

Sparta and Athens: A monumental confrontation.*

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This paper addresses the monuments and spatial confrontation between Athens and Sparta during the fifth century, a period marked by rising tensions between these two preeminent city states culminating in the Peloponnesian War and the defeat of Athens. Often the rhetoric of orators or speeches in Thucydides have been closely studied, while the monuments, though more accessible to the world beyond Athens and Sparta, have played a supporting role. Throughout this work I maintain a narrow focus on the relationship between Athens and Sparta as projected by a handful of monuments, rather than attempt a sweeping overview of their respective monumental styles, nor will I fully consider the wide range of meanings such monuments would project beyond this relationship. It is certainly not my intention to suggest that the material under consideration here had no further motivation or impact beyond the rivalry of these two *poleis*. In consideration of the time and space available here I have limited the discussion to the dialogue between four major monuments in two locations: the monuments for Marathon and Aigospotamoi at Delphi, and the Stoa *Poikile* and Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in the city of Athens. These examples only offer a glimpse of the rivalry and propaganda which developed throughout the fifth century between Athens and Sparta. Nevertheless, I believe that the tension between the two cities as reflected in these monuments represents an interesting and previously under investigated field of study. I hope to demonstrate that the Athenian monuments had motivations beyond the internal factors which are often the focus of scholars,¹¹⁴ and that the Spartans, often maligned for their lack of interest in monumental display,¹¹⁵ were able to adapt their monuments according to the space which they occupied in order to compete with Athens.

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¹¹⁴ Athenian monuments at Delphi: Scott 2014, 128-30; City of Athens: Arrington 2010

¹¹⁵ Palagia 2009, 32.

Delphi and the leadership credentials of Athens.

Delphi, the heart of the Greek world, site of the most famous oracle, and recipient of the most lavish victory monuments from the Persian Wars (and beyond), represents an obvious starting point for a spatial confrontation. Sparta, despite close links with the oracle,¹¹⁶ appears not to have offered any major dedications of its own before the end of the fifth century, preferring to erect victory monuments at the much closer Olympia or at home.¹¹⁷ We should however mention the famous serpent column,¹¹⁸ notionally a dedication from the whole allied Greek force, but which nevertheless had strong links to Sparta. The form of the monument: a tripod and supporting column statue, was a form of which the Spartans appear especially fond from the 7th century onwards,¹¹⁹ though it was certainly not a form unique to Sparta.¹²⁰ The Spartan finger print is best evidenced by the regent Pausanias' daring original inscription, projecting the column as his own victory monument. The implicit level of Spartan control is visible in that, according to Thucydides, it is the 'Lakedaimonians', who erase the original inscription and replace it with the names of participating *poleis* with Lakedaimon at the top.¹²¹ This monument is in keeping with the wider practice of commanders being placed in charge of the spoils of war and overseeing their dedication in temples,¹²² yet we might wonder whether it served as a visual reminder of Sparta's leading role in the defeat of the Persians. Sparta's position as leader had, after all, never previously been in doubt and it is interesting to

¹¹⁶ Hdt. 6.57.3-4 on *Pythioi*, special Spartan envoys to Delphi.

¹¹⁷ Neer 2001, 285 suggests that IG. I².272 (which he wrongly cites as 292), a dedication at Delphi from a certain Alkibiades, was Lakedaimonian. However, the letter forms are certainly Attic (*LSAG*², 78, no.39) and the monument has been convincingly linked with Alkibiades the elder, the Athenian statesman of the late 6th century (Vanderpool 1952). The text, aside from being in Attic script, mentions nothing in connection with Lakedaimon or Sparta. Daux 1922, 339-445. For numerous large bronze vessels dedicated at Olympia, cf. Morgan 1990, 30-1; 97-103; Scott 2010, 146; 125-3. The most prominent fifth century victory dedication was a golden shield affixed to the temple of Hera after the battle of Tanagra, which explicitly names itself as 'a gift from the Argives, Athenians, and Ionians' (δῶρον ἅπ' Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰόνων): Paus. 5.10.4.

¹¹⁸ Stephensen 2016, esp. ch. 1-3 for a thorough review of the historiography and archaeology of the serpent column.

¹¹⁹ Stibbe 2000, 180-1. Tripods with statues at Amyklai (including two dedicated by Lysander after Aigospotamoi): Paus. 3.18.7-8. Jefferey and Cartledge 1982, 255-6 for a lion attachment from a large bronze vessel on Samos. Morgan 1990, 97-103.

¹²⁰ Chamoux 1970 for tripods with caryatid sculptures beneath. Neer 2001, 295-6 for a summary of the status of tripods in Archaic Greece.

¹²¹ Thuc. 1.132.2-3. The letters of the inscription are Phokian (*LSAG*², 104, no. 15) suggesting that the inscription was carried out by local craftsmen, though probably at the behest of the Lakedaimonians after the initial erection of the monument as per the Thucydides passage.

¹²² Pritchett 1971 (I), Ch.3-4 for commanders vs private soldiers in sanctuary dedications.

note that while Herodotus might argue that the Athenians were the ‘saviours of Greece’, he is forced to concede that this opinion will be unpopular with many.¹²³

The aftermath of the Persian Wars saw many *poleis* celebrate and promote their own contribution, and Athens was certainly no exception.¹²⁴ The growing power and ambition of Athens soon led to a propaganda war between Athens and Sparta, as recorded in the speeches of Thucydides.¹²⁵ The most striking statement of newfound Athenian power came through the erection of an Athenian monument to the battle of Marathon at the very beginning of the sacred way in Delphi (Fig. 2). Little archaeological material has survived which can be confidently connected to the monument, with no definitive base identified,¹²⁶ but it has been suggested that it would have been composed of hollow cast bronze statues, in competition with two similar Tarentine dedications close by.¹²⁷ We are therefore reliant on the testimony of Pausanias when attempting to reconstruct the identity and arrangement of the statues involved. According to the *Periegate* (10.10.1), the original statues on the monument were divided into four categories (Table 1):

¹²³ Hdt. 7.139. Evans 1979 for a discussion of the significance of the *encomium* with special reference to its date. Cf. also Hammond 1996, 2-10 on a rival, more pro-Spartan source as the common basis for the accounts of Diodorus, Justin, and Plutarch.

¹²⁴ Cf., for example, IG I³.1143; Plut. *Mor.* 870E, a Corinthian monument apparently claiming sole responsibility for victory in the war. Athenian trophies were also erected at Marathon (Paus. 1.32.4), the remains of which Vanderpool (1967) dates to c.460, and Salamis, (Plat. *Menex.* 245a; Lyc.1.73) cf. Kinnee 2018, 51-3.

¹²⁵ Thuc. 1.62-78.

¹²⁶ A base on the Athenian treasury could be connected to Marathon monument (Davison 2013, 306-9 for discussion). It is inscribed: ‘Ἀθηναῖοι τ[ο]ῖ Ἀπόλλων[ι ἀπὸ Μέρδ]ον ἀκροθίνια τες Μαραθ[ο]νι μ[άχης]’ - ‘The Athenians to Apollo, the first fruits (*of booty*) from the Medes at the Battle of Marathon’ (Amandry 1998, 76). The inscription has been re-cut but the original letters appear to date c. 480-460. This association has been rejected by both Bommelaer 1991, 111 and Amandry 1998, 87-9, who believed this a separate monument and that any statues once present on the treasury base were removed by the time of Pausanias’ visit.

¹²⁷ Davison 2013, 303-4; Harrison 1996, 23-5.

Gods	Athena Apollo
Historical	Miltiades
Tribal Heroes	Erechtheus Kekrops Pandion Leos Antiochus Aegeus Akamas
Non-tribal Heroes	Kodrus Theseus Philaos

Table 1: The grouping of statues in the Marathon Monument.

Unlike the statues of the Aigospotamoi monument (see below), which Pausanias probably enumerated in roughly the order in which they appeared, the division of the statues in the Marathon monument into categories precludes any attempt at reconstructing the order of the statues, although it is noteworthy that the tribal heroes are not listed in their traditional order.¹²⁸ Three canonical tribal heroes (Oineus, Ajax, and Hipothoon) are excluded in favour of Kodrus, Theseus, and Philaios (and possibly Miltiades). Oineus may be replaced by a combination of Miltiades and Philaios, both members of the Oineis tribe and ancestors of Kimon, whose influence is strongly felt throughout the monument.¹²⁹ The two ‘foreign’ heroes, Ajax and Hipothoon are replaced by Theseus, the Athenian hero par excellence, and Kodrus, most famous for repelling a Dorian invasion of Attika and leading the colonisation of Ionia. Kodrus’ inclusion is particularly interesting, appealing to both the Ionian colonies which were now part of the Delian league, but also serving as a reminder of Athens’ ability to repel Dorian invaders from their country.

¹²⁸ Davison 2013, 305-6.

¹²⁹ Davison 2013, pers. comm. Miltiades was not the first ‘real’ general to be included in a victory monument at Delphi, Paus. 10.1.10 speaks of a Phokian dedication containing statues of the seer Tellias and the Phokian generals and heroes sent to Delphi after a victory over the Thessalians c. 500-490.

This statue group, erected as part of a major Athenian monumental building program in the sanctuary,¹³⁰ dominated the entranceway, making a greater impact than would have been possible closer to the temple itself, the surrounds of which were at that point cluttered with a great many dedications. The choice of battle commemorated (Marathon) and the dating of the monument (late 460s)¹³¹ conspire to project a very anti-Spartan message. We should note that the Treasury of the Athenians, further up the sacred way, was also said to be a tithe of the Battle of Marathon,¹³² but considerable uncertainty over the date of its construction hinders an attempt to include it as part of the specific rivalry between Athens and Sparta that is the focus of the present work.¹³³ Marathon, unlike the Greek victories at Plataia and (even) Salamis,¹³⁴ was free from the shadow of Spartan command and thus showcased Athens' ability to stand up to the mighty Persian empire alone (with the help of the Plataians whose involvement is ignored or emphasised depending on the occasion). Furthermore, Athens had requested Spartan assistance, only to hear that the latter could not help immediately due to the celebration of a festival, a delay which meant that they missed the battle entirely.¹³⁵ The erection of the monument in the late 460s came shortly after Lakonikē suffered a damaging earthquake (465/4), resulting in a major revolt of the Helots, Sparta's servile slave population. Athenian troops, under the command of Kimon, had even been dismissed by the Spartans under suspicion of colluding with the rebellious Helots.¹³⁶ This revolt effectively occupied Sparta for many years, leading to an accelerated withdrawal from concerns beyond their own borders, a process already underway due to dissatisfaction with the command of Pausanias and Athenian enthusiasm in taking on the mantle of command.¹³⁷ By the time the of the next Athenian monumental dedication at Delphi, the Athenian Stoa, Sparta and Athens were engaged in all-out war. This stoa was also recorded as a tithe, not from the Medes or Marathon, but from the Greeks of Elis, Lakedaimon, Sikyon, Megara, Pellene, Ambrakia, Leukas, and Corinth.¹³⁸

¹³⁰ Scott 2010, 77-81.

¹³¹ Harrison 1996, 26.

¹³² Paus. 10.11.5.

¹³³ For the argument that the treasury was originally constructed before Marathon: Floren 1987, 247-50; Harrison 1965; von den Hoff 2009, 98. A date soon after the battle is preferable and borne out better by the archaeology, cf. Bommelaer 1991, 137; Morgan 1969, 209 n.17; Rolley 1994, 218-9. It may be that the association between the Treasury and Marathon came later, at a similar time to the construction of the Marathon monument (which Paus. 10.10.1 also calls a tithe of the battle), but this is extremely speculative.

¹³⁴ Hdt. 8.42 names Eurybiades (the Spartan) as *Nauarch* of the whole Greek fleet. Diod. 11.4.2 has Eurybiades in command of all the Northern operations, including Thermopylae and Artemisium.

¹³⁵ Hdt. 6.105-106 for story.

¹³⁶ Thuc. 1.102.

¹³⁷ Compare Thuc. 1.95 (Athenians being asked to take command) with Hdt. 8.3 (Athenian enthusiasm for command). Cf. also 9.106 and 9.114.

¹³⁸ Paus. 10.11.6. On the date of the stoa, see Walsh 1986.

By constructing a major monument, the first that would be seen by a visitor to the sanctuary, to a battle won while the Spartans were occupied at home, at a time when Sparta was more withdrawn than ever from events beyond their own borders, Athens was effectively promoting, on an international stage, its own credentials for the leadership of Greece.

The City of Athens: Spartans as (another) external enemy.

There are far too many monuments with far too many layers of meaning within the city of Athens to attempt any sort of full analysis in the present context. There is, however, one structure which stands out as demonstrably anti-Spartan; the Stoa *Poikile* (painted stoa), named for the four major paintings which adorned its walls. These depicted Theseus (and the Athenians) battling the Amazons, the sack of Troy by the Greeks, the combined victory of the Athenians and Plataians over the Persians at the battle of Marathon, and the Athenians arrayed against the Lakedaimonians at Oinoe in Argive territory.¹³⁹ This last painting has sparked major debate, due in no small part to its absence from Thucydides' history, leading to a variety of arguments over what conflict is actually depicted. The battle of Oenophyta in 457 has been offered,¹⁴⁰ as has the Spartan siege of Attic Oenoe in 431,¹⁴¹ the battle of Orneai in 415,¹⁴² a battle fought by Iphikrates,¹⁴³ or even another representation of Marathon (with Oinoe being the Oenoe near Marathon).¹⁴⁴ Most recently Palagia, following Stewart, has argued that it depicted an early battle of the newly formed democracy in 506.¹⁴⁵ In addition, there is further disagreement over exactly when this painting was added to the others in the stoa. Stansbury O'Donnell believes that it was added to the others in the late fifth century,¹⁴⁶ Luginbill proposes that it replaced a different painting representing the supplication of the Heracleidae,¹⁴⁷ while it is entirely possible that it was included in the original construction in the 460s. Whatever the battle and whatever the date of the painting, we should believe that Pausanias has correctly identified the combatants, either through an

¹³⁹ Paus. 1.15.

¹⁴⁰ Stier 1934.

¹⁴¹ Taylor 1998, 223.

¹⁴² Pritchett 1980, 46-53.

¹⁴³ Sommerstein 2004, 138-147.

¹⁴⁴ Francis and Vickers 1985, 99-113.

¹⁴⁵ Palagia 2019; Stewart 2019, 61-65.

¹⁴⁶ Stansbury O'Donnell 2005.

¹⁴⁷ Luginbill 2014.

inscription or through understanding of the iconography.¹⁴⁸ Therefore, we find a major Athenian public monument in which the Spartans are depicted alongside Amazons, Trojans, and Persians: all non-Greek, external, often feminised enemies.¹⁴⁹ By the late 420s the stoa *Poikile* was also home to some of the Spartan shields captured by the Athenians on the island of Sphakteria,¹⁵⁰ with other captured shields adorning the prominent Nike temple Bastion.¹⁵¹ The overall effect of this building was therefore to depict Sparta as yet another external enemy who had been overcome by the strength of the Athenians.¹⁵² The placement of the stoa, close to the agora, ensured that this was not simply a monument for the people of Athens, but was also viewed by the great number of visitors to the city. Following the reconstruction of the arrangement of the paintings by Stansbury O'Donnell,¹⁵³ we would expect to find a cluster of Lakedaimonian shields along the short wall at the far end of the stoa when coming into the city, directly opposite the painting of the Athenians arrayed against the Lakedaimonians. The framing effect of the stoa, drawing the viewers' gaze lengthways and towards the short ends,¹⁵⁴ would have highlighted the shields and the Lakedaimonians, creating a neat visual symmetry: the painting depicting the forces of the Athenians and the Lakedaimonians arrayed for battle, the shields showing the result of a recent engagement between the two.

Delphi: The Spartans strike back.

It was not until after the eventual defeat of Athens in 404 that the Spartans attempted to oppose Athenian monumental dominance at Delphi, a decision no doubt influenced by a ban from Olympia imposed on the Spartans by the Eleans. The Spartan monument erected in the aftermath of the crucial naval battle at Aigospotamoi directly challenged and sought to outdo the earlier Marathon monument.¹⁵⁵ Firstly, the Spartan monument usurped its Athenian counterpart as the first to be seen when entering the sacred way, obscuring the view of the Marathon monument in the process. Next, compared to the ten statues the Athenians had erected, the Spartans commissioned 40 (Fig.1),¹⁵⁶ standing in

¹⁴⁸ Pretzler 2007, 112-3 for Pausanias' use of inscriptions in identifying characters in works of art. See, for example, Paus. 5.17 and 10.25.3-5.

¹⁴⁹ Scott 2018, 87-114.

¹⁵⁰ Stansbury O'Donnell 2005.

¹⁵¹ Lippman, Scahill, and Schultz 2006.

¹⁵² For this phenomenon more widely cf. Millender 2009; Christesen 2010.

¹⁵³ Stansbury O'Donnell 2005, 75-7; fig. 7.4.

¹⁵⁴ This phenomenon was recognised as early as Lucretius (Luc. 4.426-31). Cf. Zarmakoupi 2014, 80-5.

¹⁵⁵ For the monument see Paus. 10.9.7-8; Plut. *Lys.* 18.1; Plut. *Mor.* 395b, 397f; Bommelaer 1971; 1991, 108-110; Jacquemin 1999, 338.

¹⁵⁶ Palagia 2009, 36-9.

two rows making it the largest statue group that would ever be set up at Delphi. The size of the dedication, especially in contrast to the Marathon monument, demonstrated not only the power and influence of Lysander and the Spartans, but also the wealth of booty won from Athenians, who are explicitly named in the victory inscription;

εἰκόνα ἐὰν ἀνέθηκεν [ἐπὶ] ἔργῳ τῷδε ὅτε νικῶν ναυσὶ θοαῖς πέρσεν
Κε[κ]ροπιδᾶν δύναμιν Λύσανδρος, Λακεδαίμονα ἀπόρθετον στεφανώσα[ς]
Ἑλλάδος ἀκρόπολ[ιν, κ]αλλίχορομ πατρίδα. ἕξαμο ἀμφιρύτ[ας] τεῦξε ἐλεγείον
Ἴων.

‘Lysander set up this image of himself on this monument when with his swift ships he victoriously routed the power of the descendants of Kekrops and crowned the invincible Lakedaimon, the citadel of Greece, the homeland with the beautiful dancing-places. Ion of sea-girt Samos composed these elegiacs.’¹⁵⁷

It is important at this point to briefly note the individual role of Lysander in the construction of the Aigospotamoi monument and whether this building program at Delphi reflected his personal ambition more than the designs of the Lakedaimonian state as a whole. Lysander certainly coveted personal glory elsewhere in the Greek world,¹⁵⁸ and lavish honours were bestowed upon him by a variety of Greek *poleis*.¹⁵⁹ In contrast, he received relatively little honour from the Spartans themselves after his death, especially in comparison to other non-royal fifth-century Spartan commanders of merit such as Eurybiades and Brasidas.¹⁶⁰ A second inscription, transferring credit for the victory from Lysander to Polydeukes, also appears on the monument, probably added after the original victory inscription and possibly after the death of Lysander in 395.¹⁶¹ It was certainly not unusual for monuments to be strongly influenced by an individual (see above for Kimon’s influence on the Marathon monument), especially in the case of army commanders who were often responsible for the victory dedications on behalf of the whole force.¹⁶² Lysander’s ambition and self-aggrandisement were largely

¹⁵⁷ CEG 819 iii. Trans. Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 290.

¹⁵⁸ For Lysander’s designs upon a level of divine status on a par with the kings of Sparta see Beck-Schachter 2016.

¹⁵⁹ A statue was set up at Olympia by the Samians (Paus. 6.3.14-5), while statues of Lysander and several other Spartiates were set up at Ephesos (Paus. 6.3.15).

¹⁶⁰ Tomb of Eurybiades: Paus. 3.16.6; Cenotaph of Brasidas: Paus. 3.14.1.

¹⁶¹ ‘[Child of Zeus], Polydeukes, [with these] elegiacs Ion crowned [your stone] base, because you were the principal [commander], taking precedence even over this admiral, among the leaders of Greece with its wide dancing places.’ (CEG 819 ii. Trans. Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 290). Both inscriptions were re-cut in the fourth century, leading to debate over the date of both inscriptions: Palagia 2009, 37-8 argues they were inscribed close to construction, while Keesling 2017, 105-7 suggests they were added later.

¹⁶² Pritchett 1979 (III), 269-74.

unprecedented,¹⁶³ but his role in the creation of a victory monument was certainly not all that surprising.

The statues in the front row represented Lysander, the Spartan admiral, being crowned by Poseidon, as well as Lysander's inner circle (his soothsayer, helmsman, and an unknown commander), Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, and the Dioskouroi. The back row was arguably much more of a radical development, displaying portrait statues of the various allied commanders who had served with Lysander at the battle.¹⁶⁴ In this way a wide variety of Greek states were effectively name-checked, their support of Sparta rewarded with inclusion in the overall victory monument, in a manner echoing the list of peoples on the serpent column. Suddenly the ten tribal heroes of the Athenians might begin to look isolated, painting the Athenians as self-interested and, perhaps, external to the new 'Greek' alliance arrayed (quite literally) behind Lysander. Where once a visitor to Delphi would see what Athens had accomplished without Spartan help, now they were immediately confronted by a much larger, more grandiose image of what could be accomplished under Spartan leadership.

As much as there was a sense of communality among those states represented, there would also be a feeling of exclusion among those not present, not unlike the effect of the list of allied states inscribed on the Serpent column many years earlier. A comparison of these two lists show that ten states are common to both.¹⁶⁵ The Aigospotamoi monument also contains representatives from seven *poleis* in Asia Minor or islands which would have been under the control of the Persian Empire during the earlier invasion.¹⁶⁶ Thus, there are only three 'newcomers' to the alliance from mainland Greece: Boiotia, perhaps included as a blanket group to disguise the prominent role of Thebes and the earlier destruction of Plataia (one of the states named on the Serpent Column); Pellene, the first Achaian state to join the Lakedaimonians in the Peloponnesian War; and Phokis, strangely absent from the earlier list of peoples who fought against the Persians. Even considering that not all of Sparta's allies are listed on the Aigospotamoi monument, there is a relatively high consistency in the groups who are named, showcasing the stability and continuity not only of the Greek allies but also of Sparta itself. Indeed, the echoes of

¹⁶³ Previous Spartan victory dedications had been made on behalf of variously 'the Spartiates' (IvO 244, 263), 'the Lakedaimonians' (IvO 252; Paus. 5.10.4), or individuals such as Pausanias (Plataian tripod: Thuc. 1.132.2; Krater at Hellespont: Ath. 12.50) as responsible for the setting up of a monument.

¹⁶⁴ Palagia 2009, 36 suggests this was the first example of statues of living commanders being erected at Delphi, although she notes (n.42) that it is not known whether all the commanders depicted had survived the battle. Furthermore, if we believe the report of Pausanias 10.1.10 (see above), it may well be that the Phokians had erected statues of living generals nearly a century earlier.

¹⁶⁵ Lakedaimon, Corinth, Eretria, Troizen, Epidauros, Hermione, Megara, Sikyon, Leukos, Ambrakia.

¹⁶⁶ Chios, Rhodes, Knidos, Ephesus, Miletus, Myndos, Samos.

the Serpent column may be taken further, emphasising the role of Athens as the new external enemy, the space formerly occupied by Persia, much in the same way that the Athenians had tried to position Sparta in the Stoa *Poikile*.

However, the monument may not have been quite as all-encompassing as it first appeared due to the arrangement of the statues in the back row. Our major source for organisation of the statues is the order in which they are enumerated by Pausanias (see below, Fig. 1.1). If we assume that most of the inscribed bases on the back row would generally be more difficult to read than those in front, then we also find a situation where the easiest bases to read at the back are those on either end, where a visitor has a relatively unobstructed view from the side. This would be especially pronounced if the front row of statues did not extend quite so far as the more numerous second row (see Fig. 1.2). A casual visitor not invested in reading all of the bases along the back row could therefore be forgiven for mistakenly thinking that the whole monument represented Lakedaimonians, rather than a collective effort from many allied *poleis*.¹⁶⁷

Opposite the statue group, the Spartans also erected a stoa,¹⁶⁸ effectively ensuring complete dominance of the entranceway to the sanctuary; wherever a visitor might look, all they would see was Sparta. It also competed with the earlier Athenian Stoa, not only blocking off the view of it from the entrance but replacing it as the first point on the sacred way where a visitor was offered the chance to stand in the shade and admire the surrounding monuments.¹⁶⁹

City of Athens: A prominent tomb undermining the strength of Athens.

At Delphi, with a level of booty not available since the Persian Wars, the Spartans were able to go toe-to-toe with the Athenian dedications, matching them in style but projecting superiority both in scale and through themes. The city of Athens provided an

¹⁶⁷ It is worth reiterating that this interpretation relies upon the assumption that Pausanias lists the statues in the order that they appear, and also important to address the fact that some statues are missing from Pausanias' description. According to the 'serial position curve' (cf. Baddeley 1982, 157-9), it is easier to recall material from the beginning and end of a data set, therefore we might expect the missing statues to have been located somewhere in the middle of the back row, rather than at the extreme ends.

¹⁶⁸ Scott 2010, 104-8; 2014, 137; Bommelaer 1981, 22; 1991, 106. For the difficulties of the archaeology of this area, see Pouilloux and Roux 1963, 3-68. Cf. Vatin who believes that this stoa was erected by the Arkadians on the basis of inscriptions referring to spoils dedicated by the Tegeans. However, the dedication of spoils in the monuments of rival powers was not unheard of. Cf. Lysander's dedications in Athens (IG II². 1388, 31-2; 1400, 14-5) or a Theban dedication in a stoa at Delphi (Ath. 13.83; Scott 2010, 115).

¹⁶⁹ Coulton 1976, 8-12; Strabo 13.3.6; Vitruvius 5.9.1 on importance of stoas as a place for social interaction.

altogether different challenge for Sparta's monumental agenda; there was no way they could compete in scale with the whole city and the plethora of monuments and temples contained within. It might be argued that the very fact they let Athens remain standing, both in 404 when Athens first surrendered and in 403 when the Spartans returned to quell a democratic uprising, was testament to both their power and their mercy,¹⁷⁰ but here I intend to examine the role of the only permanent Spartan monument erected in Athens;¹⁷¹ the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in the Kerameikos (Fig. 3). Xenophon narrates the events surrounding the construction of the tomb;

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐπιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα. οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχῳ, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ.'

'then the Lakedaimonians, since many of them were being wounded and they were hard pressed, gave ground, though still facing the enemy, and at this they were laid upon harder still. In this attack fell Chairon and Thibrachos, both polemarchs, and Lakrates the Olympic victor, and the other Lakedaimonians who lie buried before the gates in the Kerameikos.'¹⁷²

Firstly, it should be noted that the burial of foreigners in the Kerameikos was rare, but not unheard of at the end of the fifth century, attested both by the presence of tombs for foreign officials and *polyandria* for both Boiotians and Argives. However, these monuments were all designed to recognise assistance granted to the Athenians by their fellow Greeks. It has been argued that the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians performs a similar function, that it is a monument of friendship between Sparta and the Athenian oligarchs,¹⁷³ yet this does not square easily with the rapid restoration of the democracy with the backing of Sparta.¹⁷⁴ Such arguments also fail to address the power which Pausanias, the Spartan king commanding the forces in Athens, would have held over the city: the democrats were blockaded in the Piraeus, the oligarchic party only clinging to power thanks to Spartan presence, and Lysander was already blockading the city (for a

¹⁷⁰ Powell 2006.

¹⁷¹ We hear that Pausanias erected a *tropaion* after a victory against the democrats, but this would have been a perishable, temporary monument not designed to have a lasting impact. Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.33

¹⁷² Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.33.

¹⁷³ Arrington 2010, 513-4.

¹⁷⁴ Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.35-9.

second time) with the fleet, threatening a return to famine and chaos.¹⁷⁵ In short, if Pausanias wanted to build a tomb in a specific spot, in a particular style, there was very little anyone could do to stop him. Furthermore, the placement of the tomb, close to the road just before the Dipylon gate, is far more prominent than that afforded to any other foreign tomb monument in the city. Its position also made it the last thing a visitor to Athens would see before entering the city, serving to undermine the vision Athens projected of itself through the memorials of the Kerameikos, and, perhaps most prominently, the gleaming acropolis which dominated the view on from the Piraeus Road towards the Dipylon Gate. Rather than try to match their opponents as they had done at Delphi, here the Spartans, through a careful choice of placement, were able to undermine the image of power projected through the many monuments of fifth century Athens.

The appearance of the tomb was, so far as we can tell, very plain, although it was impressive in size.¹⁷⁶ Stroszeck has emphasised the need to carry out the burial of the Lakedaimonian dead quickly in the hot May weather, which may also point to a hastily constructed tomb and therefore explain in practical terms the relatively plain appearance.¹⁷⁷ While there was probably no decoration, there was an inscription written with Lakonian letter forms where the names of the dead were interwoven with larger letters spelling out ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙ. The inscription is retrograde, a format which had long since ceased to be the norm in Sparta,¹⁷⁸ but which made reading easier for someone coming into the city as the tomb stood on the right-hand side of the road.¹⁷⁹ Sadly, most of the inscription does not survive, meaning that we do not know how many individuals were named on it, although it was probably at least 14, which corresponds both to the first phase of burial and the number of available spaces between the letters of ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙ.¹⁸⁰ The subsequent phases of burial might represent Lakedaimonians who died later from their wounds, but more probably individuals killed in small scale skirmishes during the peace negotiations with the democrats in the Piraeus, which lasted at least four months. In total there were at least 23 individuals interred in the tomb,¹⁸¹ in

¹⁷⁵ Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.28-30. The Thirty had left for Eleusis at this point, but Xenophon describes 'the men in the city' as being confident in reliance upon Lysander (before the arrival of Pausanias).

¹⁷⁶ For the tomb, see most recently Stroszeck 2013. The history of scholarship on the tomb is long, cf. Van Hook 1932; Willemsen 1977; Stroszeck 2006.

¹⁷⁷ Stroszeck 2013, 390.

¹⁷⁸ *LSAG*², 184.

¹⁷⁹ Hodkinson 2000,

¹⁸⁰ Stroszeck 2013, 385. If the names were written on two lines (as in the case of the labels for the Polemarchs), there would be space for up to 26.

¹⁸¹ 26 skeletons have been found in connection with the tomb, but three of these are placed on a higher level, perpendicular to the others and so are not believed to have been part of the original monument. Stroszeck 2013, 384.

a number of sub sections and not all even in the same orientation, which may have later prompted Lysias to speak of ‘tombs’ (see below) and which also raised the issue of whether all the dead were listed in inscriptions or whether that honour was reserved only for the most prominent. There is certainly evidence, within this tomb and elsewhere in literary sources which showcases differential treatment among Lakedaimonian war dead,¹⁸² but should this extend to only some of the dead being named, and if so, who is named and who is not? It is frustrating that in the case of this inscription only the names (and labels of rank) of the two polemarchs are preserved. Xenophon confirms the names of the polemarchs and adds the name of Lakrates, the Olympic victor. It is possible that other (subsequently lost) identifying inscriptions were placed on the tomb as it expanded to accommodate more individuals, or indeed that all 26 names could have been inscribed on the now broken inscription in front of the main part of the tomb, for there would be ample space. Once the dead were interred, it is unlikely that the exact number of occupants of the tomb would be known by a casual observer, and it seems not unreasonable that many would believe that the names on the inscription (however many there were) accounted for all the dead buried in the tomb.¹⁸³

We might also see an interaction between this inscription and the Athenian casualty lists which lay further out of town on the Academy Road, of which the Athenians were very proud. Here the names of the dead were divided into their ten tribes, then listed in neat parallel columns under tribal headings on stelai often topped with relief scenes of warriors or combat.¹⁸⁴ The use of ‘Lakedaimonians’, a term encompassing not only Spartans but the perioikoi too,¹⁸⁵ stressed the unity of Lakedaimon, a sharp contrast with the civil war currently engulfing Athens which undermined the message of the Athenian casualty lists. The positioning of the tomb in relation to the casualty lists also had a knock-on effect on the yearly Athenian funeral oration and public burial; one of the major pillars of Athenian self-definition in the Classical period.¹⁸⁶ In order to hear the speeches and take part in the ritual mourning, Athenians from the city would have walked out past the tomb of the Lakedaimonians, before walking past it again on their way back into Athens. Its prominence in the mind of the Athenians is demonstrated by its appearance in a funeral oration attributed to Lysias;¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² Hodkinson 2000, 256-9.

¹⁸³ Sparta was known to disguise both the number of its soldiers and its war dead: Powell 1989, 180-2.

¹⁸⁴ Osborne 2010 for the problematic nature of these relief scenes.

¹⁸⁵ Ducat 2017, 596-7.

¹⁸⁶ Loraux 1986.

¹⁸⁷ Todd 2007, 157-64 for the authorship and dating of this oration.

‘ἀλλ’ ὅμως οὐ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων φοβηθέντες, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδυνεύσαντες, τρόπαιον μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἔστησαν, μάρτυρας δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς ἐγγὺς ὄντας τοῦδε τοῦ μνήματος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων τάφους παρέχονται.’

‘Nevertheless, having felt no fear of the multitude of their opponents, and having exposed their own bodies to great peril, they (the Athenian democrats) set up a trophy over the enemy and now have witnesses to their valour, close to this monument, in the tombs of the Lakedaimonians.’¹⁸⁸

Here, Lysias is not presenting a true reflection of the events, conflating the tombs of the Lakedaimonians in the city with an earlier victory won by the Athenian democrats, whereas, according to the Xenophon passage, the Lakedaimonians buried in the Kerameikos fell in a battle in which Pausanias was victorious and raised a trophy.¹⁸⁹ Whether Lysias reflected the popular opinion of his day or not, we can detect an attempt to re-define the elephant in the room, the shadow of the power Sparta once exercised over Athens, expressed in the distinctive tomb.

Beyond the rivalry between Athens and Sparta, the monuments at Delphi and in Athens may also betray the tension between the Spartan king Pausanias and Nauarch Lysander.¹⁹⁰ Pausanias pursued a policy of reconciliation with Athens, effectively incorporating it into the Peloponnesian league for several years before conflict resumed. He may therefore have wanted to construct a more sympathetic tomb rather than an antagonistic monument in the style Lysander erected after Aigospotamoi, although the placement and inscription on the tomb of the Lakedaimonians make it a prominent feature of the Kerameikos and Athenian life. The more subtle, adaptable approach practised by Pausanias contrasts strongly not only with the glorious architecture of Athens, but also the self-aggrandising monuments of Lysander.

¹⁸⁸ Lys. 2.63.

¹⁸⁹ Todd 2007, 260-3. Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.11-19 for the earlier victory of the Athenian democrats at Mounykhia; 2.4.35 for Pausanias’ later victory in the city and raising of the trophy.

¹⁹⁰ Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.29-30 recounts Pausanias’ envy of Lysander and how he gathers an army to march on Athens after Lysander has already arrived. In the drawing up of battle lines that follows, Lysander and his mercenaries are relegated to the left wing while the king commands the right.

Conclusion

Throughout this work I have maintained a narrow focus on four case studies, yet it would be remiss not to mention that the monumental confrontation between Athens and Sparta far transcends the small selection presented here. Certain monuments, such as those in the pass at Thermopylai and the city of Sparta,¹⁹¹ have been excluded in order to focus on the growth of Athenian power and their challenge to the status quo of Spartan command. Other material, for example the Treasury of Brasidas and the Akanthians, could certainly be interpreted as part of this spatial opposition in Delphi, but has been passed over due to uncertainty over the exact dates of construction and placement.¹⁹² Nor was the monumental rivalry confined to Delphi and the city of Athens: we might consider, for example, Athenian dedications of Persian arms at Olympia, the major recipient of Spartan dedications before the fifth century, as a reminder to Sparta of its failure to offer aid at Marathon.¹⁹³ However, the four monuments and two locations discussed above offer a glimpse of the monumental confrontation between the two leading powers of fifth century Greece.

The power of monuments to project the rivalry between Athens and Sparta should not be underestimated, particularly in the sorts of politically and religiously charged spaces that have formed the case studies above. At Delphi, we see a picture of Spartan leadership (presented by the Serpent Column) challenged and undermined by Athens once the Spartans were occupied with affairs at home. Athens harnessed the international audience at Delphi to put forward their own credentials for a leadership they coveted (and were already starting to hold) by highlighting their only major victory won without Spartan help and suggesting that Sparta put its own domestic interests first. Once war had broken out, the Athenians became bolder, erecting monuments with spoils taken from the Spartans, and moving to position Sparta as a new, external, enemy.

Sparta's response may only have come when they had achieved a total victory over Athens, but we can certainly see an engagement with the message of the previous Athenian monuments. By including allied commanders in the Aigospotami monument, Sparta not only echoed the sentiments of the serpent column, but also made the Athenian Marathon monument appear isolated and self-interested. Athens is relegated to the position of pretender to the command that is rightfully returned to Spartan hands. In the Kerameikos, a humble tomb highlighted the power that Sparta held over the city of

¹⁹¹ Hdt. 7.225.2; 7.228 (Thermopylai); Vit. 1.1.6; Paus. 3.11.3; Kourinou 2000, 109-112 (Persian Stoa). Cf. Thompson 2020.

¹⁹² Plut. *Mor.* 397F; 400F. Scott 2010, 104-5, n. 149. Debate over placement: Bommelaer 1991, 161; Jacquemin 1999, 149; Pouilloux and Roux 1963, 74.

¹⁹³ Helmet from Athenians: IG I³.1467; from Miltiades: IG I³.1472. Jackson 1991, 246; Scott 2010, 169-71.

Athens not once, but twice. The aftermath of these events was the re-integration of Athens into the new Spartan led Greek alliance, a reminder that all of Athens' attempts at hegemony had been undone. The monuments erected by Sparta therefore projected a similar message and engaged with the previous Athenian monumental agenda. This showcases the ability of the Spartans to be both flexible and innovative, not bad for a city generally thought to have little interest in the use of monuments.

Figures

Aratos of Lakedaimon	Dioskouroi
Erianthos of Boiotia	
Mimas	
Astykrates	
Kephisokles of Chios	Zeus
Hermopantos of Chios	
Hikesios of Chios	
Timarchos of Rhodes	Apollo
Diagoras of Rhodes	
Theodamos of Knidos	Artemis
Kimmerios of Ephesus	
Aiantides of Miletus	Poseidon
Theopompus of Myndos	
Kleomedes of Samos	
Dion of Epidauros	Lysander
Axionikos of Pellene	
Theares of Hermione	Agias
Pyrrhias of Phokis	
Komon of Megara	
Agasimenes of Sikyon	Hermon
Telykrates of Leukos	
Pythodotus of Corinth	Herald
Euantidas of Ambrakia	
Epikydidas of Lakedaimon	General
Eteouikos of Lakedaimon	

Fig. 1.1: Order of the statues in the Aigospotamoi Monument

Aratos of Lakedaimon	Dioskouroi
Erianthos of Boiotia	
Mimas	
Astykrates	Zeus
Kephisokles of Chios	
Hermopantos of Chios	
Hikesios of Chios	Apollo
Timarchos of Rhodes	
Diagoras of Rhodes	Artemis
Theodamos of Knidos	
Kimmerios of Ephesus	
Aiantides of Miletus	Poseidon
Theopompus of Myndos	
Kleomedes of Samos	Lysander
Dion of Epidauros	
Axionikos of Pellene	
Theares of Hermione	Agias
Pyrrhias of Phokis	
Komon of Megara	
Agasimenes of Sikyon	Hermon
Telykrates of Leukos	
Pythodotus of Corinth	Herald
Euantidas of Ambrakia	
Epikydidas of Lakedaimon	General
Eteouikos of Lakedaimon	

Fig. 1.2: Alternative arrangement of the statues in the Aigospotamoi Monument

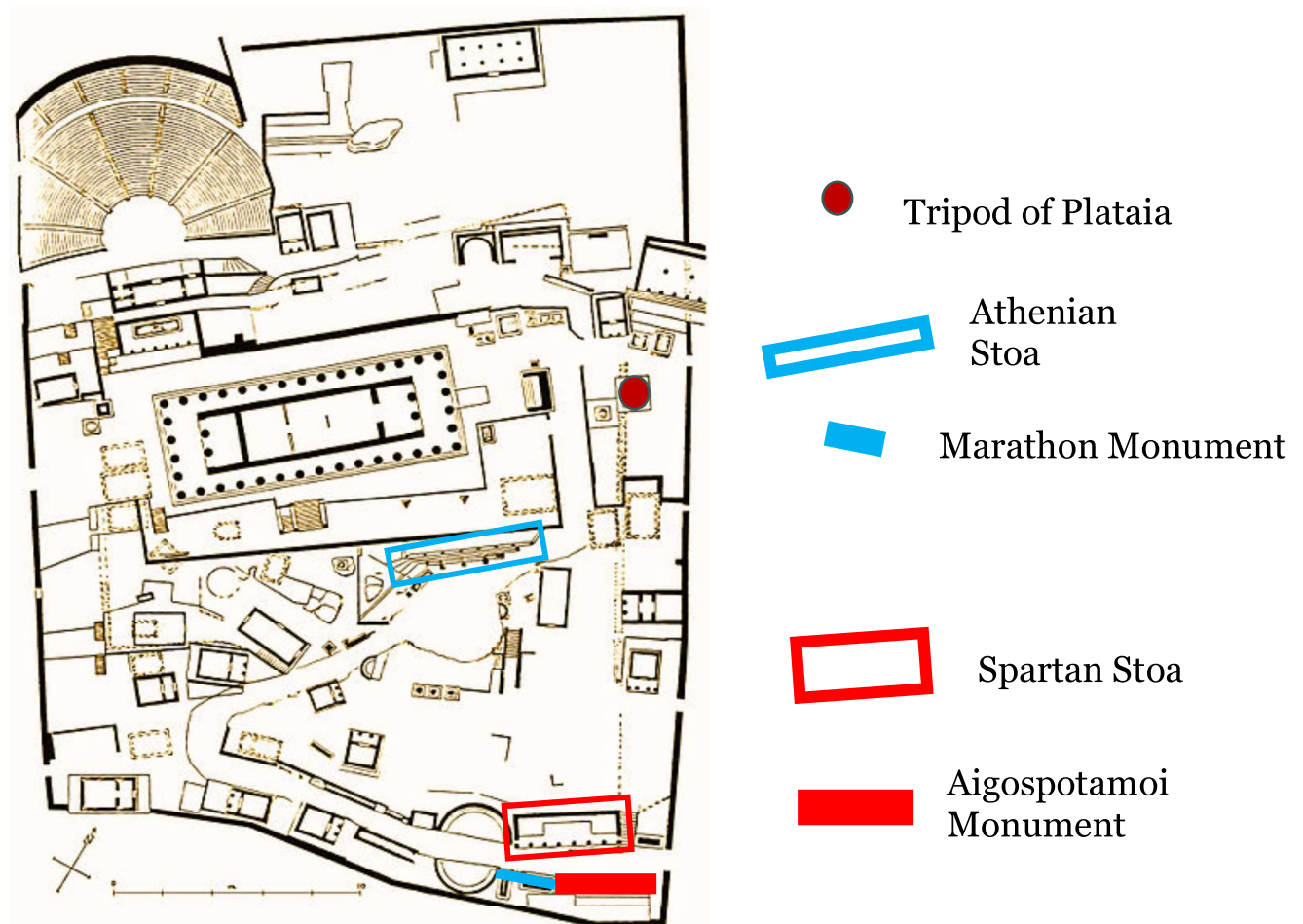


Fig. 2. Location of major Athenian and Spartan monuments at Delphi (Base image: de La Coste-Messelière: *Au Musée de Delphes. Recherches sur quelques monuments archaïques et leur décor sculpté*. Paris: E. de Boccard 1936).

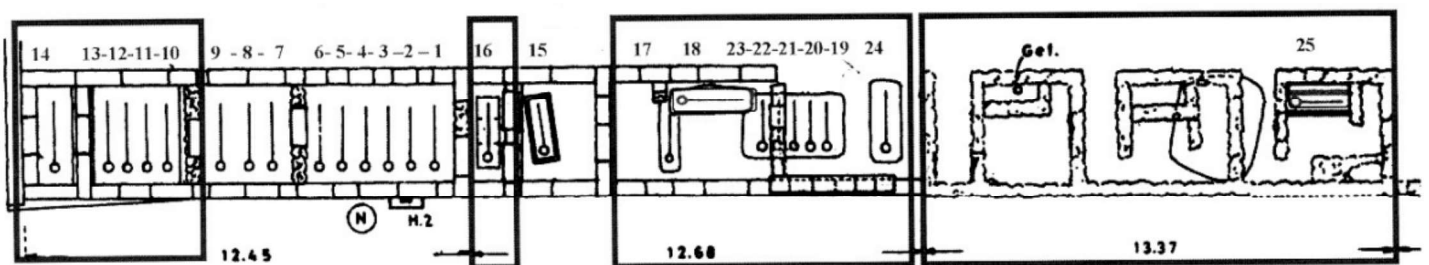


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in the Athenian Kerameikos (after Stroszeck 2006, fig. 1)

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