showed Athenian and Plataean forces meeting up at another Oenoe, very close to Marathon. But it seems unlikely that Pausanias should have seriously misinterpreted such a well-known piece of Athenian propaganda (and even more unlikely that the role of the Plataeans should have been made so conspicuous at Athens).

Athena Promachos. Pausanias (I. 28.2) records that this large bronze statue was made by Pheidias, funded by booty collected from the Persians at

Marathon. The fragmentary public accounts that survive for the statue do not clarify whether this involved melting down captured Persian weapons and armour and turning them into the statue, but it seems likely that it occupied a very central position on the Akropolis, perhaps close to where other Persian spoils (*aristeia*, ‘best things’, as they were proudly called) were displayed. The basic image is known from coins – Athena helmeted, with spear and shield; and the accounts imply exterior ornamentation in silver. ‘Promachos’ – literally ‘the frontline fighter’ – is a post-Classical designation: even after the creation of the colossal Athena Parthenos, Athenians seem usually to have referred to the Promachos as ‘the big one’ (*ten megalen*). It is estimated to have stood about 9 m (30 ft) high: sailors approaching Athens from Cape Sounion, claims Pausanias, could glimpse the shining helmet crest and the tip of Athena’s spear. In time, evidently, and despite the monumentalization all around (the massive Periklean gateways, or Propylaea, must have diminished the general visibility of the statue), Athena Promachos became a landmark of good luck or *tyche*.

If the Promachos was indeed *technē Pheidion* as Pausanias relates, then it was probably not erected until some twenty or thirty years after Marathon. The accounts relating to the statue, although fragmentary, record that it occupied at least eight years of work, at a public cost of 500,000 drachmas, and epigraphers put the date of the statue at around 465–455 BC. Was much booty seized at Marathon – and more importantly, did it survive the Persian occupation of Athens? That we cannot tell. Historical accounts of the battle of Plataea in 479 BC say that Greek forces there gathered large quantities of precious vessels and ceremonial weapons, some of which (for example the golden dagger of the Persian general Mardonius) were eventually displayed within the Parthenon. But perhaps it is misguided to question whether the Promachos was made from spoils taken at Marathon or spoils taken at Plataea. The important point to register is that this talismanic statue of Athena was considered as a thank-offering for Marathon: Marathon, in the Athenian imagination, overshadowed Plataea.

A lesser image of the goddess, carved around 470 BC, may be mentioned here (ill. 90). Recent scholarship prefers not to commit the epithet ‘Mourning’ to this relief of a barefoot Athena, leaning gravely on her spear by some *stèle* or marker-stone (*horos*), but the old interpretation, that Athena is here grieving for Athenian casualties, makes perfectly good sense. The Marathonian dead were listed on just such *stelai*.

The trophy at Marathon. There is no certitude as to the whereabouts or nature of the monument in honour of Miltiades which Pausanias says he saw at Marathon; but of the ‘white marble trophy’ mentioned by him there are traces built into a medieval tower on the site. This seems to have been



90 ‘Mourning Athena’; a relief of c. 470 BC.



a single, large column, about 10 m (33 ft) high, capped by an Ionic capital and a statue (probably a Nike figure) with some emblematic trophy. It is thought that it originally stood near the marshy area at Marathon, where the Persians suffered their heaviest losses. Dating the column is a problem: Vanderpool's estimate is the mid-fifth century BC.

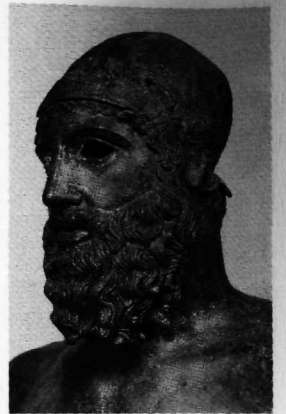
The Marathon monument at Delphi. From Pausanias' description of this monument, we learn that Miltiades was truly heroized as the inspirational *strategos* of Marathon: he stood next to Apollo and Athena, in an ensemble that comprised thirteen figures. Of the remaining ten, seven of those named match the Eponymous Heroes of Attica, and perhaps reflect the tribal order of battle at Marathon: Erechtheus, Kekrops, Pandion, Leos, Antiochos, Aigeus and Akamas. Pausanias then lists three further names: Kodros, Theseus and Philaios (or Neleus, in some manuscripts). The usual representatives of the tribes Hippothontis, Aiantis and Oineis seem to be missing. In that respect, these three intruders are perplexing. Herodotus

91 Statue B of the Riace Bronzes, found in the sea off southern Italy; c. 450 BC.

(VI. 35) says that Miltiades was descended from one Philaios, so perhaps one Eponymous Hero has been dislodged on that account. It has been surmised that Ajax's omission may be part of Marathon's magnification at the expense of Salamis. Ajax was the cult hero of Salamis, and in the Herodotean account of the battle of Salamis was invoked by the Greeks before their successful action. Such would also be a reason for inserting Theseus, who magically appeared at Marathon. About Kodros, a legendary early king of Athens, we can say little with respect to Marathon, though mythology involves him with the Delphic Oracle. But since we know that the monument was tampered with by Hellenistic monarchs, and Pausanias is not always accurate in his transcriptions of names and identities, it is probably foolish to get obsessed by precisely who stood in the group, and why. What is most conspicuous is the inclusion of Miltiades.

If, as is generally accepted, the Marathon monument was dedicated from Athenian public funds under the sponsorship of Kimon around 450 BC (that is, between Kimon's return from ostracism and his fatal expedition to Cyprus), it is perhaps not surprising to find Miltiades so elevated at Delphi (and another reason for Theseus muscling in on the Eponymous Heroes). Overweening of the Kimonids it may have been, but the lapse of time between the death of Miltiades and this monument, the precedent of his individual heroization in the Stoa Poikile, and perhaps the distance of Delphi from Athens, would have diminished the chances of denunciation by other Athenian factions. And the inclusion of a heroized *strategos* at this monument has opened the way for a persuasive argument that the Riace Bronzes are two survivors of the group of thirteen figures that Pausanias saw at Delphi.

That the group should have suffered wholesale or piecemeal theft by Roman collectors is perfectly plausible; nor is there anything implausible about the eventual recovery of the bronzes from south Italian waters in 1972, though one theory would prefer them to be original Greek work from Sicily, perhaps representing a pair of colonial founding fathers (*oikistai*) from some city such as Gela or Akragas. But what favours the Delphi connection is the statue we know simply as 'Statue B' (ills 91 and 92), who patently once wore a helmet, tipped back in the style that posthumous portraits of Athenian generals, such as the well-known bust of Perikles (ill. 93), usually adopt. Most scholars believe that the Riace figures are from an ensemble of similar bronzes – that is, a 'set' of statues relating, with minor variations, to a single type or model – and are stylistically datable to the mid-fifth century BC. The options for an attested provenance, then, are limited to three. The first is the group of Greek ('Achaean') heroes that stood by the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, waiting to see who would fight against Hector: Pausanias (V. 25.8) says that ten figures comprised the group. Riace 'Statue A' might well accord with the imagined iconography



92 Detail of Riace Statue B, which once wore a tipped-back helmet.



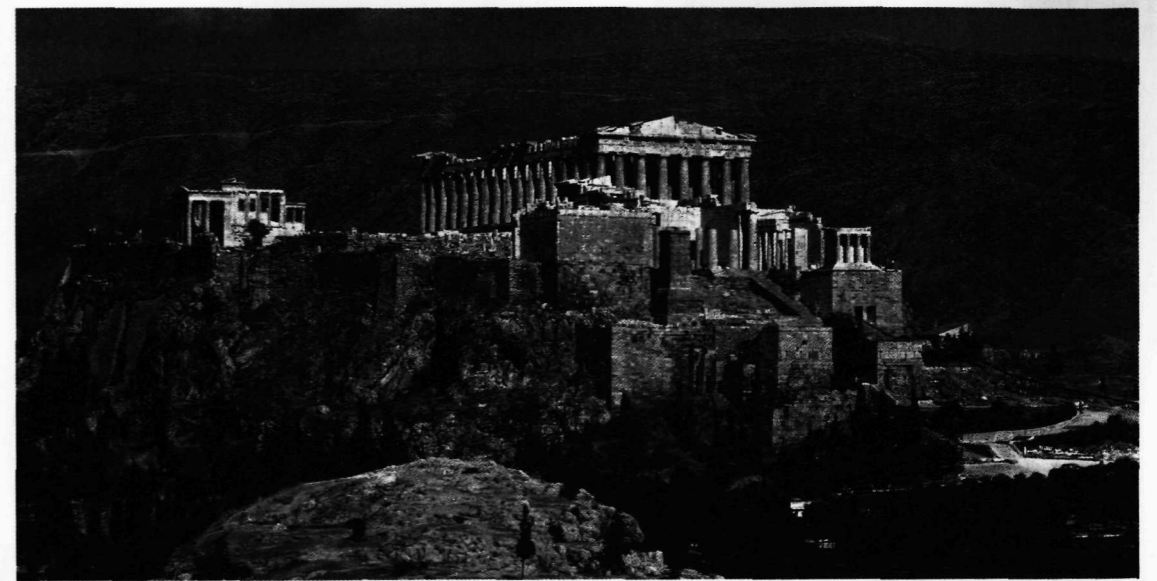
93 Bust of Perikles: a copy, from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, of an original of perhaps 425 BC.

of these figures, as an Agamemnon or an Odysseus; it is harder to see why any of the Homeric heroes should have been portrayed like an Athenian general. The second is the line of the Eponymous Heroes erected in the Athenian Agora; but from what we understand of their iconography, these were not bellicose figures and were more likely to have been draped and contemplative. The third option is the Marathon monument at Delphi. And here, obviously, is a place for 'Statue B': bearded, as later images of Miltiades were – and, more convincingly, directly evoking his role at Marathon with the tipped-back helmet. (It would have been neat to have found the actual helmet of Miltiades at Delphi, but this seems to have survived as a trophy from Olympia.)

The case for placing the Riace Bronzes at Delphi cannot be fully proved, though it remains the most attractive provenance available. Whether or not the bronzes belong, however, is not essential to the present argument. All that needs to be registered here is that the Athenians, forty years on from Marathon, chose to commemorate the battle very conspicuously at Delphi (no pilgrim to Delphi could miss the group, immediately on the left-hand side of the main entrance to the sanctuary); and, if only thanks to Kimon's shrewd filial piety, they were prepared to acknowledge Miltiades, the prime mover of Marathon, as one of the immortals. The nostalgic heroization of Miltiades would not be without parallel elsewhere in Greece: in the 440s BC the Spartans would stage fresh funeral rites for their hero-general Leonidas, who in 480 BC had staged the suicidal gallantry of holding back the Persians at Thermopylae.

Readers who accept this much will shortly be required to accept even more: the hypothesis that the Parthenon frieze, conceived a decade after the Delphi monument, and under the political sponsorship of Perikles, enemy of Kimon, also contained an element of Marathon commemoration. But before we approach that proposal, let us take stock of the wider circumstantial politics of Athens and Persia in the mid-fifth century BC.

Kimon's campaigns against the Persians were based on an alliance which we know as the Delian League. The facts of its establishment are not clear: it is called 'Delian' because the island sanctuary of Delos was originally chosen as the treasury for the funds pooled by all those Greek city-states (mostly in Ionia) who needed to protect themselves against Persian aggression. Later (probably in 454 BC) the funds were transferred to Athens: a recognition that effectively the allies relied upon the largely Athenian navy for their protection. Tribute continued to be collected by Athens, in fact, even after peace had been negotiated with the Persians. This is the agreement known as the 'Peace of Kallias', apparently arranged in 448 BC, not long after Kimon's death in 450 BC, during his campaign to 'liberate' Cyprus from the Persians.



94 General view of the Athenian Akropolis, from the northwest.

Even in antiquity the terms of the treaty accredited to Kallias (brother-in-law of Kimon) were challenged, but that need not concern us. Back in Athens, Perikles was ascendant, and he almost immediately began that massive programme of public spending which we call the Parthenon (though it includes the monumental entrance to the Akropolis, the Propylaea, and elides into other temples: the Erechtheum, and the Nike Bastion). Even today we can still capture something of the spectacular nature of this project (*ill. 94*). It may be that Kimon himself had started a 'hundred-footer' (*Hekatompedon*) temple on the Akropolis: Rhys Carpenter once argued optimistically that this was why the metopes of the Parthenon look, in stylistic terms, out of kilter with the rest of the sculptural project – because they were meant for a 'Kimonian' Parthenon, whose architect was dismissed when Perikles replaced Kimon. The initiative, however, may have been entirely Perikleian; and the sources suggest that it depended very much on the use or abuse of Delian League funds, which might be deemed 'available' for non-military use once peace had been negotiated with the Persians. But the settlement of peace did not betoken an end to the definition of the Persians as, generically, 'the enemy'. Triumphalism was bound to permeate public works, and it is entirely credible that one of the less-discussed Perikleian buildings, the Odeion – a huge, multi-pillared auditorium erected on the south slope of the Akropolis – featured a conical roof based on the shape of Xerxes' tent (as Pausanias reports: I. 20.5), and that masts and spars of Persian ships captured at Salamis were incorporated into the roof structures.