

# The Victory of Kallimachos

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THE FRAGMENTARY EPIGRAM from the Athenian Acropolis<sup>1</sup> recording a dedication to Athena by Kallimachos of Aphidna and apparently referring to his service at Marathon has been discussed and tentatively restored in various ways, but no complete restoration has found general agreement. Meiggs and Lewis, in *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* no.18, print a conservative text, restoring only the first two verses completely and quoting in footnotes the supplements of Shefton and Ed. Fraenkel for the last three verses.<sup>2</sup> Raubitschek, in a general discussion of Greek inscriptions as historical documents, also prints a text without the most controversial restorations.<sup>3</sup> Both still accept, however, the restoration which refers to the offering as “messenger of the immortals” and believe that the column on which the inscription was carved supported one of the winged female figures of which several examples have been

<sup>1</sup> IG I<sup>2</sup> 609. Most recently, R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1969). Add to their bibliography A. E. Raubitschek, *Gymnasium* 72 (1965) 512. The long article by B. B. Shefton, *BSA* 45 (1950) 140–64, is the most informative about the stone, since it includes photographs and full discussion of difficult letters as well as a great deal of background material. I am grateful to Ronald Stroud for making me a good squeeze of the inscription and to Helen Besi for the drawings, unusually difficult to make because of the concave surface in which the letters are engraved. I have profited much from discussions with W. M. Calder III, Michael Jameson, Benjamin D. Meritt and Ronald Stroud. None of these bears any responsibility for the opinions expressed in this article.

<sup>2</sup> Meiggs and Lewis, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 33.

[Καλίμαχος μ' ἀν]έθεκεν Ἀφιδναῖο[ς] τὰθENAΐαι·  
ἄν[γελον ἀθ]ανάτον ἡοὶ Ὀ[λύμπια δόματ'] ἔχουσιν |  
[...8... πολέ]μαρχο[ς] ἈθENAΐον τὸν ἀγὼνα·  
τὸν ΜΑ[ραθὸν...h]ελένονο[...II...:]  
πασιὲν ἈθENAΐον μν[...2I...:]

<sup>3</sup> Raubitschek, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 512:

[Καλίμαχος μ' ἀν]έθεκεν Ἀφιδναῖο[ς] τὰθENAΐαι·  
ἄν[γελον ἀθ]ανάτον ἡοὶ Ὀ[λύμπια δόματ'] ἔχουσιν |  
[- ∪ ∪ - πολέ]μαρχος ἈθENAΐον τὸν ἀγὼνα·  
τὸν ΜΑ[ραθὸν...h]ελένον ογ[∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪:]  
πασιὲν ἈθENAΐον μν[- - -].

found among the archaic marble sculptures from the Acropolis.<sup>4</sup> These figures have generally been called Nikai, but Meiggs–Lewis and Raubitschek now incline to identify the offering of Kallimachos as Iris rather than Nike. The purpose of this note is to suggest that not only did the figure represent Nike but the word ‘victory’ may have appeared prominently in the epigram.

<sup>4</sup> Acropolis 690. H. Schrader, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (Frankfurt/M. 1939) 122–24, no.77. As Dr George Dontas has pointed out to me, Acropolis 690 must have held a fold of her skirt with her right hand, so that the reconstruction of Werner Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen* (Munich 1969) 178 fig.183, is wrong in showing her with a *kerykeion* in the right hand. She may have held a *kerykeion* in the left hand, but it seems unlikely to have been the beautiful bronze one with the head of Pan that Hampe wished to assign to it (*Die Antike* 15 [1939] 168–74). Besides the fact that the beauty and significance of the Pan-head would have been lost to the spectator because of the high setting of the statue, there is the difficulty that our literary tradition connects the Pan-cult with Miltiades rather than with Kallimachos (Simonides fr.143 Diehl; *Anth.Plan.* 232).

Raubitschek (*op.cit.* [*infra* n.8]) makes the connection of the Nike with an Ionic votive capital (Acropolis 3776, 3820, 3830,  $\theta$  312 and a fragment without a number) which seems to have the correct diameter for the column. Both these connections seem extremely probable, without being actually capable of proof. The cutting in the top of the capital is a rectangle which preserves its full length of 0.36 m. at one edge (Raubitschek gives 0.35 m. as the length; perhaps he measured at a different point). The width is not fully preserved but can be calculated from the center of the pour-hole in the middle of the bedding. Raubitschek gives 0.195 m.; my own somewhat hasty measurement 0.20 m. These dimensions, whether 0.36 m.  $\times$  0.20 m. or 0.35 m.  $\times$  0.195 m., are well suited to the plinth of the Nike, which E. Langlotz (Schrader, *op.cit.* 122) gives as 33  $\times$  17 cm., “probably meant to be rectangular 34  $\times$  14 cm.” The depth of the cutting (0.045 m.) is exactly right for the height of the Nike’s plinth, given as 0.04–0.05 m. The present museum setting makes it impossible to remeasure the plinth.

A Nike is the most likely form of statue to fit such a long narrow plinth-cutting. Korai would have a quite different shape of plinth, and a sphinx in the late archaic period would have a shorter plinth in proportion to its width. Acropolis 690 is the largest Nike preserved. As the column bearing the Kallimachos dedication is larger than the usual inscribed columns, the probability of connecting capital and column is great, even though here again exact measurement is not possible. The top of the column is not preserved and we have no positive evidence for its height; the diameter where it can be measured is 0.32 m. The full circumference of the column is nowhere preserved, and the fluted portion has flattened the arc of its section, but this measurement seems to be approximately correct. The outside edge of the resting surface of the capital is chipped or eroded all around, so that the diameter can be calculated only by guessing at the amount of recession of the lost *cyma reversa* below its top edge which is preserved. Raubitschek’s diameter of 0.32 m. is taken with reference not to an “incised line on bottom,” as he says, but to a pencil line on the broken surface marking someone’s calculation of this recession. The recession might have been a little greater, but the top diameter of the column might also have been a little less, so that they would still fit. Besides these coincidences, we have the fact that the style of this Nike seems exactly right for the date 490 B.C. All in all, the burden of proof would seem to be on anyone who wishes to question the connection. I have gone into the matter in some detail, since it would be easy for a skeptical archaeologist, noting that the correspondence is less than absolute, to cast doubt on the whole identification. Such doubts seem to me to be unreasonable.

I have tried to show elsewhere that Kallimachos is depicted as the most prominent figure in the south frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike and that this figure of Kallimachos is derived from the Marathon painting in the Stoa Poikile.<sup>5</sup> A careful reading of the literary texts and the reflections in art that can be associated with the painting indicates that Kallimachos appeared in the center of the battle, mortally wounded but victorious over his immediate opponent. Polemon, in his pair of *declamationes* comparing the ἀρετή of Kallimachos with that of Kynegiros, states that Kallimachos died in the middle of the battle but that his brave stand turned the Persians to flight.<sup>6</sup> His figure, both for the painting and for Polemon, seems to have marked the moment of victory for the Athenians. The three phases of the battle—attack, victory and pursuit—seem to have been high-lighted in the painting by the three famous figures of Miltiades, Kallimachos and Kynegiros. The pictorial narrative was progressive, moving from the beginning of the fight at the left with Miltiades urging the troops into battle and ending with the Persian ships and the death of Kynegiros on the right.<sup>7</sup> The representation of the battle on the Nike Temple shows only the middle phase. Neither Miltiades nor the ships are there.

There thus appears to have been in the minds of the Athenians a specific identification of the heroic figure of Kallimachos with the idea of victory. Since the archaic winged female figures, of which several have been found on the Acropolis, correspond in form and dress to the archaic figure from Delos that is plausibly identified as the Nike of Archermos, it is natural to regard them all as Nikai.<sup>8</sup> The cult of

<sup>5</sup> E. B. Harrison, "The South Frieze of the Nike Temple and the Marathon Painting in the Painted Stoa," to appear in *AJA* 76 (1972).

<sup>6</sup> Polemon, *Declamationes quae exstant duae*, ed. Hinck (BT, Leipzig 1873) 1.21–22; 2.25, 28, 31.

<sup>7</sup> Pausanias 1.15.

<sup>8</sup> Schrader-Langlotz, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.4) nos. 67–84. The indication that these figures were called Nike comes first from the scholiast to Ar. *Aves* 574, who says that Eros and Nike acquired wings at a relatively late date, that Archermos the father of Boupalos and Athenis was the first to make a Nike with wings but that some say rather it was the painter Aglaophon of Thasos. Since a base with the names of Mikkiades and Archermos found in the sanctuary of Artemis at Delos would fit in size and date a winged figure also found there, this statement of the scholiast supports the attribution of the winged figure to Archermos. For the best discussion of the inscription, see L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 294–95. For the date of the 'Nike' see E. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora XI: Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* (Princeton 1965) 5–6. So long as the inscription belonging to the winged figure in Delos is not certainly restored, we can not be sure whether this figure was actually called 'Nike' in Delos or Archermos, when he came to Athens to work (*cf.* A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* [Cambridge (Mass.) 1949]

Athena Nike already existed on the Acropolis in the archaic period.<sup>9</sup> There is no comparable tradition which would link Iris with the Acropolis. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that all the winged female figures of the archaic period in the type resembling the Nike of Archermos that have been found on the Acropolis do in fact represent Nike and that figure of Nike was a common dedication to Athena.<sup>10</sup>

484–87), first used such a figure for what the Athenians called 'Nike'. Athena Nike, with a pomegranate in one hand and a helmet in the other, well illustrates the complex nature of the Nike of the Athenian Acropolis. The vegetation-fertility aspect embodied in the pomegranate shows her akin to the Aglaurids and the Graces; the helmet belongs to the city-protecting goddess.

The winged female figure in Athenian art is often a counterpart of Eros. Many figures resembling closely the marble Nikai of the Archermos type occur among the Acropolis bronzes (A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes* [BIFAR 74, Paris 1896] nos. 799–801, 805–14) as attachments for vessels and stands, and among them, in the same scheme and used in the same way, are three male figures, two of which are nude (*ibid.* nos. 802–04). These figures are not unknown elsewhere, but their relative frequency among the Acropolis bronzes is striking. Two similar figures in an antithetical composition crown the handle of a mirror in the British Museum (A. Greifenhagen, *Griechische Erosen* [Berlin 1957] fig.28). As it is uncertain whether this beautiful object comes from the Mainland or the West, Greifenhagen names the figures either Nike and Eros or Iris and Zephyros, but says that if it is from the Mainland they must have been called Nike and Eros. Hedwig Kenner, who investigated the representations of the female winged figures on Attic wedding vases (*JOAI* 31 [1939] 81–95), affirmed that they were probably most often called Nike. She rightly accepts the possibility of a certain overlapping of Iris and Nike in the archaic representations, as these winged figures, like the mistress of animals, belong to the world of orientalizing images which were variously attached to variously named Greek gods and *daimones*. In broad terms, Iris seems to belong more to the marine world, being allied with the sea-storm spirits like the Harpies and Gorgons, while Nike lives with Eros in the land-world of fresh water and flowers, but as the images become crystallized in the more consciously abstracting art of the classical period, a new kind of overlapping occurs. Nike brings victory at sea as well as on land, and her iconography changes accordingly.

It is not possible always to name a given image from its attributes alone, but it seems clear that Iris and Hermes are not subject to the kind of multiplication that we find with Nike and Eros. Iris and Hermes are the messengers of the gods *par excellence*, but Eros and Nikai also appear with the *kerykeion*, the messenger's staff. Kenner and Greifenhagen both give a number of examples. In fact, these winged deities represent in a certain sense conveyors of power rather than the actual source of power. Thus the phrase "messenger of the immortals" in the Kallimachos epigram does not in itself argue for identifying the offering as one or another of these deities. It is the fact of its being an Acropolis dedication to Athena that makes Nike by all odds the most likely name.

<sup>9</sup> G. Welter, *AA* 1939, 12–13. Raubitschek, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.8) 359. Both accept a date around the middle of the sixth century for the inscribed altar of Athena Nike that seems to have been the first archaic altar of this goddess.

<sup>10</sup> In the classical period the golden Nikai dedicated to Athena by the state are the most famous examples; see D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 173–209. The Nike Temple Parapet makes it absolutely clear that Athena Nike, though a wingless goddess, was served by winged Nikai.

It is generally believed that the cult of Athena Nike in Athens in the sixth century B.C. was associated with the Panathenaic Games, so that these dedications, if they were thank-offerings for victories, will have referred to victories in games rather than in war.<sup>11</sup>

In the Kallimachos dedication we have the word ἀγῶνα. Shefton has pointed out that at the time of Marathon the meaning of this word had not yet been extended to include 'struggle' in the sense of war and battle, a development that we find beginning with Aeschylus. "There can be little doubt, then, that ἀγών in our epigram would, at first reading, have been taken to mean 'games'; only as an unusual metaphor could it have signified 'battle'." He suggested "some event connected with games may be the explanation for the original dedication of the statue, if it was a Nike."<sup>12</sup>

Since even the recent conservative texts of the epigram involve a number of assumptions, it may be worthwhile, before proceeding further, to sort these out according to their relative degrees of probability.

I. Things which it is impossible to deny are the following:

- (1) The monument is a dedication to Athena which stood on the Acropolis before 480 B.C. and was destroyed in that year.
- (2) It was dedicated by someone from Aphidna.
- (3) There is a mention in the third verse of an ἀγών.
- (4) The Athenians are referred to in the last verse in a

<sup>11</sup> For the suggestion that the archaic cult was primarily agonistic, see Welter, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.9), who assumes that the cult established by the decree IG I<sup>2</sup> 24 (Meiggs-Lewis no.44) around the middle of the fifth century represented the first official recognition of Athena Nike as goddess of victory in war.

A. R. Bellinger and M. A. Berlincourt, *Victory as a Coin Type* (ANSNMM 149, New York 1962) 3-4, state that the first appearance of Nike as a coin type is at Olympia about 510 B.C. (Seltman's date, which they accept) "where she is certainly intended to symbolize victory in the games." In pose the Olympia Nike is exactly like the marble Nikai of the Acropolis, including Acropolis 690. It is interesting that the date of around 510 B.C. (if there is any change in this date the style of the coin suggests it should be downward) assigned to the first appearance of Nike on the Olympia coins coincides with our earliest definitely attested use of a Nike as an akroterion, on the Alkmeonid Temple at Delphi. Terracotta Nikai that seem to have served as akroteria of the Temple of Athena in Marmaria are said to reflect the Attic type (Ch. Le Roy and J. Ducat, *Fouilles de Delphes* II.9 [Paris 1967] 234-47). It looks as if this type of Nike had radiated from Athens to Delphi, and one cannot help wondering if it also went from Athens to Olympia. This radiation to Panhellenic festival centers in itself indicates a primarily agonistic meaning for such Nikai in the late sixth century.

<sup>12</sup> Shefton, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 148-49.

phrase *παιεὶν Ἀθηναίων* that suggests a military context.<sup>13</sup>

ii. Things which persuade us that Kallimachos must be the donor are the following:

- (1) His name fits the metre of the first verse, and we know that he was from Aphidna.
- (2) *πολέμαρχος* fits the metre of the third verse, and we know that Kallimachos was Polemarch. There are a number of *names* ending in *-μαρχος*, but the donor's name must have been in the first verse since his demotic is there, and it is easier to suppose a title of the donor than the name of another person in the third verse, especially since it is in the nominative case (see n.39 *infra*).

Once 'Kallimachos' and 'Polemarchos' are accepted, the time of the dedication is fixed to the year when Kallimachos was Polemarch, 490 B.C. The fact that the lettering seems suitable for such a date reinforces our confidence in the assumptions made so far.

There is a general agreement that the first verse should be restored:

[Καλλίμαχος μ' ἀν]έθεκεν Ἀφιδναῖο[ς] τὰθENAIAI.

The only question is whether 'Kallimachos' should be spelled with one *lambda* or two. Either would be possible in 490 B.C. The evidence from ostraca of the early fifth century shows a two-to-one preference for spelling out the double letter in such names, but this is not conclusive for writing on stone.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *παῖδες* followed by an ethnic name in the genitive seems in the late archaic and early classical period always to refer to fighting men of the city or nation named. Cf. *παῖδες Ἀθηναίων*, *ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου* of the epigram for the victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidians (IG I<sup>2</sup> 394; Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI*<sup>3</sup> no.15); *Μήδων παιεὶν* in the Eion epigrams (Plut. *Vit. Cimon* 7.4; Aeschin. *Ctes.* 183; fully discussed by F. Jacoby, *Hesperia* 14 [1945] 185–93 = *Kleine philologische Schriften* I [Berlin 1961] 490–98); *παῖδες Ἀθηναίων τῶιδέ ποτ' ἐν πελάγει* in the Artemision epigram (Simon. 109 Diehl<sup>2</sup>); *παῖδες Ἀθηναίων Περσῶν στρατὸν ἐξολέσαντες* (Simon. 119 Diehl<sup>2</sup>); *hoi thanon em promachois | paides Athinaion* in the Potidaea epigram (IG I<sup>2</sup> 945). W. M. Calder III reminds me of the use of this expression as a battle-cry: Aesch. *Persae* 402: *ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἴτε*, quoted by Eur. *Hecuba* 929–30, *ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλάνων*. By the fourth century B.C., when the language of the Persian War epigrams was taken over for civilian honors (cf. Harrison, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.8] 117), *παῖδες Ἀθηναίων* seems to have become simply a poetic equivalent for *δῆμος Ἀθηναίων*, but that is a late development.

<sup>14</sup> Eugene Vanderpool, *Ostracism at Athens* (Semple Lectures SBR. 2, preliminary publication 1970) 14–15.

In the second verse ἀρ[γελον ἀθ]ανάτων is universally accepted, and this restoration fixes the length of the lacuna in the line below, which is the first lacuna in the third verse of the inscription. The plaster reconstruction of the column in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens is based on this restoration, and it can be considered as approximately correct, allowing only for the minor variations in the width and spacing of letters which obviously exist in this inscription.<sup>15</sup>

For the relative clause qualifying the ‘immortals’ whose ‘messenger’ the offering is, Lolling restored: *hoi ὄ[ρανον εὐρὸν] ἔχουσιν*.<sup>16</sup> The plaster reconstruction is based on this, but later editors have preferred the suggestion of Hiller von Gaertringen: *hoi Ὀ[λύμπια δόματ’] ἔχουσιν*.<sup>17</sup> This avoids the uncorrected hiatus of Lolling’s restoration. There is disagreement, however, on whether *δόματα* was elided or written out on the stone. Shefton concluded that it must have been written out, since the stem of a *tau*, marking the axis of the letter, should have been close enough to the following letter to appear in the preserved part of the stone.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, it seems to be true for this reason that a *tau* would not fit here. But Helen Besi, after making the carefully measured drawing of the whole inscription (PLATE 1, figure 1), comments that it would have to be “an unusual *alpha*” that would fit. This also seems to be true. The point of an ordinary *alpha* would come low enough and close enough to the following *epsilon* to appear on the stone.

If we forget about possible restorations and simply ask which of all the letters of the alphabet would fit easily and naturally around the preserved core of stone without intruding on it, it appears that there is only one, *pi*. This means that EXOΣIN is part of a compound, *ἐπέχω*, *ὑπέχω* or *ἀπέχω*, and there is no easy Homeric formula which will help us to fill in the line. We must therefore regard the length of this lacuna as uncertain. This in turn will affect the possibilities for restoring the fourth verse.

Shefton demonstrated that the two flutings of the otherwise unfluted column in which the lines of the inscription were carved are

<sup>15</sup> In the drawing by Helen Besi (PLATE 1, figure 3) the lacuna has been made 0.005 m. longer than the plaster restoration. This slightly greater length seems preferable in order to maintain the spacing of the first line, which, as Shefton remarked (*op.cit.* [*supra* n.1] 147), is a little less close than that of the second.

<sup>16</sup> *Deltion* 1891, 81.

<sup>17</sup> *Hermes* 54 (1919) 211–13.

<sup>18</sup> Shefton, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 152.

worked in the same fashion and must have been made at the same time, and also that the two lines of the inscription are cut by the same hand.<sup>19</sup> He thus disproved the suggestion of Hiller von Gaertringen that the first line belonged to a dedication made by Kallimachos in his life-time and the second line was added by the Demos after his death.<sup>20</sup> Shefton did believe, however, that the original dedication was made by Kallimachos while he was alive and that the epigram on the column shaft was added later. He suggested that the first dedication was carved on the base of the monument.<sup>21</sup> Meiggs and Lewis (*GHI*<sup>3</sup> 34) remark: “Inscriptions, however, on bases of column dedications are very rare, and we may doubt whether the original inscription would have been repeated. It may be less difficult, in spite of the objection noted above, to believe that the dedication was vowed by Kallimachos before the battle and made on his behalf after his death.”

If we had only what is preserved or restored by common consent in the first three verses, without knowing that Kallimachos died at Marathon, but being convinced that the dedication was a Nike, the natural thing to restore at the beginning of verse 3 would be *νικέεαα*. This would say that Kallimachos, when he was Polemarch, was victorious in the contest of the Athenians, that is, in the Panathenaia.<sup>22</sup> Lolling had connected the dedication with the Panathenaia of 490 B.C., but instead of believing that the Polemarch was one of the victors, he

<sup>19</sup> *Op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 143.

<sup>20</sup> Hiller, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.17) 214–15.

<sup>21</sup> Shefton, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 143–44. In an article to which C. W. J. Eliot kindly drew my attention after this article had been written, J. H. Schreiner argues that there were two battles fought at Marathon, with an interval of some days between (*ProcCambPhS* 196= n.s. 16 [1970] 97–112). He believes that in the first clash the Persians were repulsed in an assault on the Herakleion. After this Kallimachos gave the order for his Nike. In the second engagement, in which the Greeks attacked the Persians after the greater part of their forces had gone on board the ships, Kallimachos was killed. It is not possible to argue here in detail against this novel reconstruction, which is based on very dubious evidence and does violence to some of our most respectable sources, including all the testimonia on the painting. Schreiner does not suggest how the Kallimachos epigram should be restored if his interpretation is accepted.

<sup>22</sup> Lolling took *Ἀθηναίων* to be an appositional genitive, ‘the festival of the Athenaia’, recalling Pausanias’ statement that before the time of Theseus’ *synoikismos* the festival was so named, but I prefer to read ‘contest of the Athenians’, since we have no example of ‘Athenaia’ used as a poetic substitute for ‘Panathenaia’. Compare Simonides *νικέεαα ἐν ἀγῶνι περικτιόνων* (D. L. Page, *Lyra Graeca selecta* [Oxford 1968] no.346), and the dedication of Echembrotos quoted by Pausanias, 10.7.6: *Ἐχέμβροτος Ἀρκὰς ἔθηκε τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ | νικήεαα τὸδ’ ἄγαλμ’ Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐν ἀέθλοισι* (F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Historische griechische Epigramme* [Bonn 1926] no.2).



supposed that at this date the Polemarch was in charge of the arrangements for the festival. We have absolutely no evidence, however, that the Polemarch ever had such duties. It appears most likely that the conduct of the festival was already in the hands of a board of *ἱεροποιοί*.<sup>23</sup>

If we restore *νικέεας* and assume that the occasion of the dedication was a Panathenaic victory, the sense of the first three verses is more or less complete in itself, and it is not necessary to assume that *τὸν* at the beginning of the fourth verse depends on *ἀγὼνα*. This, however, is what nearly all previous restorers of the inscription have assumed. Hiller's restoration, based on Lolling's reading, was: *τὸν Μέ[δον τε καὶ ἠ]ελένον*. This was generally accepted until Shefton pointed out that the fifth letter is unmistakably an *alpha*.<sup>24</sup> After that, some form of 'Marathon' took the place of 'Medes'. No one went back to examine the full range of *mu-alpha* possibilities.

Shefton proposed:

*τὸν Μα[ραθῶνι πρὸ ἠ]ελ(λ)ένον, ὄν[ομ] ἐστεφάνοσεν: ]*.

Eduard Fraenkel objected that *Ἑλλήνων* "makes havoc of the language as well as the metre," and, declaring, "Now that the Persians have gone, the Greeks may reasonably be expected to follow them," he proposed to read *[ἠ]ελεν* as a verb, *εἶλεν*, with *ἀγὼνα* as its object.<sup>25</sup> Both Shefton and Fraenkel had trouble with the last half of the verse. Shefton's restoration is possible but unusual. If *ὄνομα* is the object of an unexpected word like *ἐστεφάνοσεν*, it is strange to have it introduced in a totally unemphasized part of the verse. Fraenkel's *ὄν ὄλ[εσε θόριος Ἄρες]* does not seem possible because the preserved trace of a stroke is much too slanting to be the first stroke of a *lambda*. It could be the first stroke of a *nu*, as Shefton suggested, but it could equally well be the first stroke of a *mu*. In that case, accepting Fraenkel's verb, we have *[ἠ]έλεν ὄνομ[α]* as the obvious reading. *εἶλεν ὄνομα* would not be metrical, but *ἔλεν οὔνομα* would be. Since these words are so nearly all there on the stone, it is going out of one's way not to restore them.

If we agree that *Ὀ[λύμπια δόματ'] ἔχοσιν*, whether elided or written out, can no longer be restored in the second verse, we must admit

<sup>23</sup> See J. A. Davison, *JHS* 78 (1958) 29–33 = *From Archilochus to Pindar* (London 1968) 41–48, on the problems of the Hieropoioi and Athlothetari.

<sup>24</sup> Shefton, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 146, pl. 11 (b).

<sup>25</sup> *Eranos* 49 (1951) 63–64 = Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* I (Rome 1964) 247–48.

that we do not know just how much space is available for the end of the fourth verse. Two possible supplements, [h]έλεν ὄνομ[α μὲν κάλλιστον:] and [h]έλεν ὄνομ[α τ' ἄφθιτον αἰεΐ:] would take the same space. Merely as a demonstration that this length is not impossible, we could sketch in *hoi* 'O[λύμποι ἡέδραε ἐπ]έχοειν for the end of the second line (PLATE 1, figure 2). That is not to imply that this rather clumsy (though not unmetrical) expression was actually on the stone, but simply to show that a space of this length would not be beyond the bounds of sense and metre. If a space as short as that occupied by 'O[λύμπια δόματ'] ἔχοειν were called for, one might read ὄνομ[α δὲ κάλιστον:] (for οὐνομα δὴ κάλλιστον) but this seems less probable in the light of our observations about the letter space before EXOΞIN.

In any case, the verse can very reasonably be terminated with some expression extolling the fame that Kallimachos won for Athenian men-at-arms.

Now, however, the *beginning* of the line becomes difficult if we insist on restoring the word Marathon, since it is hard to find anything that will fill the metre and not overflow the space. We are forced to ask whether Marathon is all that certain. It is by no means the rule that battles must be named in the epigrams that refer to them. The Thermopylae epigrams are a striking example. In the present poem *παιεὶν Ἀθηναίων* makes it clear that this part of the poem refers to a battle, and the mention of Kallimachos as Polemarch leaves no doubt as to which battle it is. If Marathon is not named, then, there is a fairly wide choice of words beginning *μα*, and it no longer seems possible to suggest a restoration with much faith that it was really so on the stone. Working with what we have accepted as natural restorations before and after this lacuna, we may find it easiest to take the first word as *τῶν*, referring to the Athenians mentioned in the preceding line. This would give a significant pause between the part of the poem concerned with the Panathenaic dedication and that directly extolling the bravery of Kallimachos at Marathon. Such a relative use of *τῶν* at the beginning of the verse was surely known to the author of our poem from the same Acropolis epigram which must have inspired *παιεὶν Ἀθηναίων*, the epigram on the base of the four-horse chariot dedicated as a tithe of the victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidians in 506 B.C.<sup>26</sup>

I think we would like our poem to say what the later tradition also

<sup>26</sup> See n.13 *supra*.

said about Kallimachos, that he was the bravest of the Athenians, and it does not seem at all impossible that this could have been said metrically in the space available. τὸν μάλ' ἀριστεύον (PLATE 1, figure 3) would fit the space and give the sense that we want.<sup>27</sup> If this will fit so easily, it seems obvious that many other restorations might do so too, and we can hardly feel sure enough of any one of them to include it in a conservative text. At the same time it seems equally obvious that 'Marathon', for which no one has yet found a restoration free of objections, cannot belong in a conservative text either.

The problems of this lacuna furnish a very instructive lesson in the inadequacy of standard epigraphical method for restoring archaic inscriptions. The usual texts indicate by dots or a combination of dots and a numeral an exact number of letter-spaces represented by the lacuna. It is easy to be misled by this into thinking that any restoration is all right so long as it has the designated number of letters. So Fraenkel, in suggesting *Μαραθονόθεν*, says, "In questions of spacing I have followed Shefton's indications." If one draws his restoration and Shefton's, however, it is instantly apparent that Shefton's fits the space determined within fairly narrow limits by ἄν[γελον ἄθ]ανάτων in the preceding line, whereas Fraenkel's with one more round letter and no *iota* or *rho*, comes out definitely too long.<sup>28</sup>

Archaic letters inscribed on stone do not live in private spaces like houses in a row of city lots; they assemble amiably with a kind of flexible tact by which each adjusts to the space needs of its neighbors. So a *tau* between round or oblique letters can actually invade the air-space of the letters next to it without making them seem crowded, whereas an *omicron* or *theta* between vertical neighbors needs its own

<sup>27</sup> Forms of ἀριστεύω are exceedingly common in this position in the hexameter, so much so that it would not be surprising to have a rather colorless intensifying word such as μάλα filling up the space before ἀριστεύων. The poet of the archaic Corcyrean epigram Peek 73 (Friedländer 25) wrote πολλὸν ἀριστεύοντα, which recurs in the Thessalian epigram of around 500 B.C. Peek 69 (Friedländer 160). "Ὀν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα, used in *Iliad* 7.90 with a specifically retrospective sense, is taken up in the epigram from Thisbe, Peek 321 ὅς ποτ' ἀριστεύων. See A. E. Raubitschek, in *Entretiens Hardt* 14 (Vandœvres-Genève 1967) 5–7. Μάλα with the superlative occurs in an epigram formerly in Salonika, Peek 876 (CIG II 1973), for which Peek suggests with a query a date in the second century of the Christian era, εἵνεκεν ἧς ἀρετῆς καὶ σωφροσύνης μάλ' ἀρίστης.

<sup>28</sup> It is impossible to calculate the exact space required for any restoration, owing to small variations in the size, shape and spacing of the letters, all of which depend on the letters preceding and following; but by simply tracing off existing letters it is possible to get an idea whether a given restoration is definitely impossible or within the bounds of possibility. The skeptical reader will have to try this for himself. There is no short-cut.

full width plus a breathing space on either side. Oblique strokes tend to become more or less oblique according to the shape of the adjacent letters, as we can see clearly by comparing the *nu*'s in our inscription, no two of which have exactly the same shape.

The result of all this is that *τὸν μάλ' ἀριστεύον* with one more letter than Shefton's *τὸν Μαραθῶνι πρό* takes the same space, whereas *τὸν Μαραθονόθεν*, with the same number of letters, takes about one 'letter-space' more than Shefton's restoration.

In speaking of spaces available so far we have considered only the lacunae that occur *within* the two lines of the inscription, leaving open the question of where the incomplete second line began and ended. The usual published texts, however, specify a given number of letters for the beginning of the third verse.<sup>29</sup> This is based on the assumption that the inscriptions in the two flutes both started at the same level at the top of the column. If this were an unbreakable rule, *νικέσας* would be immediately ruled out. When we draw out *Καλίμαχος μ' ἄν-* completing the first line and *νικέσας πολε-* completing the second, we find that though our reconstruction is only one letter short of that called for in the Meiggs-Lewis text, it is almost three letters short of coinciding with the beginning of the first line. And this is assuming that 'Kallimachos' was written with one *lambda*, an assumption that has less than a fifty-fifty chance of being right.<sup>30</sup> The single *lambda* for 'Kallimachos' was naturally preferred by those who read 'Ελλήνων in the fourth verse, but once that is gone we are on our own so far as the preference of our mason for double or single *lambda* is concerned.

The column dedication of Iphidike which carried a statue by Archermos of Chios has a vertical inscription in two flutes which neither starts at the top of the column nor begins the two lines at the same level.<sup>31</sup> The column dedication of Ophiades which carries a signature of Endoios has three lines, no two of which begin at the same height on the column.<sup>32</sup> Since these works of first-class sculptors

<sup>29</sup> Raubitschek, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) 512, has indicated only the number of metrical syllables, which seems to me preferable.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. the statistics given by Eugene Vanderpool on the use of single and double *lambda* in the ostraka of Kallixenos (*supra* n.14).

<sup>31</sup> Raubitschek, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.8) no.3. Photo in Joh. Kirchner, *Imagines inscriptionum atticarum*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin 1948) 14. It is not impossible that the Nike of Kallimachos was made by a pupil of Archermos. The Iphidike inscription is in Ionic letters and the Kallimachos one in Attic, but they share the unusual *phi* with horizontal bar, on which see Shefton, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 141 n.6.

<sup>32</sup> Raubitschek, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.8) no.7 (with photo).

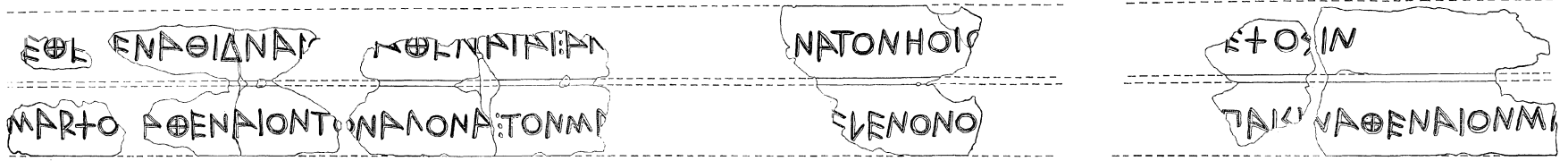


Figure 1

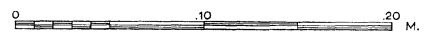


Figure 2

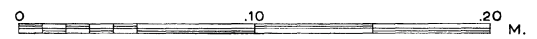
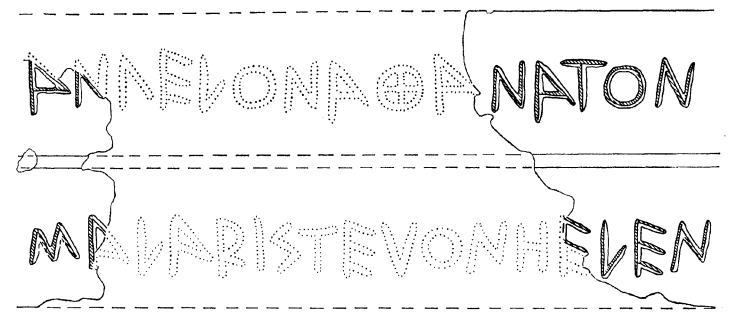


Figure 3

DEDICATION OF KALLIMACHOS OF APHIDNA FROM THE ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS (IG I<sup>2</sup> 609)  
 Drawings by Helen Best

break the 'rule', it seems worthwhile to weigh the irregularity of such a reconstruction against the various difficulties raised by the other reconstructions that have been proposed.

The suggestion of Hiller that the third verse began like the first with 'Kallimachos' would of course raise no spatial or historical problems, but it would make a rather awkward-looking monument with the parallel repetition of the name at the beginnings of the two lines.

From the purely spatial point of view the best is Lolling's *κτηκάμενος*, which works out very well with a two-lambda 'Kallimachos', making the second line begin just a little (less than one letter-space) lower than the first. Such a relationship is quite common in column dedications with two vertical lines of text. We have mentioned the historical difficulty: there is no support in any of our sources for the idea that the Polemarch was responsible in any way for the conduct of the Panathenaea. There may also be a question whether the middle *κτηκάμενος* is properly used of a single official putting on a festival for the whole people, though it is properly used in the Homeric Hymn of the plural Ionians holding their festivals (for themselves) at Delos.<sup>33</sup>

The restoration *ἠὸς (σ)τέεαα* proposed by Shefton<sup>34</sup> comes out nearly two letter-spaces too short, so that it is not enough better than *νηκέεαα* to be preferred on the grounds of spacing alone. In either case we should have to admit that the mason did not really intend to start the second line at the top of the flute. To write out the double *sigma* would hardly make things better, for it seems highly unlikely that a mason who used only one *lambda* in 'Kallimachos' would use two *sigmas* here. Since two *sigmas* can nestle closer together than two *lambdas* the inequality would be greater with double letters than with single.

Shefton preferred the relative to a simple participle in this place because he wished to connect the whole phrase with a main verb in the fourth verse. He admitted, however, that it was the presumed connection of *ἀγῶνα* with Marathon that made this necessary.<sup>35</sup> He does not discuss the space problem here except in terms of "number of letters," though elsewhere he seems to have been very careful about spacing.

In view of all this, we might well feel that the advantage of the easy

<sup>33</sup> *Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 150, ὄτ' ἂν κτηκῶνται ἀγῶνα.

<sup>34</sup> Shefton, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 148.

<sup>35</sup> Shefton, *loc.cit.*

sense and normal sound of *νικέει* outweigh the possible esthetic-architectural disadvantage of having the second line begin noticeably lower than the first. When we come to consider the lower end of the second line, however, we are struck by the fact that, unlike any other column dedication that we know, it extends *much* lower than the first.

To those who believed that the second fluting and the three verses carved in it were added later than the two hexameters of the first fluting, this was not disturbing. Perhaps one might say the same about those who see the break between the dedication part and the Marathon part of the poem as coming at the end of the first line, *i.e.* at the end of the second hexameter, even though they believe the whole poem was composed and carved at one time. In this case, however, it would seem less likely that the mason, knowing in advance that the second part of his inscription was to be the longest, would have wasted space at the beginning of the second line.

In the case of our present suggested restoration, which places the break after the third hexameter, a different explanation suggests itself. It could well be that the decision to add to the Panathenaic dedication two verses in commemoration of the bravery of Kallimachos at Marathon was taken after the first three verses had been carved. This would have meant that only one verse (or possibly in the original plan one verse plus the sculptor's signature) was intended for the second line. At some time after the second line was begun, the decision was made to add the final couplet.<sup>36</sup>

If we look at the inscription with this idea in mind, we can see some possible indications that the verses beginning with *τον* were added, if not in a different hand, at least at a different time. The three dots of the interpunct are not in a straight line, but seem to have been fitted in as an afterthought. The *alphas* in the last two verses are more slanting in all their strokes, no longer so boldly upstanding and right-angled as the *alphas* of the first three verses, and all the carving tends to be broader and a little less crisp, so that the cores of the closed letters become smaller. It seems conceivable that the stone was in a different position when the last two verses were carved.

<sup>36</sup> This need not mean that the first three verses were actually carved before the battle. It could well be that the work on the monument was at first continued after the battle according to the original plan, with the text that had been requested by Kallimachos himself. The use of the rough column with only two flutings may imply haste in setting up the monument. Perhaps the Nike and the capital, which show no such signs of haste, were begun before the column shaft.

No kind of space requirement limits the restoration of the last verse. Shefton's suggestion,  $\mu\nu[\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu \delta' \acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\nu]$ , seems to give the required sense, whatever the actual wording may have been. Meiggs and Lewis note, "We regard  $\nu$  after  $\mu$  as probable rather than certain." An *alpha* cannot be absolutely ruled out, but *nu*, suggesting the idea of memory or memorial, is attractive. If Shefton's objections to  $\mu\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha$  instead of  $\mu\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu$ <sup>37</sup> do not hold and if the final couplet was, as it possibly might have been, an elegiac instead of a pair of hexameters, the last line might have ended:  $\mu\nu[\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha \delta\acute{\epsilon} \hbar\epsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma]$ .<sup>38</sup>

We have arrived, then, at a conservative text which is somewhat *less* full than those recently published, and at a very tentative restoration *exempli gratia* that gives a slightly different emphasis to the Polemarch's achievement. The conservative text would read:

[Καλλίμαχος μ' ἀν]έθεκεν Ἀφιδναῖο[ς] τᾶθENAIAI:  
 ἄν[γελον ἀθ]ανάτον ἡοὶ Ὅ[- ὈΟ - Ο]έχοσιν,|  
 [- ὈΟ - πολέ]μαρχο[ς] ἈθENAION τὸν ἄγθNA:  
 τον μα[Ο - ὈΟ - ἡ]έλεν ὄνομ[α - ὈΟ - -:]  
 παισὶν ἈθENAION μν[- ΟΟ - ΟΟ -]  
 or [- - ὈΟ - ΟΟ - -]<sup>39</sup>

The restoration *exempli gratia* would be:

[Καλλίμαχος μ' ἀν]έθεκεν Ἀφιδναῖο[ς] τᾶθENAIAI:  
 ἄν[γελον ἀθ]ανάτον ἡοὶ Ὅ[λύμποι ἡδρας ἐπ]έχοσιν,|  
 [νικέσας πολέ]μαρχο[ς] ἈθENAION τὸν ἄγθNA:  
 τὸν μά[λ' ἀριστεύον ἡ]έλεν ὄνομ[α μὲν κάλλιστον:]  
 παισὶν ἈθENAION μν[ἔμα δὲ ἡεσ ἀρετέσ.]  
 ΟΓ μν[ἔμεν δ' ἀρετέσ κατέλειπεν.]

<sup>37</sup> Shefton, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 157–58. Actually Shefton was restoring "he left behind" rather than "he won," which may have made some difference in his thinking on this question.

<sup>38</sup> ΟΓ  $\mu\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha} \tau\epsilon \hbar\epsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ , according to the restoration of the preceding line. The fact that Kallimachos died is not expressly mentioned, since this is not a funerary monument.

<sup>39</sup> The *sigma* of  $\text{πολέμαρχος}$  was seen and drawn by Lolling (*op.cit.* [*supra* n.16]) but has since been broken away. The stroke which I have given as a dotted *mu* and Raubitschek and Shefton as a dotted *nu* is not actually preserved to the extent that any chiselled facet survives, but the line of the break seems clearly to follow a stroke here, becoming irregular where the stroke terminated above and below.



In both restorations it is understood that 'Kallimachos' might have been spelled with a single rather than a double *lambda*.

"Kallimachos of Aphidna dedicated me to Athena—I am the messenger of the immortals who have their thrones on Olympos—because he was victorious, when he was Polemarch, in the festival of the Athenians. And fighting most bravely of them all he won fairest renown for Athenian men-at-arms and a memorial of his own valor."

The main difference between this and previous restorations is that it reinforces rather than contradicts our received literary and monumental tradition about Kallimachos. Those who restored *δε κτέεα* had to assume that the epigram claims for the Polemarch a strategic leadership and overall command in the battle that Herodotus does not assign to him.<sup>40</sup> None of our literary sources denies that the strategic planning of the battle belonged to Miltiades, and the painting in the Stoa Poikile showed Miltiades giving the signal to attack.<sup>41</sup>

So far as Marathon is concerned, the epigram as we now read it claims for Kallimachos just what Herodotus accords him, *aristeia* and a special relationship to the gods as givers of victory. If we analyze Herodotus' "mention of the dead" for Marathon (6.114), we see that Kallimachos is mentioned first with a double identity, as Polemarch and as one who fought with conspicuous bravery. In the same bracket (following the first *τοῦτο*) is named Stesileos, identified by his rank of general. The next bracket mentions Kynegiros, whose unusual act of bravery distinguished him even though his rank did not. In the last come "others of the Athenians, many and renowned." *Ὀνομαστοί* as the final word is like an echo of *ὄνομα* in our epigram, and its association with *ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίων* reinforces our conviction that *ὄνομα* and *παικὴν Ἀθηναίων* in the epigram go together. This is not to claim that Herodotus knew the epigram, which may or may not have been widely remembered after the monument was destroyed. It is simply to assume that both were in the main stream of Athenian tradition about the battle.

<sup>40</sup> Compare Shefton, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 161: "The striking fact of a posthumous addition to a dedication, the positive claim to have been the person responsible for the victory, the conspicuous way in which this claim is displayed on the column, makes one wonder whether our epigram was not intended by Kallimachos' friends to point against pretensions of Miltiades which may have become loud immediately after the battle."

<sup>41</sup> Aeschin. *Ctes.* 186; Nep. *Vit.Milt.* 6.3; Ael.Aristid. *Ἐπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων* 174.

Herodotus' two aspects of Kallimachos' claim to fame, his office of Polemarch and his personal bravery, are also emphasized by Polemon in the words he puts into the mouth of Kallimachos' father as he introduces his plea (2.2): ζῶν μὲν οὖν Καλλίμαχος ἡγεμὼν ζῶντος Κυναιγείρου [πολέμαρχος] ἦν· εἰ δὲ [καὶ] τεθνεὼς ἠττηθήσεται, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑβριεῖται, τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν τῆς πάσης ὑμῖν νίκης γενομένην, τὴν δὲ τὸ μέγιστον παρασχούσαν τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι θαυμάτων, ἄνδρα καὶ χωρὶς ψυχῆς μεμαχημένον καὶ νεκρὸν θανάτου κρείττονα. Kallimachos' ἀρχή, which was the cause of victory for the Athenians, is set off from his ἀρετή. It might be thought that when Polemon says that Kallimachos' office of Polemarch was responsible for the victory of the Athenians, he is supporting a conception that gives the Polemarch a greater rôle in the planning of the battle than Herodotus assigns him, but elsewhere in the speech we see that this is not so (2.5–6): ἀπέβαινε μὲν εἰς Μαραθῶνα ὁ Δαρείου στόλος μετὰ τὰς ἐξ Αἰγαίου τῶν νήσων ἀρπαγὰς, τῇ δὲ Ἀττικῇ βοηθεῖν ἔδει τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων εἰρωνεῖαν μὴ περιμένοντας—ὄξυς γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνος ἦν—καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ Μιλτιάδῃ τὴν ταχίστην ἐδόκει τρέχειν. ἐνταῦθα ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν ἅπασαν ὁ ἐμὸς υἱός, πολέμαρχος ὢν καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ σπουδῆν ἰδίαν ὅτι θερμοτάτην ἔχων ἔργα μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ παρασχέσθαι· Κυναιγείρος δὲ εἰς τις ὢν τῶν πολλῶν ἠπειέγετο. συμμίξαντες δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις μεμπτός μὲν οὐδεὶς ἦν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις Καλλίμαχος ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι πολέμαρχος ἦν. The Polemarch led the whole force on their march out from the city to Marathon. This leading out from the city seems to have been a traditional function taken over by the Polemarch from the king's rôle as leader of the army.<sup>42</sup> Once battle was joined it was by his personal prowess that he “showed he was Polemarch.”

<sup>42</sup> In saying that Kallimachos as Polemarch was the ἡγεμὼν of Kynegiros, Polemon uses the same word as Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22.2 in describing the Cleisthenian constitution twelve years before Marathon: ἔπειτα τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡρῶντο· κατὰ φυλάς, ἐξ ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἓνα, τῆς δὲ ἀπάσης στρατιᾶς ἡγεμὼν ἦν ὁ πολέμαρχος. According to Aristotle the office of Polemarch first came into being under the kingship because some kings were not good soldiers (*Ath. Pol.* 3.2). Traditionally, then, the Polemarch was a surrogate of the king, and there was a long period during which active leadership might have been reduced to a more formal kind. N. G. L. Hammond (*CQ* n.s. 19 [1969] 111–23) has made a good case for believing that the system described by Herodotus for Marathon was actually in effect at that time, that there was no supreme commander and the ten generals were “equal in deliberation and in voting.” On any given day one of the generals held operational command: “it is obvious . . . that chaos would ensue if ten men were to shout out orders simultaneously at the start of a battle.” Herodotus and the painting agree in giving this operational command to Miltiades. Herodotus says that each of the other generals accorded to Miltiades

Kallimachos was not a general, but as Polemarch he was ἡγεμών. Hammond has explained convincingly what this means: he led the army as it marched out from the city and fought as the right-hand man in the line of battle.<sup>43</sup> In each of the two orations, Polemon says that Miltiades' rank as general was higher (ἀρχὴ μείζων) than that of the Polemarch.<sup>44</sup> It is obvious that for him, as for Aeschines, Miltiades was "the general." So when he says that the ἀρχὴ of Kallimachos was the cause of the whole victory for the Athenians, he must have something else in mind. He must be thinking not of the strategic planning but of the position that Kallimachos held, through his casting vote, as the instrument of divine providence. Immerwahr says, "in any battle, in addition to the element of human planning and responsibility, there is an element of external fortune."<sup>45</sup> In Herodotus' narrative, this element is dramatized in the story of Miltiades' persuasion of Kallimachos. Myres has suggested that when Herodotus says that Kallimachos had been elected Polemarch by lot, he is emphasizing the operation of divine chance, which made a man with such an auspicious name the leader of the army.<sup>46</sup> Herodotus seems to have been mistaken about the election by lot,<sup>47</sup> but evidently there was something about Kallimachos that always connected him in all later tradition with the supernatural aspects of the event.

An analysis of the evidence for the painting in the Stoa Poikile suggests that he was depicted higher up in the painting than any other human figure, so that he approached the level of the gods and heroes. As we have said, he seems to have represented the turning-point of the battle. Much later tradition growing out of this image of the wounded heroic victor made him into a truly uncanny figure, a corpse that refused to fall and continued to rout the enemy even after the soul had left the body. Polemon, of course, is following this later

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his *prytaneia*. The painting showed him literally "shouting orders at the start of the battle," and this clearly indicated to all who saw the picture that he was the general with operational command, or as Aeschines put it, simply "the general."

<sup>43</sup> Hammond, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.42) 115–17.

<sup>44</sup> Polemon 1.15–16: καὶ γὰρ στρατηγός ἐστιν ὃς τοῦ πολεμάρχου καὶ μείζων ἐστίν, . . . ; 2.20–21: εἰ μὲν γὰρ Μιλτιάδης ὁ στρατηγός ἡμφισβήτει τοῦ λόγου, παρεχώρησα ὡς ἀρχὴ μείζωνι.

<sup>45</sup> H. R. Immerwahr, *Form and Thought in Herodotus* (APA Mon. 23, Cleveland 1966) 239–40.

<sup>46</sup> J. L. Myres, *Herodotus, Father of History* (Oxford 1953) 208, quoted with approval by Immerwahr, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.45) 250 n.37.

<sup>47</sup> Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 22.5 states that election of archons by lot was first introduced in 487/6: see G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*<sup>3</sup> II (Munich 1926) 843 n.2.

tradition. Like Aelius Aristeides, he emphasizes the religious side of the event more than the classical writers do. But Herodotus' account of the battle, and the fact that the gods were shown in the painting, is proof that this side of the story was important to the fifth-century Athenians also.

If we take it that the Polemarch, like the Basileus, carried on religious functions that had originally belonged to the king, we can imagine that the luck of the Polemarch would be identified with the luck of the army in much the same way as the fertility of the Basileus and his wife was identified with the fertility of the people, flocks and crops. This may help us to understand the feelings surrounding the dedication of Kallimachos' Nike. If victory had come to the Polemarch in the greatest festival of Athena at a time when he had just recently taken office and when the threat of the Persian attack was already on the horizon,<sup>48</sup> it must have seemed like an omen that deserved serious recognition.

This in itself would be enough to explain certain things in the purely dedicatory part of the epigram that might be thought already to allude to the battle, *i.e.* the identification of Nike as 'messenger of the immortals' and the word 'polemarch' immediately following *νικέσας* (always assuming that we are right in restoring that word). What we must realize in any case is that hardly enough time elapsed between the Panathenaia of 490 B.C. and the battle for a monument like this to have been completely finished and set up on the Acropolis, even if Kallimachos had rushed out to the workshop on the morning after his victory and given the order for the dedication.

Certainly he must have given the order and had the work started before the battle, and the turn of events would have been enough to explain why it was set up as 'dedicated,' not simply 'vowed' by Kallimachos. A dedication, as we learn from many of the Acropolis inscriptions, is a sharing of one's good fortune with the gods in the expressed hope that a repetition or continuation of the good fortune will be forthcoming. Often the dedications say, "Please return the favor," but there is one that actually says, "Please grant it to me to

<sup>48</sup> We cannot say exactly when the Panathenaia of 490 took place, just as we cannot name the exact day of the battle, without becoming involved in calendar problems, which I prefer not to do; but in any case it is likely that the Persians had already embarked on their campaign by the time of the festival, whose main day was the 28th of Hekatombaion. See A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* (London 1962) 240 n.10 and 257, for a recent discussion of the date of the battle.

make another such dedication.”<sup>49</sup> Kallimachos’ victory at Marathon was a return beyond all expectation of the Polemarch’s gift to Athena. Whether the actual physical monument had been finished or not by the time the battle was fought, it must have been felt that the goddess had already accepted the gift. The victory of Marathon was the proof.

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<sup>49</sup> Raubitschek, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.8) no.40: *ἡδὲ χαίροσα δίδοίεε ἄλο ἀναθῆναι.*