

Capitalising on Victory

A qualitative analysis of the symbolic purposes behind Greek and Roman trophies

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Nike setting up a trophy. The Trophy Painter, 450–440 B.C.E., Credit: Boston, MFA 20.187

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Abstract

A common tradition in Ancient Greece and Rome was celebrating victory in battle by raising a trophy. Initially of temporary nature, permanent versions of these mannequin-esque trophies were eventually constructed to commemorate especially important victories. These permanent trophies were laden with different symbolic purposes and meanings, conferred upon them by the agents behind their construction.

Greek and Roman victory trophies were similar while also being a world apart. These public monuments were raised by individuals and collectives alike, with intentions and functions varying based on a myriad of factors.

In my dissertation, I explore the symbolic purposes and usages of the victory trophies through the theoretical lenses of collective memory and symbolic capital. When navigating the storied field of Classical Archaeology there exists a plethora of theoretical frameworks to choose from. Employing my selected theoretical frameworks to investigate the trophies will allow for potent and nuanced analyses. Using qualitative case studies, I aim to identify notable differences or similarities in the trophies' symbolic purposes based on whether they were raised by Greeks or Romans.

Acknowledgements

At the time of writing these acknowledgements, it is getting quite late. This is fitting, seeing as I wrote most of this dissertation during the late hours of the night when things are quiet and peaceful, and most people are asleep. Though I have thoroughly enjoyed working these long nights alone together only with my music playlists, I could never have accomplished this without the invaluable help of the people around me.

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1. Introduction

...and after they had fought with doubtful victory, they parted asunder again with an opinion on both sides not to have had the worse in the action. And the Athenians, who notwithstanding had rather the better, when the Corinthians were gone away erected a trophy. But the Corinthians, having been reviled at their return by the ancient men of the city, about twelve days after came again prepared and set up their trophy likewise, as if the victory had been theirs. Hereupon the Athenians sallying out of Megara with a huge shout both slew those that were setting up the trophy and, charging the rest, got the victory.

Thuc. 1.105

A victory trophy was a commemorative battlefield marker, erected by the Greeks and Romans after winning a battle to signify their victory over the enemy. A trophy could come in various shapes and sizes, but their nature can be divided into two main categories: *perishable* and *permanent* (Stroszeck, 2004, p. 303). The perishable, or *temporary*, trophies were raised in the immediate aftermath of a battle and consisted of the collected arms and armour of the fallen enemy. The panoply was then strung up in a tree or hung and nailed to a wooden pole, resulting in the trophy possessing the silhouette of a person, thereby attaining an anthropomorphic design (Figure 1). This mannequin-panoply is called the *tropaion* (τρόπαιον) in ancient Greek, from where the modern 'trophy' derives.



Figure 1. Spartans celebrating victory in battle by raising a temporary trophy with the spoils of the enemy. Credit: Osprey Publishing, *Spartan Warrior 735–331 BCE*, p. 57.

In the passage above, Thucydides writes of temporary trophies, and their significance to the Greek Athenians and Corinthians is made clear in this morbidly absurd example. Victory trophies were multifaceted phenomena and could have varying functions. The right to raise a temporary trophy was awarded to the side that had gained victory in battle, which, as this passage shows, was sometimes disputed. Another ‘formal’ function it had was to establish a truce after the battle, allowing both sides to collect the bodies of their fallen comrades (Hau, 2013, p. 58, 60). Last, but not least, the Greek trophy was an offering to a deity to show gratitude for the god-granted victory (Figure 2; Kinnee, 2018, p. 27; Trundle, 2013, p. 135). Fashioned in the immediacy after battle by makeshift materials, especially the wooden elements, these trophies were *perishable* by nature. Lamentably, this means that extant archaeological material is exceedingly scarce, the two notable examples being an inscribed backplate at the Mougins Museum, and a helmet with nail holes at the British Museum (Figures 2 and 3).



Figure 2. Bronze backplate of a Greek cuirass. Votive inscription in Greek translates as follows: "For Athena - spoils from the enemy". Ca. 400–350 BCE. Credit: Mougins Museum of Classical Art, 2011, p.188, fig. 16

Permanent trophies were usually constructed at a later time after the battle it commemorated, using solid materials such as bronze, stone or marble. These could take multiple forms, some permanent trophies emulated the temporary anthropomorphic trophies, while others were grand architectural monuments with the panoply-*tropaion* as its centrepiece (Figure 4 and 5).

In this dissertation, it is my intent to extensively analyse the topic of Greek and Roman trophies, with a focus on their symbolic purposes and uses. I shall thoroughly examine two case studies, the Greek trophy of Leuktra, and the Roman trophies of Sulla, both of which will get a proper introduction below and in their respective



Figure 3. Bronze Corinthian type helmet, nail holes on the top and cheek-pieces showing it has been used as a victory trophy. Ca. 500–450 BCE. British Museum inv. 1977,0101.8. Photograph: author.



Figure 4. Trajan's trophy monument, reconstruction in Adamclisi, Romania. Originally dated to 109 AD. Credit: Wikimedia Commons.

chapters. The two theoretical frameworks that scaffold this analysis are collective memory and symbolic capital, where I base my approach on the ideas presented by Karl-J. Hölkenskamp (2006, 2010) and Tonio Hölscher (2003, 2018). These theoretical frameworks are well suited to explore the complexities of my topics. Certainly, the victory trophy is a topic of much depth, but my aim is to make a contribution to this field of study by illuminating some of the nuances

surrounding the specific case studies I have chosen.

1.1 Trophies, their significance, and early history



Figure 5. Roman 'permanent' trophy in marble, chiseled to emulate a trophaion on a tree trunk. Augustan Period. Centrale Montemartini Museum, Rome. Photograph: author.

The significance of both temporary and permanent trophies is made evident through their frequent depictions on coinage and repeated appearance in historical written literature. The ancient literary sources are invaluable as extant trophies are scarce. Still, the nature in which trophies are mentioned in these sources vary greatly. Some authors (Xenophon, Pausanias) only mention that a trophy was erected after a particular battle, while other authors (Isokrates, Cicero) describe trophies and their context to a greater degree. Regardless of the differing manners in which trophies are mentioned, their importance is attested to multiple times.

My case studies are both of *permanent* trophies. Both Greek- and Roman-made permanent trophies were constructed at a later time after a battle and were usually raised only to commemorate victories of exceptional importance. The victories commemorated were often of both political and territorial significance, such as a decisive battle in a larger war (Kinnee, 2018, p. 18). Choosing to erect a permanent trophy is part of what made a victory great, and we know of no extant *permanent* trophies erected after a pyrrhic victory. The

permanent trophies stood as multifaceted public monuments possessing significant symbolic purposes which could vary and differ greatly based on a myriad of factors (e.g., time period, geography, the agent behind the construction, political situation, and intended audiences). These purposes and their conditional nature is what I aim to explore in my dissertation.

Historically, the first trophies were of temporary nature, while the practice of constructing permanent trophies did not arrive until centuries later. The deliberate vagueness of the previous sentence is due to the uncertain chronology for the beginning of the tradition of raising the temporary Greek victory trophy. Some scholars argue for the temporary trophies dating to the 8th or 7th centuries BCE, while some maintain they did not appear until the 5th century BCE (Kinnee, 2018, p. 18).

The Romans also raised temporary trophies after battle, and the first possible evidence for this is numismatic depictions dating to ca. 212 BCE (Kinnee, 2018, p. 7). However, there is no evidence that this *depiction* is of an actual raised trophy which existed, and so the first convincing and widely accepted evidence for the first actual battlefield trophy is found in a passage from Florus (Epit 1.37.5–6; Hölscher, 2006, p. 32; Kinnee, 2018, p. 61–62).

There is consensus that the first *permanent* trophies were erected in connection with the Persian Wars in the mid-5th century BCE. Indeed, the earliest extant permanent trophy is the ‘column-trophy’ at Marathon, commemorating Greek victory over the Persians. The trophy is dated to between 460–450 BCE, some 30–40 years after the battle itself (Figure 6; Kinnee, 2018, p. 22; Vanderpool, 1966; West, 1969).



Figure 6. Part of the marble ‘column trophy’ of Marathon. Ca. 460–450 BCE. Credit: 2500years.culture.gov.gr.

1.2 Popular misconceptions on Roman adoption of Greek culture

Greece, the captive, made her savage victor captive, and brought the arts into rustic Latium.

Hor. *Ep* 2.1, 156–157.

This is what the renowned poet Horatius Flaccus famously wrote regarding the conquest of Greece by the Romans. In other words, he professed that when Rome conquered Greece, Greek art and culture were in turn adopted by the Romans, in a sense ‘conquering’ their capturers’ culture. This notion has been popularised through decades of academia, especially gaining popularity amongst 19th-century colonialist scholars. This view also birthed the concept of the ‘Romanization’ theory, where the conquered would eventually benefit from being ruled and incorporated by the ‘enlightened’ Roman Empire. This resonated with the colonial mindsets at the time, and it was not until post-colonialism in the 1980s and 1990s that this narrow perspective was challenged.

Today, the Roman Empire’s adoption of Hellenistic culture and traditions is a well-known and thoroughly researched phenomenon, yet some older notions still linger in both academia and in popular conceptions. One of the persisting ideas is the assumption of the collectivistic nature of the Greeks versus the individualistic Romans. By this rationale, the ancient Greeks would fight and conquer in the name of their *poleis* to cultivate the collective’s power and culture. The Romans would do the opposite, individuals conquering in their own name, to self-aggrandising ends. This has in turn been translated to the way Greeks and Romans commemorated and celebrated victory in war. According to the anachronistic way of thinking, when adopting Greek military customs, individualistic Romans would change a tradition to fit their own self-promoting needs, rather than the more collectively-beneficial Greek practices.

The idea of the ‘individualistic Romans’ versus the ‘collectivistic Greeks’ has also been applied to the topic of ancient military studies, of which the victory trophies are part. There exists an abundance of literature on ancient Greek and Roman warfare, however, the differences in symbolic purposes and uses between Greek and Roman victory trophies is a largely unexplored field. When analysing the case studies, I consciously keep the ‘individualistic versus collectivistic’ idea in mind. My intention here is to see if this popular but questionable idea is valid for my specific case studies when examined through the chosen theoretical frameworks.

1.3 Research history – discord and decentralised work

I could write extensively on the fluctuating and incomplete manner in which trophies have been studied. With respect to this dissertation’s length, however, I will limit this to a few key points. The most recent and thorough work on trophies is Lauren Kinnee’s *The Greek and Roman Trophy* (2018). It is a valuable interdisciplinary work and presents comprehensive introductions

to the victory trophies, their history, and their usage by Greeks and Romans. It is, however, diminished by Kinnee's persistent insistence on transforming victory trophies into magical talismans. At times she is careless in her use of sources, resulting in circular arguments and some baseless claims. Still, it remains the most up-to-date and encyclopaedic work on trophies. There are other valuable works on trophies as well, mostly articles on specific permanent trophies, or chapters in larger works such as Matthew Trundle's *Commemorating Victory in Classical Greece: Why Greek Tropaia?* in Spalinger & Armstrong (2013), Jutta Stroszeck's *Greek trophy monuments* (2004), and Gilbert C. Picard's *Les trophées romains* (1957). All the abovementioned works will be referred to extensively throughout the dissertation, together with a plethora of works that briefly, but helpfully examine various aspects of certain trophies.

What defines a trophy has undergone multiple shifts throughout the last century. Scholars have classified trophies as monuments of varying nature, war loot, and a myriad of archaeological materials, resulting in earlier studies on trophies being very inconsistent (Kinnee, 2018, p. 11). Additionally, trophies have rarely been the sole focus of scholarly work. The majority of existing studies on trophies stem from articles that often only briefly mention them, as trophies are not the main topic of the papers. The past complication with defining what is a trophy, combined with the spotty research history on trophies, make them a very interesting, but challenging subject to work with in regards to modern sources.

Kinnee dedicates a chapter solely to the research history on trophies, where she laments its conflicting and complicated nature, and attempts to unravel it (Kinnee, 2018, p. 18–34). It is my aim to attain in-depth knowledge about a particular set of trophies and to contribute to bridging a gap in knowledge by approaching the selected trophies through collective memory and symbolic capital theories.

1.4 Methodology and data

My methodological approach can be divided into two parts. Firstly, I have done preliminary on-site fieldwork in Greece to gain first-hand insight into the case studies. Secondly, I have reviewed existing literature pertaining to the case studies. I then extensively analyse the cases through the theoretical lenses of collective memory and symbolic capital, with results and conclusions presented for each case. In the final chapter, I do a comparative analysis of the results of the case studies and then present my final thoughts.

I have chosen to perform a qualitative study as opposed to a quantitative study. A qualitative approach will allow me to go in-depth on the selected trophies in a way that would be unfeasible

with a quantitative approach. Thoroughly examining the complexities of the trophies in a qualitative manner can yield better in-depth answers regarding the *why* and *how* of their symbolic purposes and uses. A quantitative study may be beneficial to gain generalised insight into trophies, but for my dissertation and my research question (stated in section 1.6 of this chapter), going into the details is my preferred prioritisation. I am probing deeper to achieve insight into the details of a selection of trophies and to make a contribution to the nuances of both the chosen trophies, and my specific research question. Additionally, the number of extant permanent trophies is unfortunately scarce, likely making quantitative analyses reductive if attempted. A different sort of macro perspective might be an idea for a later project if the issue of scarce material can be worked around.

By observing the selected trophies in person, I have gained a first-hand impression which will enhance my interpretation and discussion of certain aspects of the trophies (such as the context of their surrounding geography and their physical magnitude when viewed in person).

For possible shortcomings, I must mention the difficulty of drawing general conclusions about concepts surrounding the trophy by choosing the qualitative approach. I have highlighted some benefits of choosing a *quantitative* approach above, though I still believe that for the aim of my dissertation, a qualitative approach is the favourable one. I also have to mention the difficulty of digging up textual sources not located online nor available in libraries. In researching this dissertation I have been to four European countries, and yet there are some works that have simply eluded me. However, I believe I have managed to work around these few missing sources.

1.5 Presenting the case studies

In their respective chapter, both case studies will be extensively presented and discussed, but for general context, a short primer early on is to the reader's benefit. The first case study is the Greek Trophy of Leuktra, raised by Thebans in the Classical period. The trophy was raised some years after the Thebans' monumental victory over the Spartans at the Battle of Leuktra in 371 BCE. This is a permanent trophy monument, and as will be shown, is the first permanent trophy raised by Greeks against other Greeks, marking a sudden break with tradition.

The second case study is Sulla's two trophies in Boeotia. Located in Chaironeia and Orchomenos, they are the first set of Roman trophies in Greece, raised in the Hellenistic period, 86 and 85 BCE respectively. They commemorate Sulla's two decisive victories over King

Mithridates in the First Mithridatic War. Both trophies are permanent, though the Orchomenos trophy is the only one with substantial extant archaeological remains.

Both the Leuktra trophy and Sulla's trophies mark unique occasions and situations in the Classical and Hellenistic periods and make for compelling case studies. For an overview of the geographical closeness of all three trophies, see Figure 7. Thoroughly analysing and comparing these two sets of trophies will aid me in answering my research question.

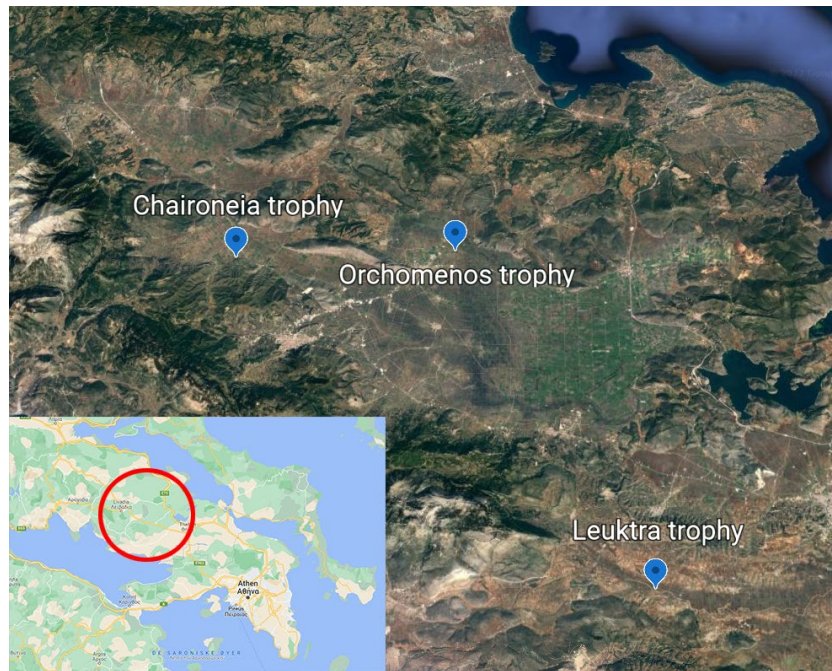


Figure 7. The geographical correlation of the trophies in my case studies. All located in Boeotia, Central Greece. Credit: Google Earth.

1.6 Research question

Greek and Roman victory trophies are similar while also being a world apart. These permanent and public monuments were raised by individuals and collectives alike. Trophies were multifaceted constructions, imbued with symbolic purposes from the agents' behind their erection. Cognisant of the polarising Romanization theory and the still-lingering image of the 'collective Greeks' versus the 'individualistic Romans', I intend to properly examine the symbolic aspects of permanent trophies. By employing the theoretical framework presented briefly below (section 1.7) and further in chapter two, I will attempt to contribute with a more nuanced result worthy of the diverse phenomenon that is the victory trophy. Accordingly, the research question for my dissertation is:

Using qualitative case studies, which notable differences can we identify in the symbolic purposes and usages of trophies, based on whether they were raised by Greek or Roman agents?

Throughout the dissertation, I focus on the symbolic purposes behind the victory trophies, their changing interpretations, and their multifaceted uses. My intention is to increase knowledge and insight into this highly complex topic.

1.7 Structure of dissertation

This dissertation is comprised of six chapters, with the introductory chapter being the first. In chapter 2 I introduce my chosen theoretical framework of collective memory and symbolic capital. I adhere to the viewpoints presented by Karl-J. Hölkenskamp (2006, 2010), and Tonio Hölscher (2003, 2018). The concept of collective memory was first coined and established by Pierre Bourdieu, and has recently been further developed by Jan Assmann. Hölkenskamp and Hölscher, in turn, apply collective memory and symbolic capital to the ancient Mediterranean world, perfectly suited for my topic of Greek and Roman trophies. I also open the theory chapter by presenting the contentious debate surrounding the Romanization theory so as to contrast it with the collective memory and symbolic capital theory. Examining the Romanization theory, its debate, and various approaches is helpful to properly investigate various shortcomings. In doing so, the benefits of employing collective memory and symbolic capital theory in Classical archaeological studies will hopefully be made clear.

Following, I perform in-depth analyses of two case studies. First, in chapter 3, the Greek-raised trophy of Leuktra, raised by the Greeks Thebans against the Spartans in the mid-350s BCE. In chapter 4, the Roman-raised trophies of Chaironeia and Orchomenos, both erected by the Roman general Sulla after his victories against King Mithridates in 86 and 85 BCE, respectively. In both cases, I work with the archaeological remains, ancient literary sources, and modern studies. While reviewing the source material, I analyse the trophies' possible symbolic purposes, as decided by the agents who raised them. In chapter 5 I compile, compare, and discuss the results from the case studies, and give my concluding remarks on the differences in the symbolic purposes of trophies based on whether they were raised by Greeks or Romans.

2. Theory – Collective Memory and Symbolic Capital

In this chapter, I will present my theoretical framework, which will be applied to my case studies. I will also introduce the so-called Romanization debate, to present problematic aspects of the Romanization theory and its offshoots, which has coloured earlier studies and views on the ancient Mediterranean, in particular Greek and Roman subjects.

To explore my research questions, I will make use of the collective memory and symbolic capital theories. Collective memory refers to the concept of a shared collective memory of a society or a group of people (Hölkeskamp, 2006, p. 481). ‘Memory’ in this sense specifically refers to shared knowledge, a shared notion about the collective’s historical roots, and certain characteristics and self-beliefs (Hölkeskamp, 2006, p. 481). Symbolic capital is the concept of how individuals or collectives could accumulate a sort of social credit which included prestige, reputation, fame and honour (Hölkeskamp, 2010, p. 107) This could be gained through respect and appreciation, and could be passed down through generations.

To properly employ the collective memory and symbolic capital theories to my research question, I must be able to make use of them in the setting of the ancient Mediterranean, specifically military victory trophies. To achieve this, I will make use of Karl-J. Hölkeskamp, and Tonio Hölscher’s work on collective memory and symbolic capital, who apply it to the world of ancient Greece and Rome. Both theories will be presented in full in their respective sections in this chapter.

What will follow is an introduction to the discourse surrounding an inflamed topic: *Romanization* and *Hellenization*. Exploring the Romanization debate is important as it helps us gain a comprehensive understanding of the theoretical landscape surrounding collective memory, and emphasises the valuable solutions collective memory brings with it. Examining the Romanization debate will contextualize earlier views and attitudes on Classical studies (archaeology, history, anthropology, sociology and more), and showcase the shortcomings of the theory when applied to the topic of trophies. After presenting the theory and its surrounding debate, I will create a brief example of how trophies would be viewed when analysed through Romanization theory. The discussion makes clear the constraints one would face if applying Romanization theory to trophies, and in turn shows benefits of a more nuanced approach and a more diverse framework, which collective memory and symbolic capital bring.

2.1 Romanization and the debate

The -ization terms have undergone many transformations since their modern inception in the early 1900s. The term had existed long before but did not hold the same meaning or implications until then (Mattingly, 2011, p. 38). The theory of Romanization was popularized by Francis Haverfield in his book *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (1912). The theory of Romanization suggests that cultural change in the (western) Mediterranean was a standardized and generalized process. Leading academic within the debate, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, describes the process as follows: "... [Romanization] implies a dual process, whereby the values of Greek culture are first absorbed by the Romans ('Hellenization') and then diffused through Roman conquest across the western Mediterranean ('romanization')" (2008, p. 10). Haverfield's theory was accepted and built upon by the leading academics of the time: the colonial powers' educated elite (Mattingly, 2011, p. 38; Dench, 2018, p. 6, 9; van Dommelen in Woolf, 2014, p. 41).

The Romanization theory of the early 1900s, popularized by Haverfield, promotes a centralized view of the Romans and their Empire. It focuses on the aspects such as the emperor, the cities, the elite, the high culture and arts, etc. In the framework of Romanization there is an implicit positive view of the Empire, and it can be argued that it promoted colonialist ideas and models. The Romans, and by proxy Greek culture, was the foundation of western civilization, which of course resonated soundly with colonial idealists (Wallace-Hadrill, 2008, p. 10). The native peoples and provinces conquered by the Romans were subject to a deliberate policy of the empire. They would have Roman culture and norms 'injected' and forced onto their own culture, and were rewarded with the 'superior' Roman civilization (Mattingly, 2011, p. 38).

Having given a short history of the Romanization theory, as well as the general concepts the term entails, one can get an idea of the complications of applying it to the victory trophies. To properly see how Romanization-based analyses of trophies would turn out, presentations of the two current approaches with the most traction is necessary. I briefly mentioned these attempts to revise the theory to modern standards, I will now present two leading academics' approaches: Wallace-Hadrill and David Mattingly.

2.1.1 Andrew Wallace-Hadrill

Wallace-Hadrill is widely regarded as one of the leading academics in the field, and his studies are very influential (Versluys, 2014, p. 8; Dench, 2018, p. 35; Mattingly, 2011, p. 206). In his book *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (2008), Wallace-Hadrill focuses on the nature and process of cultural change in the Mediterranean, proposing to see it through the metaphor of

bilingualism/multilingualism with emphasis on ‘code-switching’. He finds the revised concepts of Romanization (and Hellenization) unsatisfactory terms which do not adequately encompass the cultural transformation they are meant to cover: late republican Italy (Wallace-Hadrill, 2008, p. 145).

Wallace-Hadrill cites the famous Horatian quote I cited in my introductory chapter: “*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*” (Hor. *Ep.* 156–157). Wallace-Hadrill does not agree with the passive role this passage implies the Romans played in the process of their cultural transformation. He writes: “Willing victims... they accept that Greek culture is ‘superior’ and surrender their ‘primitive’ culture to its control. Such a model is evidently unsatisfactory.” (Wallace-Hadrill, 2008, p. 23). According to Wallace-Hadrill, later revisions of Romanization theory (which will be presented in the section dedicated to Mattingly) repeat similar mistakes the earlier model was prone to: giving one of the involved cultures a passive and submissive role in the process of cultural transformation. Although a post-colonial theorist himself, Wallace-Hadrill considers some of the post-colonial approaches to Romanization to be on too far on the other end of the spectrum. He proposes that the cultural change which Rome and Greece underwent in the late Hellenistic/late Republican period, was a deliberate choice by Rome. Choosing to adopt Greek culture would benefit Rome, and was so done to “serve the purposes of its conquest.” (Wallace-Hadrill, 2008, p. 23). This, however, is not a solution, as Wallace-Hadrill writes: “... but not even here do we escape from the model of the transformation of the ‘loser’.” (2008, p. 23).

Wallace-Hadrill’s proposal for a solution is another ‘middle ground’, and he sums up his approach neatly:

... [The middle ground idea], in which cultures stand in dialectic with one another, provides a way out. If we focus on the reciprocity of the process whereby the colonial power not only provides powerful new cultural models to the colonised... but in turn takes to itself cultural models from the colonised, we can allow that Roman conquest of Greece led not to fusion but to reciprocal exchange. The cultures do not fuse... , but enter into a vigorous and continuous process of dialogue with one another. Romans can ‘Hellenise’ (speak Greek, imitate Greek culture) without becoming less Roman: indeed, the mutual awareness may have the effect of defining their Romanness more sharply by contrast. Wallace-Hadrill, 2008, p. 23–24.

I agree with Wallace-Hadrill's proposition here, and see the values of a more fluid cultural exchange in the ancient Mediterranean, although there has been criticism on his heavy emphasis on the language analogy (Osborne & Vout, 2010, p. 236). The idea that the Romans were fully aware of both their own and Greek culture is certainly viable (Wallace-Hadrill, 2008, p. 27–28). That is, the Romans were aware of the ways they adopted elements of Greek culture while still keeping it different, distinctly *Roman*: "... The Greek elements it has borrowed/appropriated/imitated/stolen/hijacked are Romanized by an act of self-redefinition." (Wallace-Hadrill, 2008, p. 28). It was more of a reciprocal process. The Romans did not forcefully absorb all aspects of Greek culture, and the Horatian notion that the Greeks subtly conquered the Roman culture with their own is untenable.

Wallace-Hadrill's metaphor on multi/bilingualism also include the concept of code-switching. He proposed that the inhabitants of the Mediterranean who were in contact with multiple civilizations and peoples were bilingual and could switch their language 'on the go' depending on their conversation partner. In practice, he characterizes code-switching as improvised and where sentences, phrases, and lesser elements were switched mid-conversation (Wallace-Hadrill, 2008, p. 13). This goes for language but also for other types of cultural codes.

However, despite his criticism of other central-focused Romanization theories, Wallace-Hadrill seems to fall into the same trap himself. He presents an anatomic metaphor calling Hellenization and Romanization the two phases of circulation of blood. Here, the Hellenization-blood (Greek culture) is drawn to the heart, the 'centre' (Rome), and pumped back out again as *oxygenated* Romanization-blood to the extremities (Wallace-Hadrill, 2008, p. 27). Peeling back the metaphor, we again see the problematic view of Rome as the 'giver' and leader in all things cultural change. Rome, as the 'heart', absorbs other cultures and 'oxygenates' them before spreading Romanization further to the outer provinces. Other scholars within the Romanization debate have also pointed out Wallace-Hadrill's problematic exclusive focus on Greece in a Roman context, and Rome as the heart and centre of all cultural change. He ventures into 'classical' viewpoints, falling into the black-and-white trap he himself criticizes (Versluys, 2014, p. 8–9, 15–16). His reciprocal- and hybridization-focused approach to cultural change brings important perspectives to the theory, but is confined by the identity focus Romanization inherently carries. Greeks are still designated as Greeks, 'hybridized' or not, and Romans are still Romans, without much nuance despite Wallace-Hadrill's attempts. This does not mean his approach is 'wrong' per se, but if applied to my topic of trophies, the constraints and certain

flaws of the metaphor of the multilingualism would become apparent (which will be demonstrated towards the end of the debate summary).

2.1.2 David Mattingly

David Mattingly is also one of the leading participants in the Romanization debate, and has moved from the central viewpoint of the early-Romanization theory to a peripheral one. Instead of focusing on the empire, the elites, the cities and high culture; his new framework highlights natives, resistance to the empire, slaves, the countryside, and the people without history; the ‘mundane’ (Versluys, 2014, p. 2). This new focus on the peripheral aspects of the empire filled a crucial missing and ignored part of the early Romanization theory which has resulted in large amounts of new knowledge and valuable perspectives being achieved. Though it is not without its problems.

In Mattingly’s 2011 book *Imperialism, Power and Identity – Experiencing the Roman Empire*, he proposes his new theories and approaches. He disagrees with Wallace-Hadrill’s middle ground solution, and instead proposes a more severe approach (Mattingly, 2011, p. 204, 245). One of Mattingly’s goals is the complete abolishment of the use of any ‘-ization’-terms: “I hope to convince you of the validity of this new approach to culture change and that it offers a viable and productive alternative to the conventional notion of Romanization—a superannuated concept that I have now rejected.” (Mattingly, 2011, p. 204). He also rejects newer adjustments of the Romanization theory, writing: “The difficulties associated with [the continued use of Romanization] are widely recognized, leading advocates to increasingly desperate measures (invoking watered-down concepts such as ‘vulgar Romanization’ or ‘weak Romanization’.” (Mattingly, 2011, p. 204). To Mattingly, the terms are too loaded and weighed down by their history to be salvageable. He proposes his own off-shoot of Romanization theory, relabelled.

Mattingly replaces the framework ‘Romanization’ with that of *discrepant identities*, borrowed from Edward Said. This puts the focus on the heterogeneity of native cultures and their different reactions to the effects of Rome, emphasising that ‘Romanized’ cultures could be both culturally similar and different to Rome (Mattingly, 2011, p. 213–214). Though Mattingly specifically points out his intention to find a middle ground to the debate on cultural change and finds partial success in this, critics, as we will see, do not agree he has achieved this goal to a satisfactory degree. It should be noted that Mattingly’s uncompromising stance makes his book a challenging read for some. His evident animosity and antagonizing of earlier and current Romanization theories has landed him accusations of being an author whose theories are largely

influenced by his own ideologies, written with the aim of provoking the reader (Revell, 2011, p. 279; Versluys, 2014, p. 9).

While the aforementioned middle ground of Wallace-Hadrill might be called a hybridization theory of sorts, Mattingly distances himself from that term, highlighting the additional implications the word *discrepant* carries: “The meaning... I am evoking above all is that of ‘exhibiting difference’... [discrepant has] some added value in its secondary associations: discordant or inharmonious.” (Mattingly, 2011, p. 213). Mattingly’s conscious choice of the term *discrepant identities* is to show that identities within the Roman sphere could vary wildly, especially in the provinces. He writes, on individual and group identities in Roman provincial societies that they: “... could sometimes exhibit cultural discordance as well as the broad similarities that are generally celebrated through Romanization theory.” (Mattingly, 2011, p. 213). This contrasts with the early Romanization theory, which often promoted homogeneity in both cultures and their transformation (Mattingly, 2011, p. 207).

Mattingly briefly discusses a point worth highlighting. When discussing Roman imperialism, he claims many modern scholars fall into the trap of automatically assuming this entity, or phenomenon, as static. He claims they view it as having: “one set of motivations and an unvarying ethos to underpin its operation” (Mattingly, 2011, p. 270–271). In other words, Mattingly’s position is that the participating parties in cultural change and transformation should not be considered single, unchanging entities. Rather, they could vary greatly, demonstrated by his *discrepant identities* theory. Roman imperialism varied depending on numerous factors such as politics, geography, identity (Roman/local), tradition, and more. Roman imperialism was a constantly changing and ever-different phenomenon. Like an electron, it could move in different directions simultaneously, and exist as two completely different things at the same time, depending on a myriad of factors. It is important to be aware of the Roman Empire’s fluctuating and conditional nature, and Mattingly does a good job of underlining this.

However, this brings me to some criticism of Mattingly’s approaches: this is no new trailblazing approach which he has shed light on. Modern scholars have had ‘moderate’ middle ground views such as this for a long time (see e.g., Bentley, 1997; Hingley, 2005; Wallace-Hadrill, 1998, 2008). Mattingly comes off as arguing against the early Romanization theorists of the early 1900s, rather than actual modern scholars as he himself claims. Mattingly’s theory has certainly been one of the leading views, if not *the* leading view within the Romanization debate, and it brings with it much-needed focus on the peripheral aspects of the Roman Empire.

However, it becomes too extreme in the opposite direction of the early Romanization theory, and does not provide a solid middle ground, except for in the point of the Empire's fluctuating nature. Perhaps more problematic than Wallace-Hadrill's approach, Mattingly's theory – *discrepant identities* – superfluously abolishes the term Romanization without managing to remove itself from the shortcomings the expunged concept suffers from. An underlying issue with his theory is the emphasis on identity. By focusing on this aspect, one must work with the assumption that identities (e.g., Greek and Roman) are set and designated labels. Even with Mattingly's attempt to highlight the discrepancy of identities, it is still limited by this fact. Like Wallace-Hadrill's theory, Mattingly's approach to Romanization is also hamstrung by the boundaries set by the theory's inherent focus on identity.

2.1.3 Romanization debate summary

A point raised by Miguel John Versluys and Greg Woolf later in the dialogue struck a personal chord with me. They highlight the burden of Romanization theory and its debate. Versluys notes how some young scholars feel that the view on Romanization defined in the 1990s/early 2000s is unalterable: "... it seems that the consensus is not really shared by a new generation of Roman scholars, who regard themselves as confronted by a dogma rather than by a discussion that they can participate in." (Versluys, 2014, p. 5). Woolf reveals he does *not* think the debate around Romanization should be revived and continued, as: "Those who bear the heaviest costs are the new entrants... who encounter an ever-growing bibliography of deuterocanonical and exegetical works..." (2014, p. 50).

As we can see from this presented discussion, there is little consensus amongst scholars in the current academia on Romanization. The already high cost of entry to the debate and its history is ever-growing, and the debate is extremely difficult to grasp in its entirety. Romanization, its alternatives, and even its suggested replacement, all view the transference and evolution of culture as something that is transmitted from A to B. The main issue with the prevalence of Romanization theory is the viewpoints it contributes to in Classical studies. Romanization paints a somewhat straightforward picture of ancient Greece and Rome. No matter which of the offshoots of Romanization theory one should adhere to, it risks making uncomplex a matter which most certainly is complex.

One of the inherent complications of Romanization theory lies in its heavy emphasis on clear-cut identities. Both the presented approaches to Romanization are interesting and have merit and can successfully be applied to various topics. However, in the pursuit of applying these theories to trophies, some aspects become fundamentally difficult to navigate. Wallace-

Hadrill's hybrid identities might fall prey to inherent prejudices of Romanization, exemplified through in his use of the anatomic metaphor with Rome as the culture-giving heart. Mattingly's move towards 'discrepant identities' and the proposed abolishment of Romanization does not dispel the constraints of an identity-focused theory weighed down by the history of Romanization. This is not to say these are bad theories, as they can yield good and interesting results when applied to certain topics. However, for my topic of the victory trophies they are less helpful and would put constraints on important aspects of these multifaceted constructions.

These constraints can be shown when applying Romanization to my case studies, which are both located in Greece, but raised by Greeks and a Roman, respectively. A quick and crude example would see the tradition of Roman trophies reduced to merely being a concept appropriated from the Greeks, after their conquest of Greece. If not appropriated, the tradition would have been a fusion of cultures, a Greek/Roman hybridization. In this way, Sulla's trophies in Greece might mainly be classified as 'Roman' trophies. They might be presented as a representation of how the Romans adopted and appropriated Greek culture, either through fusion of culture and identity, or by directly having the tradition transferred to them. It bears repeating that the factor of identity in theories can of course work well with different topics, and collective self-identity is an important element of collective memory theory. However, the framework of collective memory is not restricted by including identity, as there are multiple features which scaffold the theory as a whole. However, with the topic of victory trophies, using Romanization theory might result in losing invaluable nuances and limiting the ways in which the trophies are viewed.

Despite this, Romanization-related theories are still in use, though there is no consensus on how to apply them. It is, in my mind, a very black-and-white answer to questions on cultural change, which in reality must have been a more complicated phenomenon. While Romanization theory and its different proposals can be successfully be applied to certain topics; an analysis of victory trophies through this framework would suffer. For analysing victory trophies, the collective memory and symbolic capital theories are both generally superior, more malleable, and comprehensive, allowing for better and more nuanced analyses.

2.2 Collective memory

To move away from the narrowness and unintended prejudices Romanization theory brings with it, collective memory and symbolic capital function as more capable theoretical frameworks to work with. The post-colonial approaches to Romanization, in efforts to 'salvage'

the theory, end up with very abstract macro-concepts of identity. Collective memory theory's best advantage is that it does not use these identity concepts as much. It can be applied to all, modern and past, it is a far more powerful and flexible theory. Collective memory and symbolic capital present a different approach: that cultures changed and were shaped by a collective memory, aided by the accumulation and inheritance of symbolic capital passed down through generations, resulting in a comparatively a more fluid and diffuse change in cultures.

I will now properly introduce collective memory theory. Collective memory is the theory of a collective memory of an idea or ideology. Hölkeskamp defines the concept in its modern sense as: "... the collectively shared knowledge of a society, the peculiar set of certainties and convictions it has about itself and, in particular, about its historical roots." (2006, p. 481). In other words, collective memory enables a group, be it a small tribe or a large society, to be conscious of what makes up its own identity. This collective memory functions as a foundation for the self-image of a group or society. Hölkeskamp elaborates further, explaining some concepts collective memory brings with it to a society: "... [it] is the main source for patterns of perception, for conceptions of order, right and wrong, and for the framework in which to interpret one's own contemporary social environment and world experience." (2006, p. 481).

Essentially, collective memory provides a society with a defined set of cultural knowledge, conscientiously and deliberately selected. This in turn yields other functions that all contribute to strengthening aspects (or the whole) of the collective memory of a society or group. Such functions can be educational, disciplining and integrating, as well as provide a set of social 'instructions' on how a member of said group should act (Hölkeskamp, 2006, p. 481).

Cultural memory is a term the reader may be familiar with, and I deem it necessary to quickly explain it in relation to collective memory. Cultural memory is a branch of collective memory, developed and explored by Jan Assmann (2008). In essence, whilst older versions of collective memory theory excluded concepts from the cultural sphere, such as transferences, traditions and transmissions; cultural memory includes these (Assmann, 2008, p. 110). However, today it is simply viewed as an element of collective memory, baked into the umbrella term. Hölkeskamp refers to both collective memory and cultural memory as interchangeable (2006, p. 481).

Collective memory is very useful to my research question on the symbolic purposes and usages of trophies based on whether they were raised by Greek or Roman agents. As will be explored in the case studies, trophies were heavily laden with symbolism, which would have resonated

with a certain intended audience. Referring to the above quotation from Hölkeskamp, the agents raising a trophy must have had awareness of the audiences' collective memory, their collective historical roots, and their different knowledge and convictions (2006, p. 481). Collective memory would be very much be at work here, and it must have been at the forefront of the minds of the agents raising the trophies. Viewing the case studies through the theoretical lens of collective memory enables me to precisely and meticulously analyse key aspects of the trophies' symbolic purposes with respect to their various contexts.

2.3 Symbolic capital

In Rome, the present never obliterates the past, since none of the memorable events are ever marginalized or fully forgotten. The past is continuously transformed into history (and the symbolic capital which it carries), and in this guise retains its presence in the memory of each new generation.

Hölkeskamp, 2006, p. 491.

Symbolic capital is a highly relevant theory in regard to my research question. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is the author of the theory, having developed and tested the concept (Hölkeskamp, 2010, p. 107; Bourdieu, 1983, 1986, 1993). In his *Forms of Capital* (1986), Bourdieu presents different notions of capital, its accumulation, and its effects (p. 81). Following Bourdieu, symbolic capital is one of multiple forms of capital, e.g., economic, cultural, and social. Symbolic capital can be accumulated directly by an agent, or inherited in some form. It can then be 'spent' by said agents in a more tangible way, e.g., political gain or career advancement (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 81). Bourdieu explains the nature of the accumulation of capital, and the structure it brings with it:

Capital, which, in its objectified or embodied forms, takes time to accumulate and which... contains a tendency to persist in its being, is a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible... the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world, i.e., the set of constraints, inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way...

Bourdieu, 1986, p. 81

Here, Bourdieu explains the permanence and fluidity of capital in general (symbolic, cultural, economic). Capital persists, but changes in the setting of which a society finds itself. The different types of capital and how they are distributed within a society represent the inherent (and current) structure and reality of said society, in regards to its social constraints and functioning. E.g., an action which might yield an agent or group of agents significant symbolic capital in one society at a certain time, might not do so in another society, or even in the same society but at another time and setting.

Working with the foundation laid by the works of Bourdieu, Karl-J. Hölkeskamp distills the essence of the concept, and applies it to ancient Mediterranean societies (Hölkeskamp, 2010, p. 107–124). The concept is interlinked with social capital, and, sharing some of the same definitions, is also presented by Hölkeskamp. Both symbolic and social capital consists of resources which connect to: "...institutionalized relationships of mutual acknowledgement or acceptance" (Hölkeskamp, 2010, p. 107). These relationships form a permanent network which again is based upon the resources contributed by individuals in a group (Hölkeskamp, 2010, p. 107). In defining symbolic capital whilst specifically keeping social capital in mind, Hölkeskamp writes:

The symbolic capital is acquired through respect and appreciation and includes prestige and honor, fame and reputation. These two forms can usually hardly be separated or even notionally distinguished, because the "social capital" always functions as "symbolic capital" (and vice versa), because the former functions according to the same specific "logic of acquaintance and acknowledgement" as the latter.

Hölkeskamp, 2010, p. 107–108

Symbolic capital, then, included many 'benefits', and both individuals and collectives would have been quite conscious of both their own and others' symbolic capital. Hölkeskamp applies this to the setting of Republican Rome, and writes on the inheritance of symbolic capital, and that it constituted a:

... type of inheritance or inheritability of individual aristocratic status: this 'capital' was created by 'the ancestors' and their steady accumulation of those achievements that were universally acknowledged as prestigious and constitutive of pre-eminence...

Hölkeskamp, 2010, p. 108

Symbolic capital is something you capitalize, build up, and then pass on. In terms of *how*, there were different ways to accumulate it, which can be boiled down to performing actions which

would gain one respect or appreciation. One such action was the building of monuments. This leads us to the aspect of public monuments, e.g., permanent trophies, a concept which connects collective memory and symbolic capital.

2.3.1 Public monuments, collective memory and symbolic capital

In 338 BCE, after victory against the city of Antium, the Roman consul C. Maenius had the rams – *rostra* – of their ships erected at the speaker’s platform on the Forum. From then on, this place on the Forum was called the *rostra*, directly and indirectly becoming a constant reminder of Maenius’ victory (Liv. 8.14.12; Hölkeskamp, 2006, p. 485).

As a reminder, historically, my chosen case studies are set in the Classical Greek period and Republican Roman period. Hölkeskamp writes that the Roman republic was a “meritocracy” which saw extensive usage of symbolic capital (2010, p. 108). Meritocracy is a society where the ruling class attain power based on individual merit, and in the case of republican Rome, this merit, or symbolic capital, was inheritable (Hölkeskamp, 2010, p. 108). Though not guaranteed to persist (or ‘precarious’ as Hölkeskamp puts it), both aristocratic status and symbolic capital created by ‘the ancestors’ was inheritable, as explained earlier (Hölkeskamp, 2010, p. 108). The ancestors, who were esteemed by the aristocracy in republican Rome, often had their achievements commemorated and thus remembered down through multiple generations.

Hölscher titles his chapter on public monuments in Classical Greece ‘*Monuments of Memory*’, and from the title alone we get an idea of the concepts he will discuss (2018, p. 132). Hölscher’s 2003 work is largely an earlier exploration of his 2018 book, and some aspects may already seem familiar to the reader.

Hölscher provides good insight to the power of public monuments, of which category victory trophies are included. Public monuments placed at locations where the audience would constantly see them, served as reminders of the commemorated event and certainly the individual or group behind the construction/achievement (Hölscher, 2018, p. 134). As Hölscher writes, such monuments were “... [an] unavoidable presence [in] the spaces and spheres of public life and political practice.” (2018, p. 134). This would in turn build symbolic capital for the profiting parties. A Roman general or the Senate could accumulate symbolic capital by reminding the public of a great victory they had, in form of a permanent trophy. A Greek polis could ‘promote’ themselves by building a great temple for other city-states to see, or again, a trophy to serve as a reminder of great deeds.

As I mentioned in the introduction, the lingering notion of the ‘collectivistic Greek’ versus the ‘individualistic Roman’ is still present. There are however, multiple examples of Greeks building symbolic capital for themselves or a small group, which I consider worth giving a brief presentation. As examples of such public monuments, Hölscher lists the famous *Tyrannicides* and the *Stoa Poikile*, the ‘painted porch’, both in Athens (2003, p. 15; 2018, p. 132).

The *Tyrannicides* in Athens is the first example. These sculptures commemorated the expulsion of the Peisistratids and promoted the now-dominant democratic group, headed by Kleisthenes (Hölscher, 2018, p. 133–134). The people still supporting the old tyrant would definitely have felt the effect of these two monumental statues, raised at and ‘monopolizing’ the central political area, they must have felt “...literally expelled” (Hölscher, 2018, p. 134). The *Stoa Poikile* as well, depicting scenes from the Battle of Marathon, seem to have served the group of Kimon, son of the Athenian general Miltiades, of Marathon fame (Hölscher, 2018, p. 134).

These two specific cases showcase both how a smaller group promoted their own goals by building symbolic capital through public monuments in public landscapes, as well as what the political effects of such constructions might have been. However, another important aspect here is the fact that such monuments added to the collective history and memory of a society. As seen with the example of C. Maenius and the *rostra*, public monuments played a part in establishing a collective history and identity. The *Tyrannicides* would be constant reminders to the Athenians of their collective history and feats, strengthening their self-identity as democrats, whilst the *Stoa Poikile* would remind them of their great victory at Marathon. Though perhaps raised in the interest of self-serving individuals or groups, the result is still that the symbolic capital gained by these parties ultimately culminated in their contribution and shaping of their societies’ collective memory.

Constructing public monuments was one way of accumulating symbolic capital, which in turn would benefit both the acting individual and their family and descendants. It could also benefit a larger collective, e.g., a Greek polis or the Roman Republic as a whole. Permanent monuments would add to the collective ‘landscape’, urban or rural, which would be a factor for a society building an identity, a self-image and a continuous collective history: collective memory. Such monuments could include temples, shrines, statues and other public buildings, and most important to this dissertation: victory trophies (Hölkeskamp, 2010, p. 61). Trophies were raised in both cities and on or near battlefields, and were, as we will see in the case studies, “...heavily laden with a (rather obvious) symbolism.” (Hölkeskamp, 2010, p. 61). Additionally, the inscriptions on trophies were made to spread political and ideological messages, and exalt the

virtuous and prestigious qualities of the victors, in a bid to gain, amongst other aspects, symbolic capital (Hölkeskamp, 2010, p. 62).

To boil down and summarize the aspects of public monuments in the setting of symbolic capital and its part in establishing collective memory I will fully quote Hölscher's passage on it:

The power of political monuments lies in their capacity to impart a durable public presence to persons and events of historic importance. The *Tyrannicides* and the Battle of Marathon were made present by monumental representation, over the distance of time and space, in the Athenian center of civic and political life. 'Making present' means to constitute memory—and 'memory' means not simply to delve into the past but to transfer the past into the present. Such monuments not only gave the community of citizens the opportunity to live and to cope with these persons and events; they imperiously demanded the community's recognition and acceptance of the person or event represented.

Hölscher, 2018, p. 135

The political power of public monuments would have benefited the entity responsible for its construction and could have had a diminishing effect on certain antagonistic agents. In both Greek and Roman settings, this agent could be an individual, a smaller group, or a larger collective. Permanent monuments could last for generations, bringing the past collective memory to the present memory by steadily and consistently being a part of the landscape. By building permanent public monuments such as victory trophies, the parties behind them could gain symbolic capital which would assist their political and military goals, whilst simultaneously adding to the collective memory of a society.

2.3.2 Symbolic capital and permanent trophies

Tonio Hölscher applies symbolic capital to classical archaeological studies, more specifically late-Archaic-, Classical-, and Hellenistic Greece, as well as republican and imperial Rome (2003, p. 15–17). He outlines how war monuments celebrating victory begets political power, for both individuals and collectives (2003, p. 15; 2018, p. 132). This is clearly relevant to my research question concerning the symbolic purposes of trophies. For the late-Archaic and Classical Greek states, from ca. 500 BCE onwards, public monuments could effectively serve as tools to create and/or reinforce a patriotic identity and self-definition (Hölscher, 2003, p. 15; 2018, p. 132).

As Hölscher writes, such monuments, including later Roman monuments: "... glorified individual political protagonists or the whole body of citizens, and the practice remained current throughout and beyond antiquity" (2003, p. 15). A monument, e.g., a trophy, would not only be a representation of a military victory but could represent iconography of a symbolic and allegorical character, as well as specific political actors and their deeds (Hölscher, 2003, p. 15). Ideology and ideological messages, in particular, were promoted by allegorical iconography. As an example of such political symbolic art, Hölscher names the Nikai-adorned relief parapet of the Athena Nike temple, on Athens' acropolis. The temple was constructed during the zenith of Athenian political self-confidence, and many of the Nikai are shown erecting trophies, with captives seated on a pile of armour, to commemorate victories in war (Hölscher, 2003, p. 15-16).

This use of public monuments as a means to gain individual or collective prestige was also utilized by Hellenistic kings, although it flourished further down the line in republican and imperial Rome (Hölscher, 2003, p. 16). To sum up Hölscher's presentation on symbolic conversion in ancient Greece and Rome, I will quote his concluding remarks:

Taken together, the instances of monumental and symbolic conversion of military victory into political power constituted a huge enterprise in Roman culture and art. It was a practice based on Greek foundations but which was more fully developed under the Roman Empire. The increased quantity and elaboration corresponded to the greater needs of the Roman emperors and their greater claims to world rule. Hölscher, 2003, p. 16

2.4 Why symbolic capital and collective memory?

I have earlier explained why collective memory is a suitable framework for my research question and will give a very quick recap here. For the intended audience to understand a trophy's symbolic messages and iconography, the agents raising the trophy must have been conscious of the audience's collective memory, including their varying collective history and self-identity. Collective memory theory enables me to properly take these shifting and everchanging factors into consideration when analysing the case studies.

As for symbolic capital theory, my research question asks about the different symbolic purposes of trophies depending on who raised them and who interacted with them. The *who* – the agents and audience– in my case studies are Greek, and Roman. Examining the case studies through the theoretical lens of symbolic capital will enable me to gain better insight into the *why*, and

what the effects of the trophies were. These are aspects the agents behind the trophies would have been very conscious of, and which could vary depending on the audience who interacted with the trophies. E.g., I examine for what purpose the Roman general Sulla inscribed his trophies in this particular manner. I examine who interacted with his trophies and in what ways the trophies' symbolic purposes would affect them. I also consider why the Greek Thebans chose this particular design for their trophy, and how it would resonate on the trophy's audience. Symbolic capital, as a tool to analyse the motivational and interpretational factors, allows for a better understanding of the answers to such questions.

I believe that pairing and employing these two theories to my case studies will yield nuanced, comprehensive, and valuable answers to my research question.

3. The Leuktra Trophy

Finally, as many fell and the commander who would have rallied them had died, the army turned and fled in utter rout. Epameinondas' corps pursued the fugitives, slew many who opposed them, and won for themselves a most glorious victory. For since they had met the bravest of the Greeks and with a small force had miraculously overcome many times their number, they won a great reputation for valour. Diodoros. XV. 56. 2–3

The famous Battle of Leuktra took place on the 7th of July, 371 BCE. The participants were the Thebans leading a Boeotian coalition against the Spartan-led Lakedaemonians. The Spartans were soundly defeated which signalled the beginning of the end of Spartan hegemony over Greece.¹ This was an exceptional victory, as stated by Pausanias: “The victory of Thebes was the most famous ever won by Greeks over Greeks.” (9.13.11). This was also the catalyst for the start of the ‘Theban Hegemony’ (Buckler, 1980, p. 2). To commemorate such an extraordinary event, the Thebans chose to erect a trophy some years later. Not a temporary trophy as was tradition for Greeks who bested other Greeks in the Classical period, but a permanent trophy of stone and bronze (West, 1969, p. 9–10; Novakova, 2019, p. 262). This was the Trophy of Leuktra, also known as the Leuktra monument or the Leuktra trophy (Figure 8). It is likely to have been constructed between 359–355/4 BCE, which would make it the earliest permanent trophy erected by Greeks in victory over other Greeks.



Figure 8. The Trophy of Leuktra outside the modern-day village of Lefktra. Photograph: author.

¹ Isokrates 8.100, 15.110, points out how the disaster at Leuktra was the start of a sharp decline in Spartan power.

3.1 The structure of the case study

In this chapter, I shall start by describing the trophy as it stands today, followed by its reconstruction and identification. Afterwards, I shall analyse the design of the trophy in-depth, adhering to my chosen theoretical frameworks of collective memory and symbolic capital. After that, I shall present, analyse, and discuss the ancient literary sources we have concerning the trophies, as well as the issue of dating the trophy. In the subsequent section, I shall do further analysis and discussion of various aspects of the trophy, in regards to symbolic purposes. Finally, I shall give a quick summary of the findings relevant to the research questions.

3.2 The trophy in modern times

The Leuktra trophy is the best-preserved Greek trophy we have today (Stroszeck, 2004, p. 304–305). Figure 8 shows the trophy as it stands today. It is a mix of the original ruins and modern parts from its reconstruction in the 1950s and 60s. It is located a 20-minute walk just north of the modern-day village of Lefktra, easily visible in the flat landscape surrounding it. Its reconstructed form is a three-tiered circular stone structure 3.38m in diameter. Due to the lack of extant material during its reconstruction, it was not possible to determine the exact original height with certainty, only an estimate based on the proportions of the remains (Stroszeck, 2004, p. 321).

Figure 9 shows the original upper part of the trophy before its reconstruction. It is decorated with nine carvings of round hoplite shields (*hoplon*), about 0.97m in diameter each. This would have approximately corresponded to life-sized shields used by Greek hoplite warriors (Anderson, 1970, p. 17). There is also a Doric frieze below the shields, with triglyphs and



Figure 9. The shield-frieze, the upper part of the trophy, before restoration. Credit: Lazenby, 1961. (Lazenby, 2012, p. 291).

metopes (Novakova, 2019, p. 262). These architectural features will be discussed further later in the chapter.

The anthropomorphic mannequin-*tropaion* itself is missing from the top of the reconstructed monument. It would have been equipped with a helmet and shield as armour and ‘wielding’ a sword and a lance (Stroszeck, 2004, p. 321; Novakova, 2019, p. 262). There are no surviving confirmed representations of this specific trophy, but, as all historically attested *tropaia* are morphologically similar, we can safely assume that it possessed the same characteristics as the rest: arms and armour displayed in an anthropomorphic manner. What we do have, however, are Boeotian coins from the 3rd century, which are generally accepted to depict the Leuktra *tropaion* priding the base (See Orlandos, 1958; Janssen, 1957; Novakova, 2019; Stroszeck, 2004; Kinnee, 2018; Trittle, 1997). There is also an epigraph describing the spear supposedly wielded by the *tropaion* (Trittle, 1997, p. 85). This will be touched upon in more detail later.

As the base of the trophy is the only attested structure with indisputable archaeological remains in terms of provenance, I shall discuss it profusely and in-depth in section 3.3.

3.2.1 Is the trophy a trophy? Rediscovery and identification



Figure 10. Reverse of Boeotian Koinon depicting the Leuktra trophy. 288–244 BCE. Credit: Timeline Auctions.

The trophy base was first discovered in 1839 by Heinrich Nikolaus Ulrichs (Ulrichs, 1840), but no thorough research was done on the fragmented monument until 1922 when archaeologist Anastasios Orlandos examined it (Orlandos, 1922; Stroszeck, 2004, p. 321). He proposed an initial reconstruction in 1924, based on the remaining blocks, a single remaining panel, and numismatic evidence dating to the 3rd century BCE (Kinnee, 2018, p. 52; Figure 10). He later revisited the trophy base in the late 50s, and his efforts resulted in the monument which can be seen today (Orlandos, 1958, p. 43–52; Stroszeck, 2004, p. 321).

Since then, no changes to the architecture have been made, except for some additional stones found and incorporated in 2002 by the Hellenic Republic’s Ministry of Culture and Sports

(<https://www.culture.gov.gr/en/service/SitePages/view.aspx?iiD=1318>; Stroszeck, 2004, p. 321). No detailed report about the work in 2002 is available online, nor on the Hellenic Republic's online archives where one might expect it.

Identifying the monument at Leuktra as indeed being the base of a trophy is necessary to establish the validity of the case study as a whole. Since the structure is missing the arguably most defining feature of a trophy, the anthropomorphic *tropaion*, determining that it is indeed a trophy is necessary for me to be able to analyse the symbolic purpose and usage of the trophy. Dating the trophy is also of equal importance, as the historical and political situation might affect the symbolic purpose the trophy was meant to have had.

Since its (re)discovery and Orlandos' work, the consensus amongst scholars is that the monument at Leuktra is very much a trophy, or more specifically, the trophy base of the whole structure (see Kinnee, 2018; Markle, 1999; Stroszeck, 2004; Novakova, 2019, West, 1969). The main argument for the base to be identified as a trophy base is based on architectural elements. When looking at the cross-section of the shield-frieze stones, Orlandos could infer that the interior of the rounded top had a cavity. Orlando states that this was undoubtedly for the reception of the 'core of the bronze', which Cicero mentions as being a *tropaion* (Cic. *Inv.* 2. 23; Orlandos, 1958, p. 50–51). There are three supporting arguments as well. That the remains were all found near Leuktra, the site of the battle, lends itself as possible evidence for this being the remains of this specific trophy (see Tuplin, 1987, p. 71–74). The militaristic character of the frieze of sculpted shields is in line with typical trophy-elements, as mentioned by Xenophon (*Anab.* 4.7.26) and as attested by other archaeological materials such as coins and morphologically similar architecture (Orlandos, 1958, p. 48–51; Stroszeck, 2004, p. 311; Kinnee, 2018, p. 53).

The monument was found to have a hollow interior at the top, which made Orlandos theorize that the remaining stones were only the base of the trophy. The hollow would have supported a pillar, which would have had the *tropaion* priding the top (Orlandos, 1958, p. 50–51; Stroszeck, 2004, p. 321). As for the *tropaion* itself, Cicero's mention of a bronze *tropaion* at Leuktra proves its existence in some form. Cicero wrote: "When the Thebans had conquered the Lakedaemonians in war... they set up a bronze trophy..." (*Inv.* 2. 23, 69). Based on this, Orlandos argued that the *tropaion* was originally made of bronze, and together with evidence based on numismatics and pottery presented by Andreas Janssen (1957, p. 61–62), made a reconstruction drawing of how he believed the trophy to have looked originally (Figure 11).

ΑΝΑΠΑΡΑΙΤΑΙ
ΤΡΟΓΙΑΙΟΥ ΛΕΥΚΤΡΩΝ

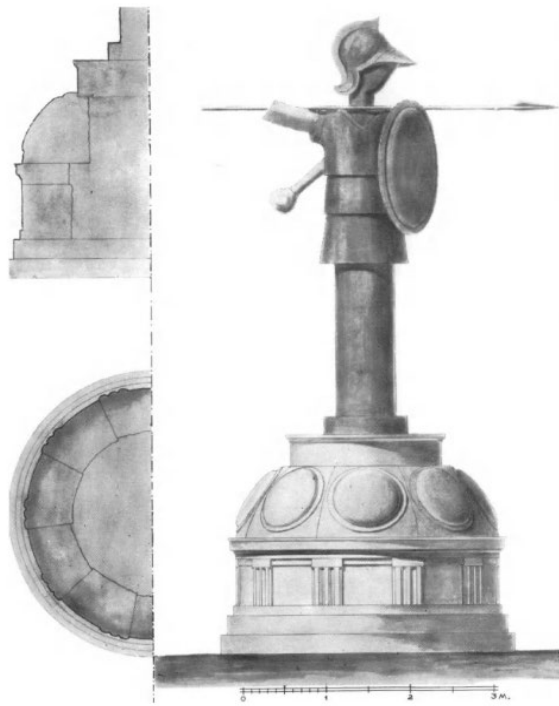


Figure 11. Reconstruction drawing of the Leuktra trophy by Orlandos. Credit: Orlandos, 1958 - pl. 37.

This design for the Leuktra *tropaion* is generally accepted, whilst the trophy base itself underwent revisions later. There is still no hard evidence for the *tropaion* to have had this exact design, but there is general consensus between modern scholars, and in my mind, it seems likely to be accurate. In short, the monument seems then to have had a *tropaion* atop a pillar as its top showpiece.

Concluding, the trophy of Leuktra in its original form seems to have been very grand. It is safe to assume that the reconstructed monument we have today is indeed a trophy base and that the original would have had a pillar fastened in its cavity, with a *tropaion* on the very top. Having established that the trophy is indeed a

trophy, I will now further discuss the architecture and design of the extant archaeological remains and what the symbolic purposes of these elements might have been.

3.3 Designing the Leuktra Trophy – Symbolic Purposes

As established in the theoretical framework chapter, a great deal of thought went into designing Classical (and Hellenistic) Greek public monuments, and the Leuktra trophy is no different. It has a very unconventional and unique design compared to earlier trophies of the age and area, the Classical Greek world. Looking at Figures 8 and 11, imagine the trophy as it would have originally looked in antiquity. The size of the monument may be hard to grasp, and the trophy must have been (and still is) an impressive sight (see Figure 12 for human scale). When visiting the trophy in Autumn 2021 I was immediately struck by the imposing size and domination the landscape's lone monument radiated. Even having read much in advance regarding the trophy and seen pictures, I was surprised to see it in-person, and it certainly left an impression. I shall consider the location and size of the trophy later in section 3.7 of this chapter in regards to its symbolic purposes. A construction of this size, with a *tropaion* priding the top, suggests the

Thebans' desire to make the trophy a grand and notable monument. Perhaps they designed it with the wish for it to become a famous landmark. If so, they succeeded for a fact, as attested by the numerous historical written sources mentioning the trophy. See section 3.4 for my extensive review of the ancient literary sources.



Figure 12. The Leuktra Trophy with the author for scale. Photograph: author.

I shall now break down and analyse the architecture of the trophy, as it can help us gain insight into the design choices of the trophy and the thoughts behind them. Much can be said regarding typological forerunners and potential architectural inspirations to the Leuktra trophy, but with consideration of the scope of this dissertation, I have chosen to omit these.²

The first of the architectural elements I will review is the Doric frieze, consisting of triglyphs and metopes (Figure 13). There is relatively little to say about this part of the trophy, with no clear symbolic purpose or usage, except for its usage as an aesthetic decorative element. The Doric order was common during this period, and perhaps the Thebans wished to use this traditional design which would be familiar to the audience of the trophy.

² See Stroszeck (2004, p. 321–329) for an extensive discussion on this.

An interesting element of the trophy base is the frieze above the Doric frieze, consisting of sculptures of nine round life-size hoplite shields (Figures 8 and 9; Markle, 1994, p. 91; Novakova, 2019, p. 262). M. M. Markle argues that arms and armour, or representations thereof, on (permanent) trophies were deliberately made life-size.



Figure 13. Detail of frieze. Photograph: author.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, trophies were dedications to various gods who had granted victory in battle; it might have been a requirement, as Markle writes: “It would seem... representations of arms and armour [on trophies] were life size. Such accuracy may have been a necessary part of the thanksgiving and dedication to Zeus Tropaios or to whatever god or goddess favoured the victor” (1994, p. 91–92; see also Kinnee, 2018, p. 18, 27, 39; West, 1969, p. 11) Since arms and armour were traditionally given as votive offerings, I find Markle’s theory a reasonable hypothesis (Snodgrass, 1999, p. 48). It would seem that religion, more specifically dedications to the chosen gods, held importance, even when considering the number of other symbolic purposes the Greeks aimed for with the Leuktra trophy.³ There is another interpretation by Álvaro Ibarra where he draws correlations between the shields and the elite warrior brotherhood of the Thebans *The Sacred Band* (2009, p. 77). He argues that since this elite formation was key to winning the Battle of Leuktra, they might have been represented by the carved shields on the trophy. However, he also substantiates the other theory that the shields represents Boeotian/Theban martial prowess in general (Ibarra, 2009, p. 77).

³ Lauren Kinnee forwards some ideas on the nature of the shield-frieze as well. They are militaristic, and she believes the Greeks of the Classical period increasingly emphasised the architecture of the permanent trophy, diminishing the importance of the *tropaion* (Kinnee, 2018, p. 53). The shields undoubtedly do convey a strong militaristic feel for the trophy. However, I am doubtful they took away from the importance of the *tropaion* itself. It is unlikely, seeing as the next element of the trophy is a balustrade and a pillar, meant to elevate and make the *tropaion* as visible as possible. Kinnee fails to give any arguments for why decorative elements and a sizeable trophy base would diminish the importance of the *tropaion*. In my mind, such elements would do the opposite, highlight and accentuate it. Placing the *tropaion* on the very top of an imposing and decorated trophy base would make it even more impressive, similar to a crown jewel on top of a decorated crown.

The balustrade and (missing) pillar were the last elevating elements that would have given the *tropaion* its prominent place at the very top. While there are examples of earlier monuments using pillars as a design centrepiece (e.g., the Marathon pillar-trophy, see Figure 6), in the case of the Leuktra trophy, it would most likely have been a simple building element meant to emphasise the *tropaion*.⁴

The *tropaion* itself is sadly lost to us, though Figures 10 and 11 give an idea of how it might have looked. As mentioned by Cicero, it was made of bronze (see section 3.4.3). Based on the numismatic evidence it was also most certainly made in the image of the typical temporary trophy, emulating a panoply attached to a wooden pole. This metal reincarnation would distinctly have stood out in the landscape with its gleaming bronze arms and armour. The *tropaion* would have sported a helmet, cuirass, shield, sword, and spear (Novakova, 2019, p. 262). The arms and armour on display would have represented the enemy's equipment, so it is fair to assume that these designs were deliberately chosen to represent the Lakedaemonians' military gear. Together, the components mirror the outfit of a traditional hoplite warrior, of which most of the two armies at the Battle of

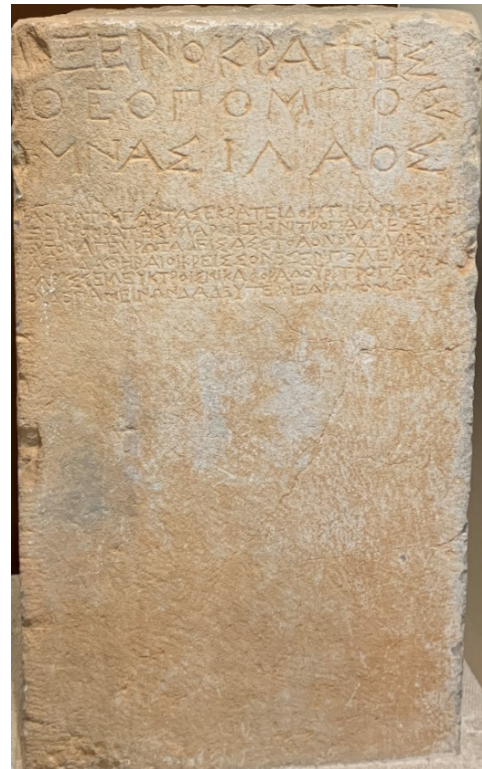


Figure 14. The Xenokrates Inscription, located at the Archaeological Museum of Thebes. Photograph: author.

Leuktra consisted. Out of these elements, the spear might have carried heavy symbolism.

3.3.1 The Xenokrates Inscription

The spear might have served a significant role concerning the trophy's symbolic purpose. The so-called the 'Xenokrates inscription' provides valuable insight to the symbolism of this spear. The inscription is concerning the Battle of Leuktra and honours the Boeotarch Xenokrates, who fought at the battle (Schachter, 2016, p. 53). The inscription (IG VII 2462) is found on a grey limestone monument discovered in the suburbs of Thebes. It currently resides in the city's archaeological museum (see Figure 14; Tuplin, 1987, p. 94).

⁴ There is an idea that the pillar might have sculpted greaves or even be sculpted to emulate a tree trunk, as seen with the Orchomenos trophy (Chapter 4), though this seems unlikely, as this practice is not witnessed until centuries later, during the Roman Republic.

It has been dated to the late 4th century, more than 50 years after the battle, and is mostly accepted as a funerary in nature (Braun, 2021, p. 360–361; Papazarkadas in Gartland, 2017, p. 144, 146; Tuplin, 1987). A translation by Brendon Braun reads:

Xenokrates

Theopompos

Mnasilaos

When the Spartan spear ruled, then Xenokrates
took by lot to bear the trophy to Zeus
not fearing the weapon from the Eurotas nor Lakainian
shield. “The Thebans are better in war”
the victory-by-spear-bearing trophy at Leuktra heralds,
nor did we run second to Epameinondas.

IG VII 2462 (trans. Braun, 2021, p. 145–146).

Another translation of the eight line as translated by Tuplin reads: “the one with the spear of victory-presaging trophaion” (1987, p. 104; *IG VII 2462*.). Tuplin translates the interpretations by Kaibel, and Gilbert who believe the spear was meant to symbolise the once-mighty Spartan spear, now reduced to “harmless decoration” on a Theban trophy (Tuplin, 1987, p. 105 footnote 99). Tuplin does not agree with their metaphorical interpretation, mostly based on subjective disagreements and interpretations of the syntax, but does not provide an alternative hypothesis (1987, p. 105, 107). Braun, in the most recent study touching on the inscription (2021), does not concern himself with the interpretation of the spear. He does speculate that the late dating of the inscription might be due to it being a replacement of an earlier original, though this does not change the outcome of the interpretations regarding the spear.⁵

I have decided to follow Kaibel, and Gilberts interpretations of the text, which in my mind is the better (and only proposed) alternative. Considering that the inscription is dated to 50 years after the Battle of Leuktra, the effects of the battle would have been clear to the descendants making it. As such, the usage of the spear seems to have two chief symbolic purposes: it signifies Spartan decline and fall from power, and it emphasises the ascension of Theban might, both of which are easy to draw parallels to the aftermath of the battle. It seems the Thebans constructing the monument did not shy away from this symbolic iconography and, in one stroke

⁵ See Braun (2021, p. 360–362)

highlighted the humiliating broken strength of the enemy whilst accentuating their own power and supremacy.

3.4 The Leuktra Trophy in Ancient Literature and the Issue of Dating

Dating the trophy is, as mentioned, crucial as it enables me to take the historical and political context and long-term effect of the trophy into consideration. When analysing the trophy's symbolic purposes, with collective memory and symbolic capital in mind, having ascertained the approximate time of its construction is essential. As the first *permanent* trophy raised by Greeks after besting other Greeks in battle, it is a historically unique trophy, highlighting the importance of dating. Though the trophy base bears no inscription, we are fortunate enough to have it mentioned in multiple ancient literary works, which I will use to estimate the time of construction. Note that for this dissertation and my arguments, the chief purpose of these historical texts is to gain the best possible understanding of the symbolic purpose of the trophy, which will be reviewed and analysed extensively.

The literary works are in and of themselves extremely valuable sources, and a large section of the chapter is dedicated to analysing these texts. The findings can give us insight into the symbolic purpose of the archaeological material and the intentions of the Greek agents behind the trophy's construction.

Greek and Roman writers frequently mention the Battle of Leuktra. This can be credited to the battle's importance to Classical Greece, as it was the main incident (arguably together with the Battle of Mantinea in 362 BCE)⁶ that broke Spartan hegemony, changing the geopolitics of the region (Hamilton, 1991, p. 251). Concerning the trophy in particular, three authors mention it: Xenophon (*Hell. 6. 4. 15.*), Isokrates (6.10), and Cicero (*Inv. 2.23 69–70*).

3.4.1 Xenophon

Xenophon (430 BCE – 354 BCE), or Xenophon the Athenian, was a Greek military commander, historian, and philosopher. Contrary to his epithet, he was more in line with Spartan beliefs and mentalities, living most of his life outside of Athens (Ferrario, 2017, p. 57–60). Written in different parts during the first half of the 4th century BCE, the *Hellenika* is Xenophon's direct continuation of Thucydides' famous *History of the Peloponnesian War* (Luraghi, 2017, p. 85).

⁶ See Hamilton, 1991, p. 246–251 for more on the effect of the Battle of Mantinea had on the collapse of the Spartan hegemony.

Xenophon is one of two contemporary sources on the Battle of Leuktra and the trophy, and the timespan of his *Hellenika* stretches from 411 BCE to 362 BCE.

Xenophon writes of the aftermath of the Battle of Leuktra in book 6, the next to last book in *Hellenika*, from which the passage below is cited:

... After the disaster some of the Lakedaemonians, thinking it unendurable, said that they ought to prevent the enemy from setting up their trophy and to try to recover the bodies of the dead, not by means of a truce, but by fighting. The polemarchs, however, seeing that of the whole number of the Lakedaemonians almost a thousand had been killed; seeing, further, that among the Spartiatae themselves, of whom there were some seven hundred there, about four hundred had fallen; and perceiving that the allies were one and all without heart for fighting, while some of them were not even displeased at what had taken place, gathered together the most important personages and deliberated about what they should do. And as all thought it best to recover the bodies of the dead by a truce, they finally sent a herald to ask for a truce. After this, then, the Thebans set up a trophy and gave back the bodies under a truce.

(*Hell.* 6. 4. 14–15.)

There are multiple significances to digest in this passage regarding the Leuktra trophy. At the end of the passage, Xenophon mentions that the Thebans set up a trophy. It cannot be determined with absolute certainty if Xenophon refers to a temporary trophy or the permanent trophy(base) still standing today, as he does not describe it. Nor does he describe any of the numerous trophies mentioned throughout *Hellenika* (Hau, 2013, p. 57).

However, it is probable that he is referring to the temporary trophy. My reasoning is that a trophy of such unusual design and nature as the permanent Leuktra trophy certainly would have been noted by trophy-attentive Xenophon, who mentions an astounding 58 trophies in his *Hellenika* (Hau, 2013, p. 57). Additionally, the collection of bodies which took place after the erection of the trophy is a practice associated with temporary trophies. It would not make sense that the Thebans first built up a monumental trophy of stone and then gave back the bodies of the dead soldiers. Modern scholars agree, all theorising that the permanent trophy was set up at a later date and that this trophy mentioned by Xenophon is indeed a different, temporary one.

Though Xenophon's mention of the *temporary* trophy makes the passage unhelpful to identify and analyse the *permanent* trophy's symbolic purposes, it is however a valuable source for

discussing my research questions through the theoretical framework of collective memory and symbolic capital. Permanent trophies were often made to replace a temporary trophy. I can analyse the trophy with this in mind, as the permanent trophy certainly would have inherited (and perhaps even reinforced or gained new) purposes of the temporary trophy.

With the nature of the trophy established, I will examine the symbolic purposes of the trophy. The text alludes directly to the symbolic purpose of the trophy: the humiliation and shame the Spartans experienced by the erection of the trophy. Being egregious to such a degree, ‘unendurable’ even, that they considered further battle to stop the Thebans from raising the trophy. This speaks to the symbolic significance of the trophy, not only to the victors but to the defeated. Furthermore, although this is about the temporary trophy, it would make sense for the symbolism to be transferred to a permanent one; the Spartans would have been just as humiliated by a permanent trophy, if not to a greater degree. The symbolic purposes of the temporary trophy would have been made permanent. On the other hand, the symbolic purposes might have changed as well, as I will discuss in the section on Cicero’s text (see 3.4.3).

Hölscher, discussing symbolic capital, explains that a war monument, e.g., the Leuktra trophy, could be political symbolic art, as well as allegorical iconography. This purpose was chosen deliberately by the agents behind the permanent trophy’s construction, in this case the Thebans, to further their ideological messages (Hölscher, 2003, p. 15). This can be seen with the Leuktra trophy in the previously discussed spear held by the *tropaion*. Coupled with Xenophon’s description of the Spartans’ reaction to the temporary trophy, choosing the iconography of the spear suggests the Thebans were very aware of the damage this caused Spartan prestige; both in the eyes of the Spartans themselves and also for the audiences of the trophy. It is both an allegorical iconographic example, the ‘broken once-mighty Spartan spear’, and a piece of political symbolic art with its overall message.

Concerning the dating of the trophy, we know that Xenophon wrote his account of the Battle of Leuktra close in time to the actual event itself. This was most likely during his retirement years, not as events unfolded. Seeing as Xenophon died in 354 BCE and that his *Hellenika* ends covering the Battle of Mantinea in 362 BCE, the account of Leuktra presumably would have been written sometime between these two years. V. J. Gray argues for dating book six, where the quoted passage in this chapter was lifted from, firmly in the 350s BCE (1991, p. 201). His first main argument is Xenophon’s intention of unity in his work, which would mean the main account and the summary were written simultaneously. Secondly, book six also contains

various events that would decisively place the account in the 350s BCE.⁷ Lastly, Diodorus mentions Xenophon being of extreme old age when writing the whole *Hellenika* (Diod. 15.89.3; Gray, 1991, p. 2012, 227–228). This would date his account of the Battle of Leuktra to 12 years after the battle (359 BCE), at the earliest, and 17 years later at the latest (354 BCE.)

As noted earlier, Xenophon had a particular keenness for noting when a trophy was raised. Notably, he never mentioned the monumental permanent trophy at Leuktra, even if writing 12 years (at the earliest) after the battle. This indicates that the *permanent* Leuktra trophy we have today was not constructed by then.

3.4.2 Isokrates

Isokrates was an Athenian orator, one of the most famous rhetoricians of his age. He wrote *Archidamus* in the 350s BCE, using fictional speech in-character to facilitate his rhetorical advice (Edwards, 2016, p. 209). It is a rhetorical exercise, an imaginary speech given by Archidamus III, Spartan king between 360 to 338 BCE. The Battle of Leuktra is used as the historical backdrop in parts of *Archidamus*, though Philip Harding claims that Isokrates did not choose this setting in an attempt to convince an individual or a group, but rather for dramatic realism (Harding, 1973, p. 148). One should also keep in mind that the audience here would have been the Spartans, and a pro-spartan sentiment is to be expected. The immediate context of the following passage is Archidamus' attempt at encouraging of his fellow dejected Spartans, stating that while they were beaten once at Leuktra, they inflict a double-loss upon themselves by their self-pitying:

...we shall justify the boasts of the Thebans, and erect against ourselves a trophy far more imposing and conspicuous than that which was raised at Leuktra; for the one will stand as a memorial of our ill-fortune; the other, of our abject spirit. Let no man, therefore, persuade you to fasten such a disgrace upon the state.

Isok 6.10

In the passage, Isokrates, through Archidamus, chastises the Spartans for wallowing in their pity, so to speak. He implies their display of self-pity and self-defeat functions as an imposing metaphorical trophy, even more so than the Thebans' trophy at Leuktra. Isokrates' purpose with this passage, as seen in the subsequent passages, is to advocate for keeping Messene under the Spartan yoke, despite her allies' advice (Isok 6.11). Isokrates text also gives us a fine description

⁷ E.g., references to Olympiads, Archons, events in Persia, see Gray (1991).

of the Leuktra trophy itself. He characterizes it as *imposing* and *conspicuous*. These keywords imply a trophy of remarkable nature, apparently warranting to be described in these exact terms. ‘Imposing’ (φανερώτερον) would indicate a monument of considerable size, and a towering presence, especially when compared to the slimmer build of a traditional perishable *tropaion* (see Figure 1) ‘Conspicuous’ (στήσομεν) might signify that the trophy of Leuktra was easily visible and noticeable in its surroundings. Considering that the trophy as it stands in modern times is still a striking and obvious structure against a very flat backdrop, the surrounding landscape being flat and mostly empty, this is a probable assumption (see Figure 15). There can be no doubt that the trophy mentioned by Isokrates is the permanent one. Therefore, the characterization by Isokrates is the best description we have of the Leuktra trophy, though indirectly.



Figure 15. The Leuktra trophy and its surrounding landscape. Photograph: author.

The Thebans constructing the trophy must have made the conscious effort to have the trophy stand out as much as possible. By elevating the *tropaion* with the trophy-base and pillar, it would have been constantly visible to passersby, and function as a landmark continuously reminding the population of its significance (Hölscher, 2018, p. 134). It was clearly successful based on the many mentions by ancient literary sources. In line with the theory of collective memory, this permanent addition to the ‘collective landscape’ would be one component building the identity, self-image, and collective history of the Thebans (Hölkeskamp, 2010, p. 61).

We can infer symbolic purposes from the passage as well, both humiliation and the after-effects the trophy had on the Spartans. Archidamus, through Isokrates, calls the Leuktra trophy "... a memorial of our ill-fortune" (Isok 6.10). Is *ill-fortune* the same as *humiliation*? The sentiment of the passage implies they are connected. ἀτυχία can be translated as either ill-fortune, ill-luck, failure, or even defeat in war, whilst the 'boast' of the Thebans (ἀλαζονεία) translates to haughtiness or arrogance. The correlation between the Thebans boasting with haughtiness, mocking, and tormenting the Spartans of their defeat seems clear to me. The last sentence of the passage encourages the Spartans to *not* let anyone convince them to keep despairing in self-pity, as it would bring disgrace (αἰσχύναις - shame) to their city.

The psychological blow dealt by the raising of the Leuktra trophy, both the temporary and permanent, was undoubtedly felt by the Spartans, and well-known, as this is the second ancient literary account mentioning the Spartans' strong displeasure for the trophy. The metaphorical trophy the Spartans had raised against themselves 'justified' the Thebans' trophy, implying that in Isokrates'/Archidamus' mind, the Spartans deserved a shaming trophy raised against them when self-pitying as they did. In other words, the message of the Spartan King Archidamus was that by being self-defeating, it is as if the Spartans were raising a trophy against themselves. The Theban trophy seems to have had a strong and lasting effect as well, as *Archidamus* was written 16–17 years after the battle. Arguably, the collective memory can be seen cementing itself already here, as the history of Thebes and Sparta is being settled in the people's collective minds, the Thebans' trophy achieving one of its purposed purposes.

Concerning dating, the exact year *Archidamus* was written is unknown, but Phillip Harding claims it could not have been any later than 355/4 BCE (Harding, 1973, p. 147) His argument is based on the fact that two of the referred historical events took place during these years. By Isokrates' account, we can then assume that the permanent Leuktra trophy must have been constructed no later than this, 355/4 BCE.

Isokrates, through his conjured speech of Archidamus III has given helpful insight to the nature of the trophy, and in particular its significant symbolic effect upon the defeated party over which it was erected. Turning to Cicero, we have the third and final explicit mention of the Leuktra trophy in ancient written sources.

3.4.3 Cicero

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE) was arguably the greatest statesman Rome ever saw (Everitt, 2001, preface). His *De Inventione – On Invention* - is a handbook for orators, written in his younger years, at some point before 81 BCE (Everitt, 2001, Chronology). Like Isokrates' *Archidamus*, *De Inventione* is a treatise on rhetoric. The broader context of the passage is an exercise on the nature of justice and injustice. In it, the Thebans are called into court by the *Amphictyonic league*, a common council of sorts, after constructing the Leuktra trophy. Cicero explores the arguments used by both parties. Here he also indulges us with a quick description of the trophy:

When the Thebans had defeated the Lakedaemonians in war, as it was a nearly universal custom among the Greeks, when they were waging war against one another, for those who were victorious to erect some trophy on their borders, for the sake only of declaring their victory at present, not that it might remain for ever as a memorial of the war, they erected a brazen trophy. They are accused before the Amphictyons, that is, before the common council of Greece. The charge is, "They ought not to have done so." The denial is, "We ought." The question is, "Whether they ought." The reason is, "For we gained such glory by our valour in that war that we wished to leave an everlasting memorial of it to posterity." The argument adduced to invalidate this is: "But still it is not right for Greeks to erect an eternal memorial of their enmity to Greeks." The question to be decided is: "As for the sake of celebrating their own excessive valour Greeks have erected an imperishable monument of their enmity to Greeks, whether they have done well or ill?" We, therefore, have now put this reason in the mouth of the Thebans, in order that this class of cause which we are now considering might be thoroughly understood. For if we had furnished them with that argument which is perhaps the one which they actually used, "We did so because our enemies warred against us without any considerations of justice and piety," we should then be digressing to the subject of retorting an accusation, of which we will speak hereafter
Cic. *Inv* 2. 23

First, this is clearly regarding the permanent trophy standing today. It is described as an "...everlasting memorial... an imperishable monument" (Cic. *Inv* 2. 23), and the court issue itself was raised based on the permanent nature of the trophy. The main concern of the passage is the Thebans' wrongdoing of raising a permanent trophy after victory against fellow Greeks. It seems this is not an explicitly written rule, as the wording of the charge implies: "they ought

not to have done so” (Cic. *Inv* 2. 23). Yet this was a transgression grievous enough to warrant a trial.

The Thebans’ defence is what gives us the best insight into the symbolic purposes of the trophy, in their own words. However, we must keep in mind that this is according to Cicero, writing almost three centuries later, and that Cicero’s aim with the text was a rhetoric exercise. Conveniently, Cicero openly states that the first argument the Thebans used, has been created by himself, though rooted in what he thought might be one of several plausible defences applied. This first reason for the raising of the trophy is: “For we gained such glory by our valour in that war that we wished to leave an everlasting memorial of it to posterity” (Cic. *Inv* 2. 23). Here, the reason is a wish to celebrate their own glory and valour in an enduring manner. They wished for all Greeks to remember both their victory and valour. They clearly believed conventions must make way for an event of such magnitude. Here there is no mention of humiliation or ill-will against Sparta. The main purpose of the trophy, according to this statement, is to celebrate Thebes’ victory, not to defame or humiliate their enemy.

The second reason Cicero cites is one he finds more likely the Thebans might actually have used in their defence: “We did so because our enemies warred against us without any considerations of justice and piety” (Cic. *Inv* 2. 23). This has a different sentiment and tone to it compared to the other reason. Instead of justifying their own action, the Thebans shift the blame onto the Spartans and their actions. The incentive here is that Sparta’s war against Thebes was unjustified and without ‘piety’, without honour perhaps, which implies that the construction of the trophy was a retributive act. Following this statement, the usage of the trophy was indeed to exact symbolic revenge upon the Spartans, as punishment for their reprehensible belligerence of Thebes. From this it could be argued that the Thebans wished to underscore this unjust act of war, making it a permanent memory. Rather than having the memory fade away, as was the tradition at the time, they wished for this public monument to become part of the collective memory of Thebes, making it a definite point in Theban history. This adds to my discussion of Isokrates’ *Archidamus*, where the size and conspicuous nature of the trophy is a sign of the wish to make this monument a highly visible and continual part of the landscape.

Since Cicero’s text is a rhetorical exercise, and both arguments are put in the mouth of the Thebans by Cicero. Thus, interpreting the assumptions made on behalf of the Thebans must be done so carefully. However, in the text we clearly see collective memory in effect. Even if both the given reasons were inaccurate, they still provide insight into the collective memory of trophies in general, and of the Leuktra trophy itself. Collective memory must have coloured

Cicero's view on Greek trophies or on how the Greeks of the Classical period viewed their own trophies. Cicero, living in the late Roman Republic would have been accustomed to permanent trophies, raised by Roman generals for their own gain and prestige for ages now (see Chapter 4 for the Roman general Sulla's trophies). As I will discuss further in my concluding chapter, the usage of trophies for not only the collective, but for personal accumulation of symbolic capital might have been a given for Cicero, and so might have assigned this aspect to the Leuktra trophy. Additionally, by Cicero's time, the idea of panhellenism, and the disapproval of Greeks raising permanent trophies against one another was anachronistic. Yet, with the established collective memory, he still furthered this as the main reason for the *Amphictyonic league* calling Thebes into court. The memory of the Leuktra trophy and the events which entailed it seems to have made its way to Cicero's present.

Concerning dating, it is worth considering the *Amphictyonic league*: its different iterations as a free council and as a council under Philip of Macedon, its role in Greece, and when they might have called Thebes to court. In a necessarily short summary, this must-have happened before 346 BCE, before Philip of Macedon took nominal control over the league.⁸ Though thanks to Xenophon's and Isokrates' accounts, this date is made largely redundant, and will not be explored further in this dissertation.

3.5 Symbolic Purposes of the Leuktra Trophy

Having reviewed the three ancient literary sources on the Leuktra trophy, I have derived some of its different symbolic purposes and usages. It is exceedingly interesting, as all three sources provide different reasons for the trophy's construction, and thus different ways to interpret the trophy's purposes. Xenophon's passage from *Hellenika* indicates the trophy being an object of humiliation for the Spartans. Isokrates corroborates Xenophon's point on humiliation, but from the perspective of the defeated, and worded markedly differently. The excerpt from *Archidamus* suggests the main purpose of the Leuktra trophy was to symbolise the Spartans' *ill-fortune*. It also implies the Spartans' begrudging acknowledgement of the monumental nature of the trophy, which points to its purpose as a public landmark. Lastly, Cicero's *De Inventione* suggests two different possibilities for the trophy's symbolic purposes, and it might certainly have been both.

⁸ For more on the *Amphictyonic league*, and the league under Philip, see Bonner & Smith (1943) and Bowden (2003)

From Cicero we can derive that the trophy might have served to build symbolic capital for the Thebans by exalting their grand victory and glory. The victory over the Spartans at Leuktra gained the Thebans unquestionable prestige, and to make said victory part of their collective history by institutionalizing the memory through a permanent public monument would be an effective method of achieving this. The trophy might also have been an act of revenge for the Spartans' impetuous and honourless acts when waging war on the Thebans. Though worded more maliciously, this would line up with both Xenophon's and Isokrates' implications of the trophy being raised as a humiliation of the Spartans.

These key conclusions of the historical written sources will be examined together with the extant archaeological material, including numismatic evidence. As with the case of the spear wielded by the *tropaion* as seen on coinage, verifying correlating evidence from all available sources through the collective memory and symbolic capital theories will yield the most comprehensive results. This will be done in the last section of this chapter.

3.5.1 Settling on a Date

Finally, as has been demonstrated, the issue of dating the permanent trophy is an effort based on estimations. First, Xenophon's account places the earliest possible time of construction 12 years after the Battle of Leuktra, in 359 BCE. Second, Isokrates' account suggests the trophy must have been constructed no later than 355/4 BCE, 16–17 years after the battle. The relatively firm dates give us a possible range for when the trophy was constructed. If correct, it would have been at a point between 359–355/4 BCE, 12–17 years after the battle.⁹ Though the composition of the Hellenika is not a certain terminus post quem, what has been presented is the general consensus. With that in mind, this confirms the monument at Leuktra as the earliest permanent trophy erected by Greeks in victory over other Greeks.¹⁰

⁹ Modern scholars mostly agree that the permanent trophy was raised 'some time' after the battle, and not shortly after. This is an interesting topic, not only because of the subject itself, but because of the frustrating vagueness modern scholars mention the dating. Most studies mention their assumed date without any specific arguments, if they at all touch upon it. Lucia Novakova (2019, p. 10–11) simply states that the temporary trophy was replaced by the permanent construction 'later'. Lauren Kinnee characterizes the permanent trophy as "... a later replacement or rebuilding of the original [temporary trophy]" (2018, p. 53). Jutta Stroszeck's *Greek Trophy Monuments* (2004), while a valuable source going into detail regarding the trophy, does not speculate on a date at all. Minor M. Markle (1999) refers to a photograph of the reconstructed trophy-base and simply states that the "... battlefield trophy at Leuktra [was] erected by the Thebans after their victory over the Spartans in 371 B.C." (1999, p. 241), with no arguments or further consideration of temporary trophies or various sources.

¹⁰ A permanent Greek 'pillar-trophy' was raised after the victory over the Persians at Marathon (Figure 6), fought in 490 BCE and raised ca. 460–450 BCE. However, these were all against foreign enemies, so-called 'barbarians'. Not until the Leuktra trophy was a trophy raised by Greeks celebrating victory over fellow Hellenes, and this breaking of tradition was condemned by the *Amphictyonic league* (see Stroszeck, 2004, p. 309; Cic. *Inv* 2. 23).

3.6 Numismatic Evidence

The only other archaeological evidence we have of the Leuktra trophy, except for the trophy base itself, is one type of coinage. Boeotian coins depicting the Leuktra trophy were minted in the 3rd century BCE between 288 – 244 BCE (Figures 10 and 16). The mint is unknown, though the ‘ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ’ inscribed on the reverse can safely attribute it to the Boeotian League, of which Thebes was the leader. Both Novakova, Orlandos, Janssen, Stroszeck and Kinnee refer to this coin type when discussing the Leuktra trophy, but no further in-depth research seems to be published in terms of an exact date, the number of coins struck, nor the exact mint.¹¹

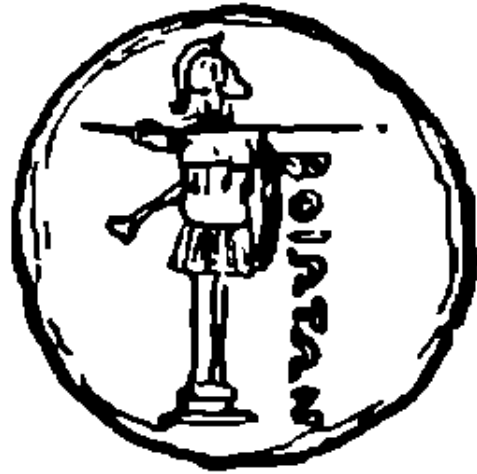


Figure 16. Illustration of Boeotian koinon depicting the Leuktra trophy. Credit: Janssen, 1957, p. 61, Fig. 8.

This coin was struck well into the Hellenistic period, decades, perhaps even over a century after the construction of the monument, likely between 288–244 BCE (Novakova, 2019, p. 262). The image of the Leuktra mannequin-*tropaion* on Boeotian coinage suggests the established and powerful iconography the trophy, and perhaps trophies in general, had in central Greece by this time. If this type of coin was designed with Boeotia, Greece or the Hellenistic world in mind is unclear, but considering the trade networks of Boeotia under Makedonian rule, which was the situation at the time, these coins would have been circulated throughout the Mediterranean world.¹²

By that time, it is very possible that the Leuktra trophy was firmly established in the collective history of both Thebes and Boeotia. By then, the Thebans would have had their city razed by Alexander the Great and later restored by Cassander. They might have been yearning for reminders of their glorious past.¹³ Spreading the image of their apparently still-known Leuktra

¹¹ For some discussion on the coin, see Janssen, 1957, p. 61–62; Kinnee, 2018, p. 52; Novakova, 2019, p. 262; Orlandos, 1958, p. 51; Stroszeck, 2004, p. 305, 321

¹² The famous Athenian silver owl comes to mind, which was well-known over the whole known ancient world, with emulations being struck numerous places, strengthening Athenian identity and general confidence in their currency.

¹³ Thebes’ ‘golden age’, the so-called Theban Hegemony, ended with the death of Epaminondas. Epaminondas, together with Pelopidas, were essential to the Theban cause to stay the dominant power in the region, and Thebes would soon lose its status as hegemon over Boeotia and central Greece (Buckler, 1980, p. 218–220; Cartledge, 2020, p. 99, 205, 207).

monument through coinage, may have brought back a semblance of the symbolic capital and self-identity they sorely must have desired at this time. Thebes was by now, no longer a controlling power, and Leuktra, where the trophy was located, was a largely unremarkable village, rarely, if ever, mentioned by historical written sources (except when discussing the battle). So, by the Hellenistic period, with Thebes and Leuktra being comparatively quiet places with little traffic – potential audience of the trophy –, using coins to bring the image of the trophy to the peoples of Greece might have been a good idea. Hölscher, discussing the visual power of the trophies in the context of the Roman general Sulla and his coinage, writes:

How much the generals themselves strove to propagate the fame of their monuments becomes evident in the case of Sulla, who figured his Chaironeia trophies on his coins: Hearsay, together with these miniature reminders, must have created an imaginative vision of these monuments.

Hölscher, 2018, p. 93

The coinage would have functioned a replacement of the physical grand trophy itself, a circulating reminder of the Battle of Leuktra, and of (former) Theban power. The imagery might have rekindled the connotations with the Spartans' devastating defeat. Although not able to replace the awesome visual impact of the trophy itself, it was still the best, and only, mass-media available (Hölscher, 2018, p. 93).

3.7 Location and landscapes of memory

The location of a trophy was always a deliberate choice, and the Leuktra trophy is likely no different. The etymology of *tropaion* (τρόπαιον) comes from the verb 'turn' (τροπέω), which again implies that a trophy marked the turning point of a battle, the decisive moment when one side turned and fled (Stroszeck, 2004, p. 314; Kinnee, 2018, p. 12). Stroszeck underlines that visibility was an important factor when choosing where to construct a trophy and lists places a trophy might be raised: "on a hill above the battlefield, in or just outside a sanctuary, in front of city gates, and along the main arterial roads... or even within the city... [or] the borders of a territory." (2004, p. 314).

We do not know *why* the Thebans chose to raise it on the flat battlefield rather than on an even more visible place such as a nearby hill. Sadly, we rarely have the reason for trophy placement by the Greeks explicitly stated (Stroszeck, 2004, p. 315). Such information must be derived and interpreted based on the geographical location of extant trophies. Though while not on a hill, the Leuktra trophy is still easily visible from the main road leading to modern-day Lefktra. The

trophy and the *tropaion* on top, in particular, seem to successfully have become a recognizable landmark and icon, entering the collective memory of the intended audiences, including Boeotians and Spartans. Point in case, Isokrates' *Archidamus* describes the trophy as 'imposing' and 'conspicuous'.

Hölkeskamp calls this permanent scenery, as the Leuktra trophy was and still is, a 'landscape of memory' (2006, p. 482). He explains the goal of such landscapes of memory as the wish of agents to claim, or 'colonize', a specific location. These locations were often meaningful and symbolic locations connected to the agents' self-identity or collective history (Hölkeskamp, 2006, p. 482). That is, the collectively shared knowledge, certainties and convictions a society has about itself, including especially its history (Hölkeskamp, 2006, p. 481). The Leuktra trophy then, commemorating the pivotal Battle of Leuktra, may very well have had the function of 'claiming' the site of the battle and making permanent a piece of important Theban history.

3.8 Compilation, Discussion, Conclusion

In this case study, I have presented and discussed the extant archaeological remains (the trophy base and numismatic evidence) and the historical written sources. I will now compile the outcomes of the analyses of the individual sources and conclude with the results. Specifically, what usage and symbolic purpose did the Greek Thebans consider when they raised the Leuktra trophy, and what insight can we infer when viewed through the theoretical lenses of collective memory and symbolic capital.

3.8.1 Correlating Physical and Literary Evidence

In symbiotic fashion, the textual evidence can give insight into the trophy's symbolic purposes, whilst the actual archaeological material can be used to corroborate the literary sources. The trophy base and its depiction on coinage provide evidence for its symbolic purposes: its size and location, the spear, the shield-frieze, and the iconographic strength of the trophy. The imposing size of the monument, together with its conspicuous location in the flat landscapes outside Leuktra, while clearly also meant to commemorate the battle itself, made for a highly visible monument for all passersby.

In a departure from the aim of strengthening a collective identity, history, and gain of symbolic capital, are the shield-friezes (Figure 9). The life-size carving of the shields on the upper part of the trophy base is a decorative element but with the added possibility of religious significance. Markle argues that the life-sized hoplite shields were made thus consciously as it might have been a requirement in dedicating the trophy to a deity (1994, p. 91–92). Though the Leuktra

trophy has no extant inscription to verify this, trophies of the Classical age were often dedicated to Zeus Tropaios and, at later stages, different deities. Thus, a religious aspect of the design of the trophy could also be attributed to it. The shield-frieze shows that, although possibly overshadowed by other symbolic purposes, religion certainly was in the minds of the Thebans when constructing the trophy.

The spear held by the *tropaion*, given context by all three historical written sources, is perhaps the most solid piece of evidence we have of the symbolic purposes of the trophy. The spear, shown on the Boeotian koinon, and described on the *Xenokrates inscription*, symbolises the Spartan spear, according to Kaibel, and Gilbert (Tuplin, 1987, p. 104). The interpretation is that this spear was attached to the *tropaion* as a symbol of the once-mighty, now broken Spartan spear, used as mere decoration by the Thebans. Alone, the existence of the spear itself is insufficient evidence for its symbolic purpose and could be interpreted as just that, a simple decoration. However, through analysing the historical literary sources, it is revealed that the symbolic effects were both impactful and long-lasting for both parties of the conflict.

Xenophon describes the Spartans' reaction to the (temporary) trophy as 'unendurable', and this feeling most definitely would have carried over when the Thebans decided to make the traditionally perishable trophy *permanent*. Isokrates' text shows how the Spartans still found the Leuktra trophy a grievous reminder of their defeat some 16–17 years after the battle. One of Cicero's speculated reasons for the Thebans raising the trophies was to punish the Spartans for their unjust war. All three accounts are in unison, and it is reasonable to assume that one of the symbolic purposes of the Greek-constructed Leuktra trophy was to mark the Spartans' defeat and emphasise their downfall.

The trophy was already settling in as a part of the collective memory of the Spartans by the time of Isokrates' account ca. 355/4 BCE. The same seems to have happened for the Thebans, as coinage depicting the Leuktra *tropaion* was minted between ca. 288–244 BCE, about 70–115 years after the estimated construction of the trophy. We can then infer from the coinage that the trophy had a significant iconographic strength both at the time of construction, and still decades-to over a century later. For the Theban descendants, it functioned as a reminder of their forebearers' achievement. The Leuktra trophy was clearly a part of the Boeotians collective memory and collective history by this point. It must also have been a notable part of the Boeotians' collective identity and self-image, enough for them to be conscious of it. As Cicero suggests as one of the Thebans' supposed arguments, the trophy was constructed with the

purpose of *permanently* commemorating the Thebans' own glory and valour, and this message was meant both for the Thebans themselves, but also the rest of Greece. The trophy was an effective way for the Thebans to gain symbolic capital, and to add a marvellous event of their past to their self-image and collective history.

3.8.2 Conclusion – The Symbolic Purposes of the Leuktra Trophy

As has been discussed extensively throughout this chapter, there are numerous aspects to the Leuktra trophy, each of which easily could have warranted an entire chapter.

In the theory chapter, I discussed Hölscher's views on symbolic capital. He writes how in addition to symbolising a military victory, a war monument could be a representation of both allegorical iconography and political symbolic art. This was to promote individual and groups of actors and their ideological messages (Hölscher, 2003, p. 15). In the case of the Leuktra trophy, the actors are the Thebans. Their ideological message is two-fold; the first message wishes to mark the downfall of their impetuous and unjust Spartan enemies. The second message is to commemorate the Thebans' own glory and valour, creating an 'everlasting memorial' to their prestigious deeds.

This case study has shown the Leuktra trophy to be a multifaceted monument. It is a wholly unique trophy. The size, design, and location of the trophy all had their own symbolic purpose, even multiple purposes in certain cases. All elements played their part in the Thebans' overarching goal to maximize the accumulation of symbolic capital. Furthermore, the trophy was constructed to establish a permanent public landmark in an effort to build and strengthen their collective memory, history and identity. Their identity as powerful warriors would be reinforced by the trophy, as it underlined their martial prowess which led them to the monumental military victory at the Battle of Leuktra. The battle would cement itself in their collective history by the construction of the trophy, and its later depiction on Boeotian coinage shows the established memory and iconographical strength of the *tropaion*-mannequin at the top of the trophy.

Finally, the trophy was used to create a permanent and constant reminder of Theban power and achievements, to the Thebans themselves, their enemies, and the rest of Greece. Generations down the line, the permanent trophy and coinage brought the memory of the Thebans' powerful victory and the Spartans' shameful defeat to the present.

4. Sulla's Trophies of Chaironeia and Orchomenos

Next day Sulla again led his soldiers up to the enemy's fortifications and continued trenching them off, and when the greater part of them came out to give him battle, he engaged with them and routed them, and such was their panic that no resistance was made, and he took their camp by storm. The marshes were filled with their blood, and the lake with their dead bodies, so that even to this day many bows, helmets, fragments of steel breastplates, and swords of barbarian make are found embedded in the mud, although almost two hundred years have passed since this battle. Such, then, are the accounts given of the actions at Chaironeia and Orchomenus.

Plut. *Sull.* 21. 3–4.

The Battle of Chaironeia and Orchomenos were two decisive battles in the First Mithridatic War, which raged from 89–85 BCE between the Roman Republic and the Kingdom of Pontus. The two battles were fought between the Roman general Lucius Cornelius Sulla and King Mithridates VI's generals, in 86 and 85 BCE respectively. Sulla won both battles and raised two trophies as commemoration. These two trophies have miraculously both been discovered near Chaironeia and Orchomenos, both closely located areas within the region of Boeotia, one in 1990 and one as recently as 2004 (Figure 7). They have been identified as those erected by Sulla, and stand as unique trophies in the history of Greece and Rome, marking the occasion of the very first Roman trophies raised in Greece (Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 364).

4.1 Structure

The structure of this case study is largely similar to the Trophy of Leuktra case study. I shall begin by presenting the trophies' discovery and identification, including their inscriptions. I will start with the Chaironeia trophy, then move to the Orchomenos trophy. Afterwards, I shall discuss and analyse the design of the trophies. This will be done with a focus on inferring the symbolic purpose and usage of the trophies by active use of the collective memory and symbolic capital (including public monuments) theories. This will be followed by an analysis of the sole extant ancient literary source pertaining to the trophies: Plutarch. Then I shall further discuss and examine the symbolic aspects of the trophies, using both textual and archaeological evidence together. Finally, I shall conclude with the results of my analysis.

While I shall be discussing both trophies extensively, the Orchomenos trophy will be the central focus. This is mainly a result of a scarcity of evidence on the Chaironeia trophy, both

archaeologically and textual. The Chaironeia is mentioned indirectly by Plutarch, and the physical archaeological remains are limited to an inscribed base, its location, and an unverified element of the *tropaion*. John Camp and his team discovered the trophy base and published an article on it in 1992. However, the two trophies are very likely highly similar in nature. This is assumed because they were both raised by Sulla just a year apart, in the course of the same war, and numismatic evidence also suggests their similarity. The historical context is also consequently similar, as will be shown. Therefore, while I will focus mostly on the Orchomenos trophy, I will also analyse the sister-trophy in Chaironeia. This will be done as I proceed through the case study, and I shall be discussing both trophies in the same section, rather than dedicating a separate section for the Chaironeia trophy.

4.2 Sulla's Trophies in Modern Times – Identification and Attribution

Identifying both structures is essential to the dissertation. Like with the Leuktra trophy, this is to establish the validity of the case study itself. For the Chaironeia trophy base in particular this is important due to its fragmentary state which renders it largely unidentifiable at first glance.

4.2.1 Identifying the Chaironeia trophy base

At a hill near the small town of Chaironeia, Camp and his team discovered what would soon be identified as the base of Sulla's trophy, erected after the battle of Chaironeia in 86 BCE (Figures 17 and 18). This was proven by deciphering the extant, barely-legible, inscription. While the back half of the trophy base was missing, the front, including some of the text, had fortunately survived (Camp et al., 1992, p. 445–447). This enabled Camp and his team to identify some keywords. The restored inscription was the deciding factor in identifying the trophy as stemming from the aftermath of Sulla's victory, it reads:

Ὅμολόιχος

Φανα[ξ]ίδαμος

ἀρ[ισ]τίς.

[*Homoloichus [and]*

Anaxidamus [...]

aristeis]

(translation by Camp et al., 1992, p. 445)



Figure 17. Part of the trophy-base of Sulla's Chaironeia trophy, barely legible inscriptions shown at the front. As displayed in the Chaironeia Archaeological Museum. Photograph: author.



Figure 18. Part of the trophy base of Sulla's Chaironeia trophy, 3/4th view with dowel hole visible at top. Photograph: author.

This seemingly correspond to a passage in Plutarch's *Lives*, which is quoted in full and has its own dedicated discussion in section 4.4 (Plut. *Sull.* 19.5). 'Homoloichus' and 'Anaxidamus' were both common Boeotian names during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Camp et al., 1992, p. 445). In Plutarch's text, two persons with these names are singled out as participants to the battle of Chaironeia (Camp et al., 1992, p. 445, 447). The passage also mentions the inscriptions of the trophy being in Greek rather than Latin, and so directly corresponds with the

find. This evidence was solid enough for Camp et al. to identify the base with Sulla's Chaironeia trophy. They do however note that this trophy base is likely missing a lower block that might have borne the names of Sulla and the deities mentioned by Plutarch: Ares, Nike and Aphrodite (Camp et al., 1992, p. 448). As I will show in the case of the Orchomenos trophy (discovered after Camp et al.'s article was published), assumedly its sister-trophy, its inscription is indeed dedicated to this triad of gods.

Camp et al. presented their discovery and theory in the *American Journal of Archaeology* in 1992, and this still stands as the only reliable in-depth text on the trophy-base of Chaironeia. There are other scholars referring to it (Kinnee, 2016; Stroszeck, 2004), but it is mostly only mentioned as a reference or an example, with no surrounding analysis or discussion on interesting topics such as its location, intended audience, and potential symbolic purposes.¹⁴

4.2.2 Identifying the Orchomenos Trophy

The Orchomenos trophy was found in 2004, and presented recently in a 2018 article by Elena Kountouri, Nikolaos Petrochilos and Sophia Zoumbaki. While there are plans to publish a book on further studies and reconstruction efforts (S. Zoumbaki, personal communication, October 10, 2021), at the time of finishing this dissertation, May 2022, this is still unpublished, with no date set. When the find was first made, Associated Press published a brief news piece in 2004 with some information, which Lauren Kinnee (2018, p. 68) refers to as 'Gatopoulos, 2004'. This news article has however been lost to the depths of the early 2000s-internet, and all links to it listed in later articles show up as invalid or removed. Though my internet-sleuthing and scouring of the net have provided me with obscure grainy photographs of early 1900s Greek bureaucratic papers from Thessalonian libraries and other elusive Flemish works; all records of this 2004 news article are expunged. Thus, I will have



Figure 19. The lower part of the tropaion, together with the tree trunk with sculpted greaves. Credit: Kountouri et al, 2018, p. 359, Fig. 1.

¹⁴ For an alternative take on the trophy base, see MacKay (2000), though his views have gained no traction, or outright dismissed (see Ibarra, 2009, p. 59–61). In my mind, it should be disregarded as a largely flawed work.



Figure 20. Assembly of the found trophy-fragments. Photograph: author.



Figure 21. The cuirass- and helmet of the trophy of Orchomenos. Photograph: author.

to rely on second-hand referrals to this particular piece, though I am mindful of the fact that I am missing the original source itself.

The almost-intact trophy was found in a field outside of Orchomenos, in fragments of considerable size (Figures 19, 20, and 21). Kountouri et al. measured the *euthynteria* (the foundation, or base) at 2,25 x 2,25m and a proportional reconstruction of the whole trophy would be as tall as 8 m (Magnisali & Bilis, 2018, p. 635). Though fragmented, the pieces were almost all accounted for, and in astonishingly good condition (Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 359). Ongoing reconstruction work has resulted in accurate drawings (Figures 22, 23). These give us a good picture of what the trophy would have

looked like in antiquity. It appears to have been an imposing monument of huge proportions, standing tall in the Orchomenian countryside.

To identify the trophy with Sulla’s monument, the fact that it was found in Orchomenos alone is insufficient. However, as with the trophy base in Chaironeia, we are fortunate enough to have yet another partially surviving inscription on the trophy (Figure 24). The inscription reads:

“[Λεύκιος Κ]ορνήλ[ιος Λευκίου υ]ἱὸς Σύλλας αὐτοκράτωρ [κ]ατὰ βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου καὶ
τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῦ]

Ἄρ[ε]ι

Νί[κη]ι

Ἀφροδί[τη]ι”

The inscription is fragmented and not complete, but a rough translation reads: “Lucius Cornelius Sulla, son of Lucius, Emperor-(won) against King Mithridates and his allies. (He offers this to) Ares Nike [and] Aphrodite”.

The passage from Plutarch's *Lives* (*Sull.* 19.5) refers to the inscription mentioning Sulla's name, his rank as *imperator*, and the dedications to the same gods: Ares, Nike, Aphrodite. This makes this inscription conclusive evidence for attributing the trophy to Sulla. Additionally, it also mentions the victory over Mithridates, of which the Battle of Orchomenos was against. Furthermore, adding the geographical location of the trophy, just outside Orchomenos where the battle took place, there is no doubt that this is indeed the trophy erected by Sulla after the battle which took place there in 85 BCE.¹⁵



Figure 22. Reconstruction drawing of the Orchomenos trophy with the surrounding landscape. Credit: Magnisali & Bilis, 2018, p. 636.

Having established the identity both of Sulla's two trophies in the region, I shall move on to examining the Orchomenos trophy and attempt to gain insight into the symbolic purpose and usage of its design. The inscriptions on both trophies will be analysed later, after reviewing the historical written source more thoroughly.

4.3 Designing the Orchomenos Trophy – Symbolic Purposes

Looking at the reconstruction drawings (Figures 22 and 23), the silhouette of a grand trophy with a *tropaion* priding the top is unmistakable. In contrast to the Leuktra trophy, there are no extant literary descriptions of the Orchomenos trophy. Luckily, with only a few building blocks missing, the only significant absent element of the trophy is the weapon and shield the *tropaion* would presumably have 'wielded'. Hence, most of the design is available to discuss without having to rely solely on textual evidence. Finally, the reconstruction drawings by Magnisali &

¹⁵ Plut. *Sull.* 20–21

Bilis makes the complete design coherent and clear.¹⁶ I shall present and discuss the design of the trophy starting at the bottom, working my way towards to the *tropaion* at the top.

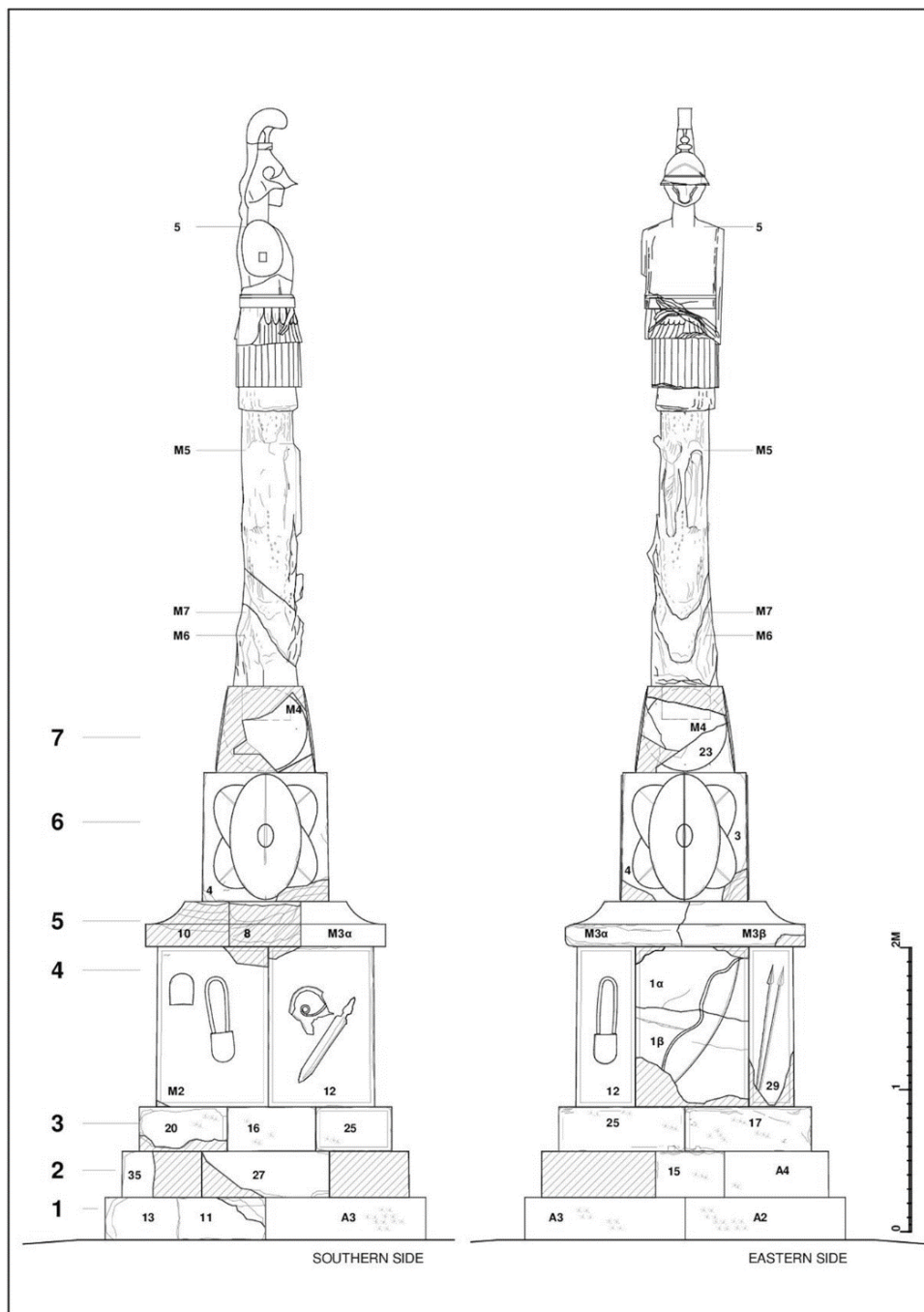


Figure 23. Reconstruction drawing of the Orchomenos trophy with numbered elements. Credit: Magnisali & Bilis, 2018, p. 639.

¹⁶ See Magnisali & Bilis (2018) for a detailed report on the reconstruction work.



Figure 24. The inscribed crowning. Credit: Kountouri et al., 2018, Fig. 5.

4.3.1 The Trophy Base

Looking at Figure 23, the trophy's lower base consists of three levels of rectangular pedestals which form the foundation of the monument (Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 361). On top are orthostats – tall building blocks – with carvings of militaristic aspects facing out (such as a sword, helmet, wheel, spear, etc.). Capping off the orthostats is a fluted crowning. It is upon the front of this plate where the inscription presented earlier is found. These military decorations all refer to equipment used by the Pontic army, e.g., their spears, swords and their scythed chariots, the latter of which to the wheel must be a reference (Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 362; Plut. *Sull.* 18.2; Figures 25 and 26). The carved decorations on the orthostats keep with the militaristic centrepiece of the whole monument: the *tropaion*. To clarify again, the *trophy* is the whole structure itself, the complete monument, whilst the *tropaion* refers to the mannequin-panoply. As there is a limit on how much equipment the *tropaion* would properly convey, these additional depictions of equipment may have been meant to bolster the trophy's iconographic strength. Perhaps it was done in an effort to highlight the danger and battle prowess of the enemy they decisively defeated.

The military equipment-laden trophy base could also have been intended to emulate the 'heap of weapons' present at temporary trophies. Occasionally, the arms and armour collected from the fallen enemies in battle were deposited in a large pile at the foot of the temporary trophy (Kinnee, 2018, p. 13, 15; Figures 1 and 25). Examining how the shields are placed we can see they appear weaved and jumbled together, as if in a heap. I find it plausible that the aim of these oblong shields was to emit the same sentiment as the equipment-deposit at the base of a temporary trophy. Nevertheless, the militaristic carvings undoubtedly reinforce the symbolic *power* the trophy radiates, and this is strengthened further with its next element.



Figure 25. Fresco of trophy with heaps of weapons and armour at its base. From Pompeii. Credit: *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 1916, p. 432, fig. 3.

The next architectural element is a large block with decorations of shields on all sides (labelled as element 6 in Figure 23). Based on their curved sides these oblong shields represent the *scuta* type D design, (Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 362). On top of the *scuta* block is the last element of the trophy base: a slightly smaller, narrower, decorated block (element 7 in Figure 23). It is the most fragmented of the otherwise well-preserved base, but decorations of a type of round shield can still be seen (better visible on the reconstruction drawing on Figure 22).



Figure 26. Relief block depicting a chariot wheel. Photograph: author.

The pedestal with round shields (element 7) on top of the *scuta* block is the most prestigious piece of the trophy base. It is both the base's topmost element, and serves as the plinth of the tree trunk pillar (Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 363). These round shields, as well as their placement at the pedestal on which the tree trunk-pillar is raised, are very reminiscent of the Leuktra trophy (Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 363; Figure 11). Comparing them to numismatic evidence, which I shall do in detail in a separate section, Camp et al. interpret the depiction of small rounded shields such as on this pedestal as Pontic equipment (1992, p. 450). Similar to the rest of the base, this is in line with the militaristic theme of the trophy, and we should assume it carries the same symbolic purpose: promoting the prestige of Sulla's victory by emphasising the danger of his enemies. It may be that he wished to highlight the shields of the main unit in the Pontic army: the phalanx. This was an infamous unit, well-known to Greeks and Romans alike and written about by multiple ancient authors who underline their prowess:

[The Roxolani tribe] were considered good soldiers, but against the serried and well-armed phalanx every barbarous and light-armed tribe is ineffective. Thus they, although numbering fifty thousand men, could not withstand the six thousand arrayed by Diophantus, the general of Mithridates, but were almost all cut to pieces. Strab. 7.3.17

Even at the Battle of Chaironeia, Sulla saw an elite corps phalanx, the *chalkaspides*, corps advancing towards a point of tactical interest and so took immediate action (Plut. *Sull.* 16.7;

Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 362). A phalangites was equipped with greaves, body armour, a helmet, a sword, a pike and a large bronze round shield (Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 362). All these elements are present at the trophy base, both at the orthostats and on the plinth. As Hölscher states, iconography of an allegorical, symbolic character was a frequent feature of trophies and other war monuments, meant to glorify groups, or in the case of Sulla, individual political protagonists (2003, p. 15). When designing the trophy, Sulla would have chosen and highlighted specific motifs on the trophy relevant to his purpose, to “enhance the expressive power of those chosen aspects” (Hölscher, 2003, p. 2). Thus, we see that the trophy base indeed highlights the Pontic military equipment, and was possibly meant to further emphasise the elite, most well-known unit of the enemy of Rome. A savvy politician of Sulla’s calibre would be very conscious of the iconography and message the trophy could convey and would have made sure to maximize its symbolic value. Essentially, an iconographical strong trophy would yield bountiful amounts of symbolic capital for Sulla, and by extension Rome.

To magnify this, the main feature of the complete trophy, the *tropaion*, must be highly visible. The next part of the trophy I shall review, the pillar, achieves this, but there are more aspects to it besides its function as an elevating component.

4.3.2 The Tree Trunk and the *Tropaion*

Moving on to the pillar, it is artfully chiselled into the form of a tree trunk (Figure 19). There are carvings of nubs and branch attachments which give the trunk a realistic feel. The tree trunk functions as a pillar to elevate the *tropaion*, but it also features the greaves of the *tropaion*, chiselled in stone. Having the greaves ‘attached’ to the pillar, and the realistic nature of the pillar is consistent with other trophies from the Classical and Hellenistic periods, both permanent trophies and depictions of temporary ones (Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 362; Kinnee, 2018, Fig 1.1, p. 47).

The greaves, while possibly simply being there as a design-choice, as it fits proportionally to where they are in relation to the *tropaion*, can possibly also hold religious significance. They are approximately life-size, and as we saw in the case of the Leuktra trophy with Markle’s suggestion, accurate representation of arms and armour might have played a role when dedicating a trophy to deities, which Sulla did (Markle, 1994, p. 92).

Gilbert C. Picard argues that the Romans held a belief in the *sacred tree*, which was associated with Jupiter (1957, p. 121). These trees were infused with divine spirit, who in turn patronized the cult. According to Picard, the militaristic connection these trees seem to have attained (in

this case evidenced by the tree trunk being sculpted meticulously) must have been related to the spoils (*le dépouilles*) of the fallen (1957, p. 121). Picard believes it most probable that the sacred tree – the tree trunk of the trophy – was there to neutralize the harmful influence the spoils could contain, whilst also increasing its own energy (1957, p. 121). W.K. Pritchett does not find Picard’s theory convincing but is confident that the trophy had religious functions (1974, p. 248). More recently, Matthew Trundle also considered the idea of an offshoot of a tree cult, and concluded that the one certain aspect of this discussion is that the trophies were of sacred nature of some sort (Trundle, 2013, p. 135). Kinnee also mentions Picard’s idea, contemplating how it must have resonated well with Roman culture and militaristic practices (2018, p. 62). This is a contentious issue, the symbolic purpose of the emulation of a tree trunk is certainly to be found in religion, though in what way remains difficult to ascertain (Pritchett, 1974, p. 248).

It is hard to say if Sulla himself held this belief. Even if he had a purely pragmatic view on the trophy, the religious purposes of the trophy would be acknowledged by all who witnessed it: his soldier, the locals, his friends and foes alike in Greece. In short, the symbolic purpose of the tree trunk was both an architectural choice to give the monument height, but might also have held religious significance, either out of genuine devotion by Sulla or for more pragmatic purposes. Nevertheless, the religious connotations would resonate with the intended audience .



Figure 27. Detail of the tropaion helmet.
Photograph: author.

Crowning the trophy is the mannequin-emulating *tropaion*. Its arms, both in an anatomical and militaristic sense, are missing, and its face is worn off and hollowed out (see Figure 27). Still, as with the rest of the trophy, the *tropaion* is in remarkably good shape all things considered. Pieced together with its lower half, which is attached to the tree pillar, it forms a nearly complete figure (Figures 19 and 20). In line with the equipment depicted on the trophy base, it represents the armour of the fallen Pontic soldiers. This followed the common Hellenistic Greek tradition of ‘equipping’ the *tropaion* with the defeated enemy’s arms and armour (Kinnee, 2018, p. 69; Magnisali & Bilis, 2018, p. 635; Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 363).

Though Kountouri et al. describe its artistic quality as meagre, and the architecture as ‘unpretentious’¹⁷ (2018, p. 359–360), I consider the armour pieces purposefully and



Figure 28. Close-up of the tropaion helmet in profile. Photograph: author.

meticulously carved. Each of the single elements of the panoply are distinctly visible: the Pontic helmet and its decorations (Figures 27 and 28), the tassel on the bottom right of the cuirass (Figure 20), and the breastplate and its belt and straps. The greaves sculpted on the tree trunk are also detailed with knee-covers (Figure 19).

The missing arms of the *tropaion* can be reconstructed using typological as well as numismatic evidence. None of the current academic works on the Orchomenos trophy have made any reconstruction attempt of the arms.¹⁸ However, referring to the analysis of the trophy base and its symbolic purpose, it is reasonable to assume that the *tropaion* would have been made with the same iconography and symbolic message in mind. As such, if both the trophy and the *tropaion* were meant to represent the military equipment of Mithridates’ soldiers, with a particular focus on the phalangites’ arms and armour, it is probable that the missing arms of the *tropaion* would be too.

Additionally, and most conclusive, is the depiction of Sulla’s trophies on coinage, struck by both him and later his son (Figures 29 and 30). These depict the trophies wielding a shield and spear, which substantiates the above remarks. These coins are a valuable source for gaining insight into the usage of trophies and symbolic capital, and even how they played a role within the collective memory of Rome, and will be given a thorough discussion in section 4.5 of this chapter.

4.4 Sulla’s Trophies in Ancient Literature

While multiple ancient authors write about Sulla (e.g., Appian, Sallust, Pliny, Livy), Plutarch is the sole writer whose extant work explicitly mentions the trophies in Orchomenos and

¹⁷ Kountouri et al. is probably referring to other permanent Roman trophies of considerable artistic quality trophy, e.g., the ‘Montemartini’ trophy (Figure 5; inv. MC0042) and the ‘Trophies of Marius’.

¹⁸ As of 2022, Ibarra, (2009), Kinnee (2018), Kountouri et al. (2018), and Magnisali & Bilis (2018) are the only sources touching on the Orchomenos trophy in detail.

Chaironeia in any detail.¹⁹ Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans*, also known as *Lives* or *Parallel Lives*, is a monumental work comparing the virtues and imperfections of famous Greeks and Romans. The work covers 48 persons, poignantly all men, in which Sulla's exploits are covered in great detail over the course of the book dedicated to him. These biographies are treated as invaluable historical texts. His account of Sulla and his exploits in Greece is very detailed, in particular the events in the Chaironeia-region. This is due to Plutarch himself in fact being a native of Chaironeia (Camp et al., 1992, p. 443). Additionally, he has certainly used Sulla's autobiography as source material. The *Lives* were presumably written in the early 100s AD, which would put it approximately 200 years after the Battle of Chaironeia and Orchomenos (Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 360).²⁰

The passage on the trophies is from *Sulla*, or *Life of Sulla*, which is one part of a two-part comparative piece between the Roman Sulla and the Greek Lysander.

Many of the Barbarians, then, were slain in the plain, but most were cut to pieces as they rushed for their entrenchments, so that only ten thousand out of so many myriads made their escape into Chalcis. But Sulla says he missed only fourteen of his soldiers, and that afterwards, towards evening, two of these came in.

He therefore inscribed upon his trophies the names of Mars, Victory and Venus, in the belief that his success in the war was due no less to good fortune than to military skill and strength. This trophy of the battle in the plain stands on the spot where the troops of Archelaüs first gave way, by the brook Molus, but there is another planted on the crest of Thurium, to commemorate the envelopment of the Barbarians there, and it indicates in Greek letters that Homoloïchus and Anaxidamus were the heroes of the exploit. The festival in honour of this victory was celebrated by Sulla in Thebes, where he prepared a stage near the fountain of Oedipus.

Plut. *Sull.* 19.5 (LCL 80: 388–389)

The passage describes the immediate aftermath of the Battle of Orchomenos, where Sulla decisively defeated Mithridates' army led by his general Archelaüs, followed by the festival celebrating the victory. The battle took place in 85 BCE and concluded the First Mithridatic War, where Mithridates VI of Pontus contended Rome's rule over Greece. With this second

¹⁹ It is worth noting that Pausanias does mention that there were two trophies in Chaironeia set up by Sulla after his victories against Mithridates, but that is the extent of it (*Paus.* 9.40.7).

²⁰ 119 AD at the very latest as that was the year of Plutarch's death (Romm & Mensch, 2012, vi)

decisive victory (together with Chaironeia the year before), Roman rule over Greece was restored. As conveyed in the opening passage of this chapter, the battle was bloody and fierce to such a degree that some two hundred years later when Plutarch wrote his account, equipment from the fight was still to be found on the battlefield. This is a detailed and valuable account of the trophies and their surrounding context, and I will do a thorough analysis of the trophies' symbolic purpose and usage, breaking the passage up in two halves.

4.4.1 Fame and Fortune

The first half gives us the impetus for Sulla raising the trophies: not simply his victory, but the fact that he only lost fourteen men, with two more being accounted for come evening. This is according to Plutarch of course, and such numbers in ancient literature were often exaggerated or inaccurate. Then, the deities to which the trophy was dedicated to are listed: Ares, Nike and Aphrodite. Plutarch also states that Sulla had the inscriptions done due to his belief that good fortune had aided him in the war, just as much as military skill.

There is much we can infer from this first half of the passage. The claimed incentive for raising the trophies was Sulla's minor losses and his decisive victory, as trophies are by their very nature *victory* monuments. More notable perhaps is Sulla's belief that good fortune had played an important role in carrying the day. The passage suggests that the trophies' construction was in part due to this. This 'fortune' also influenced his decision to inscribe and dedicate the trophy to the triad of deities. Ares and Nike are mostly uncomplicated, as the god of courage and war and the goddess embodying victory, they both get their due. However, Sulla's relationship with Aphrodite and good fortune make this last deity an interesting subject in relation to Sulla personally and his public image.

Over the course of his campaign, Sulla did indeed gain a public image in Greece as being a fortunate man due to his luck and military skill, earning the nickname ἐπαφρόδιτος (*Epaphroditos*) – favourite of Aphrodite (Camp et al., 1992, p. 448; Frier, 1967, p. 117).²¹

When discussing the Orchomenos trophy's tree trunk pillar and the idea of the sacred tree, I pointed out the ambiguity of Sulla's religious appeal and whether it was out of genuine reverence or a more pragmatic choice (see 4.3.2). In regards to dedicating the trophy/trophies to Aphrodite in particular, I believe it highly likely that Sulla did so in a display of sincere devotion to his patron goddess. In 87 BCE, just before the 86 and 85 BCE battles, Sulla received

²¹ In the eyes of the Romans, Aphrodite (in the form of Venus) was a deity of good fortune (Plut. *Sull.* 34.2, 19.5 and Perrin, 1916, ad loc.)

an interpretation of a dream of Venus from the Oracle at Delphi, revealing that Aphrodite would favour him, but expected special devotion in return (Keaveney, 2005, p. 69).²² One confirmation of Sulla's genuine devotion is his following action, characterized by Arthur Keaveney as foolish and hasty, where he launched a rushed attack on the Piraeus, the result being: "After a fierce struggle, the Romans were repelled and Sulla retired in bafflement to Eleusis" (2005, p. 69). Plutarch testifies to the fact that Sulla did indeed style himself as *Epaphroditus* in matters concerning the Greeks, and that this moniker was inscribed on the trophies (though not extant in any of the archaeological finds) (*Sull.* 34.2).²³

I believe the above analysis confirms two things regarding the man who raised the trophies. First, Sulla was indeed devoted to Aphrodite, and was dedicated to give her offerings. Second, he was known in Greece during his campaigns as both a skilled general and a 'fortunate' man who was personally favoured by Aphrodite - *Epaphroditus*. What then, can we derive from this in regards to the symbolic value of the trophies? It is also worth pointing out that Sulla personally commissioned the construction of the trophies, underlining his personal involvement and consciousness of the trophies' design and symbolic features (Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 365).

In my mind, it seems Sulla pragmatically capitalized on his new 'title' which emphasised his personal favour by the goddess. However, Aphrodite was a patron goddess of Sulla, and he indeed seems to have been an authentic and legitimate devotee to her, as opposed to utilizing the religiously-laden cognomen for political and popular benefits (Keaveney, 2005, p. 99). I believe his intent was to strike a balance between the pious and the pragmatic use of the trophy. Being a devout man to his patron goddess, he did in earnest wish to use the opportunity to dedicate the victory to Aphrodite; but also being a shrewd and resourceful general and politician he did not miss his chance to maximize his symbolic message.²⁴ By highlighting his own 'title' as *Epaphroditos* he both spread and reinforced the message of his status as a brilliant general and as a fortunate man favoured by the gods.²⁵

²² Arthur Keaveney also explains that Venus – Aphrodite – was the mother of the Trojan race (from which the Romans descended, according to their mythos), favoured Sulla since he was fighting on the behalf of her descendants (2005, p. 80).

²³ Though the Latin equivalent of the nickname, *Felix*, was not given to Sulla until either 82 or 80 BCE, he certainly used the original Greek moniker when campaigning in Greece and thus during the battles of Chaironeia and Orchomenos (Ibarra, 2009, p. 60; MacKay, 2000, p. 175, 203; Plut. *Sull.* 34.2).

²⁴ Not forgetting Ares and Nike, though Aphrodite held special significance, also evident in later Sullan coinage which will be shown and discussed below.

²⁵ E.S. Ramage also holds this view, stating that: "Clearly, then, Sulla advertised himself widely as the favourite of Aphrodite/Venus." (Ramage, 1991, p. 101).

All viewers of the trophy (presumably both trophies) would see Sulla's dedication to Aphrodite and the victorious general's Greek nickname of *Epaphroditos*. This was, in the ancient sense of the term, propaganda used to influence the intended audience: the local Boeotians, Sulla's own soldiers, and allied and hostile factions both in Greece and back in Rome. Sulla would gain substantial symbolic capital by promoting his fortune and divine favour, and all of the intended audience would be familiar with the deities to which the trophies were dedicated. In short, his usage of the trophies, and the trophies' symbolic purpose (in relation to the dedication to the gods) was both personal and pious, and pragmatic and communicative, advertising his status and message as a divinely favoured man and skilful general, having earned a nickname for his actions (I discuss the factor of audience in section 4.6).

4.4.2 Local Heroes and Celebrations

Disregarding the topographic remarks for the time being (see 4.6 for a dedication discussion), the second half of Plutarch's passage recounts the names of Homoloïchus and Anaxidamus being inscribed in the trophies, in Greek letters. Then we are informed that Sulla held a festival near the fountain of Oedipus in Thebes in celebration of his victory, the *epinikia*.

First, I will briefly touch upon the festival. The *epinikia*, a festival celebrating victory, was held in Thebes in 85 BCE (Blanco-Pérez, 2018, p. 10–11). That Sulla organized a festival to commemorate the victories underlines how important these victories were to him (Kountouri, 2018, p. 365). He also established a yearly tradition of games commemorating his victories. To underscore, this was a festival Sulla *created*, with no known earlier mentions of this celebration (Weinstock, 1957, p. 225). Yearly reoccurring games to celebrate Sulla's victories was undoubtedly a highly effective way to accumulate symbolic capital for himself and Rome, and in the process contribute to the collective memory of the region.

The festival's contents and the Oedipus play are of little direct relevance to the symbolism of the *trophies*, however, and speak more to Sulla's efforts to create both collective memory and gain symbolic capital (in which he seems to have been successful, see Blanco-Pérez, 2018, p. 11). So while interesting I must leave it up to the reader to delve deeper into this topic.²⁶

Homoloïchus and Anaxidamus were local soldiers who led Sulla and his troops to a better tactical position before the battle, crucial to their victory, and were duly honoured with the title of *aristeis* (Ibarra, 2009, p. 57). Here, Plutarch is writing about the trophy of Chaironeia, not Orchomenos. Though Plutarch wrote his text on Sulla some 200 years later, he was Chaironeian

²⁶ See Blanco-Pérez (2018)

and this improves the likelihood of the accuracy of his description of the trophies and their inscriptions. The significance of this is that Camp et al. believes the inscription exalting Homoloichus and Anaxidamus were added at a later time, not when the trophy was originally erected. This is based on the unevenness and seemingly unplanned angle of the third line (Figure 17; Camp et al., 1992, p. 445–447, Fig 2).

At any rate, the line must have been added by the time Plutarch observed the trophies, and it is likely that Homoloichus and Anaxidamus or other local Chaironeians did so. The pair had certainly been awarded the honour of *aristeis* as testified by Plutarch, and Álvaro Ibarra speculates that the later inscription was an indication of the men's pride in the title given to them by Sulla: "Did Homoloikos and Anaxidamos inscribe their names on the trophy in effort to perpetuate their heroic act? Did members of the Chaeroneian community put them there to honor their local heroes?" (2009, p. 58).

If this is the case, it suggests the significance of the battle, and its commemorative trophy, to the locals. If not the case, however, then Sulla seemingly wished to award the persons who won him the battle the honour of having their names inscribed. I find the former option the more likely possibility. As mentioned, Camp et al. deem it likely that the Chaironeia trophy base is missing a lower block which would have had an additional inscription with the names of Sulla and the deities listed by Plutarch (as the Orchomenos trophy confirms existed) (1992, p. 448). This would have been the original trophy base inscription, with the names of the local heroes inscribed in at a later date, which Plutarch witnessed two hundred years later.

It may also be that Plutarch himself exaggerated the importance of Chaironeia and the battle which took place there: as Ibarra writes, "[it] is difficult to ascertain how much Plutarch had invested in the battle that took place near his hometown. Certainly, elevating the importance of this battle and of Chaeroneia's historical role played in his favor, as a historian." (Ibarra, 2009, p. 73, footnotes).

In regard to the research question on the symbolic purposes of the trophies, there are some key conclusions to be derived from the above analysis. First, if Sulla *did* inscribe the Chaironeia trophy with the names of the two local allies, we must assume that he had another inscription made dedicated to himself and the triad of deities on the missing, larger block. If he so did, it suggests Sulla wished to emphasise the contribution of the locals, perhaps in a bid for local popularity. This especially rings true considering some of his soldiers were from the local

region of Boeotia. Highlighting himself and the might of Rome, while also exalting the local heroes would surely resonate well with the local Boeotians (Ibarra, 2009, p. 76).

Second, if the *locals* or Homoloichus and Anaxidamus themselves carved the inscriptions at a later time, the implication is that they held great pride in both their victory at Chaironeia, as well as the title they were awarded by Sulla. As I will discuss in the section on topography (4.6) the Chaironeia trophy was highly visible to the local communities, and this public monument would undoubtedly create a concrete visualization of their collective memory (Hölscher, 2018, p. 12). Hölscher writes how such public monuments could enforce “an emphatic message, claiming approval”, and considering the historical situation, this could absolutely be the case with both the Chaironeia and the Orchomenos trophies (Hölscher, 2018, p. 148). Sulla – Rome – had just wrestled back control of Greece. By erecting two monumental trophies it could be seen as a constant showcase – an emphatic message – that Rome was the superpower back in charge. This will be explored further in the section on topography and audience (4.6).

By all accounts then, if the locals made the inscriptions in question, the trophy had quickly become an effective public monument, entering the collective memory over a short time. The locals would then not only have accepted, but embraced the message of Rome’s (and Chaironeia/Boeotia’s) victory and supremacy, and wished to be a part of, if not *make* the trophy a part of their collective history. If Homoloichus and Anaxidamus personally made the inscriptions, the same conclusion stands, but with an added emphasis on the esteem in which Sulla, and by extension Rome, was held by the two Chaironeians.

All in all, the matter of the inscriptions on the Chaironeia trophy is a difficult case to judge as a result of the scarcity of archaeological material, and the uncertain historical written source. However, as mentioned I venture that the inscriptions were at the least made by locals, based on the discussed evidence and hypotheses presented by academics. This comes with all the implications of the symbolic purpose and usage I have discussed, though I am mindful of the uncertainty of it all.

Though in some cases challenging to examine in regards to my research question, Plutarch’s description of the trophies and their context is invaluable, as they do not only enable the identification of the trophies themselves but lend us insight into their symbolic purpose as decided by Sulla. Despite the scant archaeological remains of the Chaironeia trophy, the remarkably intact Orchomenos trophy corroborates much of Plutarch’s account and vice-versa.

4.5 Coinage

We are fortunate enough to have an aureus and a denarius minted by Sulla and his son Faustus, respectively (Figures 29 and 30). The reverse of these beautiful coins depict the Sullan trophies of Chaironeia and Orchomenos (Camp et al., 1992, p. 449–450). As the aureus was minted by Sulla himself, most of the analysis in this section will pertain to this coin. On the obverse is the head of Aphrodite/Venus with a cupid holding a palm branch on the right, whilst the reverse depicts the two trophies, a jug and a lituus. The inscription on the reverse is ‘IMPER ITERV’.



Figure 29. Gold aureus minted by Lucius Cornelius Sulla between 84–83 BCE. Obverse: Head of Venus and cupid holding palm-branch, with inscription “L SVLL[A]”. Reverse: Two trophies with jug and lituus horn in-between, with inscription “IMPER ITERV”. Credit: The British Museum.

The aureus was struck in 84–83 BCE, and was minted at various locations, as the mint was moving with Sulla whilst on his campaign. (British Museum Database; Crawford, 1974, XLVII). The symbolic purpose of the trophies and Sulla’s usage of them are illuminated by his choice to render them on his coins. There are two main elements on the aureus to consider in regards to my research question: the trophies and Aphrodite/Venus. There are messages conveyed by the jug, lituus and inscriptions as well, but these fall outside the scope of this paper.²⁷ That the trophies were depicted on Sullan coinage speaks to the importance they held in Sulla’s mind. They represented his victories in Chaironeia and Orchomenos, but also the decisive defeat of Mithridates (Keaveney, 2005, p. 99). In another dedication to Aphrodite, the depiction of her on the obverse is fitting, as she was one of the victory-giving deities to which the trophies were

²⁷ See Keaveney (2005, p. 99) and Ramage (1991, p. 102–103).

dedicated, and Sulla was, after all, favoured by Aphrodite (Keaveney, 2005, p. 99).²⁸ Ramage sums up this particular coin, after also reviewing the inscriptions:

... this coin shows a complete ideology of victory centering around a heroic leader. Carefully named, protected by the gods, and possessing the means of communication with divinity, he has used his legitimate power to bring victory to Rome. The propaganda is clear.

Ramage, 1991, p. 103

The messages are indeed clear, and in a way they mirror the trophies and the inscribed dedications. Why would Sulla have re-iterated similar messages on coinage? Coinage was the best circulated ‘mass-media’ of the ancient world, and the only way of publicizing an image or a message to the widest possible audience (Keaveney, 2005, p. 98). By the Late Republic, coinage was starting to be used by powerful protagonists for their own gain, and we see this in action with Sulla and his coinage (Ramage, 1991, p. 103). Hölscher points out that Rome in this period was very much Romanocentric, and Sulla’s symbolically-laden, but distant trophies were



Figure 30. Silver denarius minted by Faustus Cornelius Sulla, son of Lucius Cornelius Sulla, in 56 BCE. Obverse: Bust of Venus. Reverse: three trophies affixed to tree-trunks, jug on left, lituus horn on right, “FAVSTVS” inscribed as monogram. Credit: The British Museum.

difficult to showcase (2018, p. 115). Certainly, one of the important audiences for the victory trophies was the aristocracy back in Rome, and few would have had the opportunity to view these in-person (see section 4.7 for discussion on the *res publica* and collective memory/symbolic capital in the Roman aristocracy). Hölscher believes they must have believed

²⁸ This incarnation of the goddess was *Venus Victrix* (the Venus Victorious) according to Ramage, based on the cupid on the right holding the palm branch of victory (1991, p. 103).

on a mix of “...knowledge and imagination” to visualize the trophies (2018, p. 115). Sulla’s wish to showcase his trophies and with it, their symbolic purposes and messages, is made clear by his coinage: “[h]earsay, together with these miniature reminders, must have created an imaginative vision of these monuments” (Hölscher, 2018, p. 115).

In a sense, Sulla’s coins transported the trophies to the forefront of the minds of the people of Rome and her territories. To get a sense of their circulation, this specific coin depicting the trophies has been found in hoards all over earlier Roman territories such as modern-day Netherlands, Serbia, Romania, Spain, and of course Italy (<https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/>). Their powerful iconography and symbolic messages would be constantly reinforced by the circulating imagery. Sulla’s power, legitimacy, and victories were all represented on the trophies in Chaironeia and Orchomenos, now brought to the capital.²⁹ This was certainly an effective way to gain symbolic capital, by bringing with him public monuments from the frontier in the form of coins. And confirming the trophies’ and coinage’s success in entering the collective memory of Rome is shown by the denarius minted by Sulla’s son, Faustus (Figure 30).³⁰ Symbolic capital, memories, and legitimacy gained by Sulla’s trophies would be ‘inherited’ by his son (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 291, 438; Hölkeskamp, 2006, p. 491; Hölscher, 2018, p. 99). He would draw on the strong iconography of the trophies, which proves their potency, and their established memory in the minds of the Roman people.

²⁹ Sulla was declared *hostis* by the Senate in 87 BCE, and the coins reaffirmed his proclaimed legitimacy. See MacKay, 2000, p. 203.

³⁰ The third depicted trophy is theorized by Camp et al. to be of another important victory by Sulla over the Marians in the civil war, at the Colline Gate (Camp et al., 1992, p. 451, footnote 27).

4.6 Topography, location and audience

The last crucial aspects of Sulla's trophies are their location and intended audience. I have touched upon this throughout the chapter, but a dedicated section is essential to fully understand the effects. To reiterate Plutarch's descriptive passage on the location of the trophies: "...this trophy of the battle in the plain stands on the spot where the troops of Archelaüs first gave way, by the brook Molus, but there is another planted on the crest of Thurium, to commemorate the envelopment of the Barbarians there..." (Plut. *Sull.* 19.5). With the exceedingly fortunate archaeological discoveries of the trophies, Plutarch's account is confirmed, and vice versa.

The Orchomenos trophy was discovered *in situ* in a farmer's field near the north-western part of

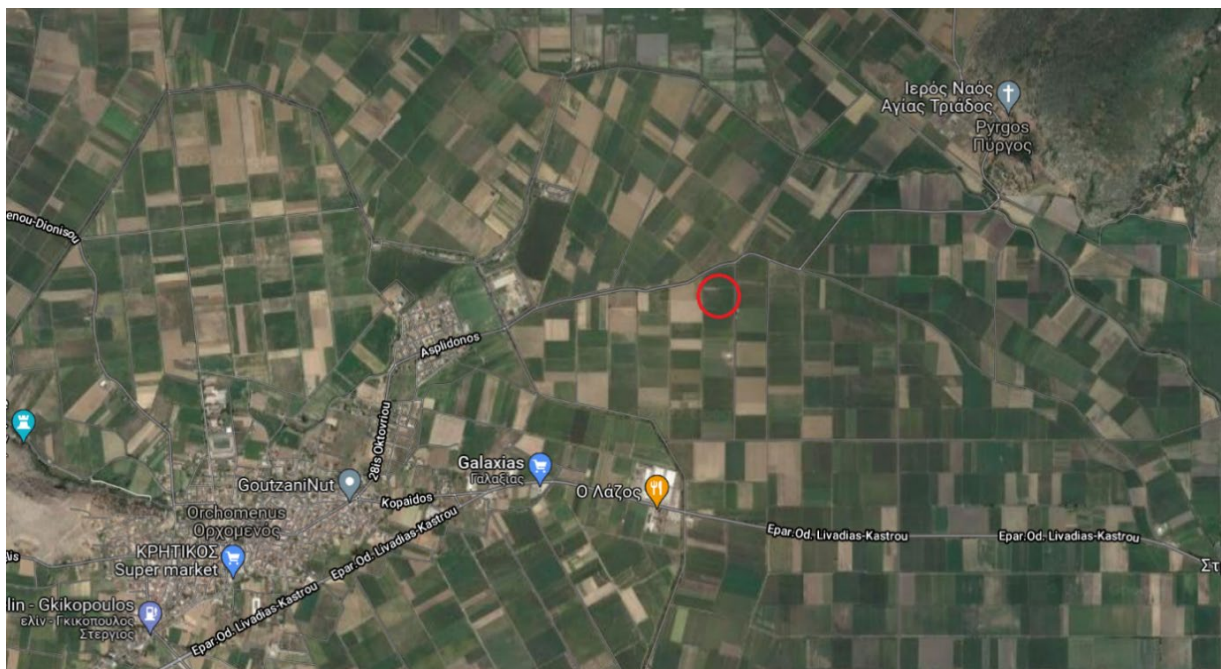


Figure 31. Map showing the approximate findsite of the Orchomenos trophy, marked with the red circle. Orchomenos is at bottom-left and Pyrgos to the upper-right. Credit: Google Maps/Author.

the Kopais plain, between Pyrgos and Orchomenos (Figure 31; Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 359). The modern-day agricultural landscape is largely similar to what it would have been in antiquity: flat, empty land (Magnisali & Bilis, 2018, p. 639). The square base of the Orchomenos trophy raises the trophy to 8 meters tall, meaning it would have been a highly visible and outstanding landmark (Figure 22; Kountouri, 2018, p. 363; Magnisali & Bilis, 2018, p. 637).

Though the Orchomenos trophy would have been highly visible for the local populace, the Chaironeia trophy literally and figuratively elevates this. Thourion, the same as modern-day

Isoma Hill, is located under 2km from the village of Chaironeia (Figure 32; Camp et al., 1992, p. 444). For overview on both trophies geographical relation to each other, see Figure 7.

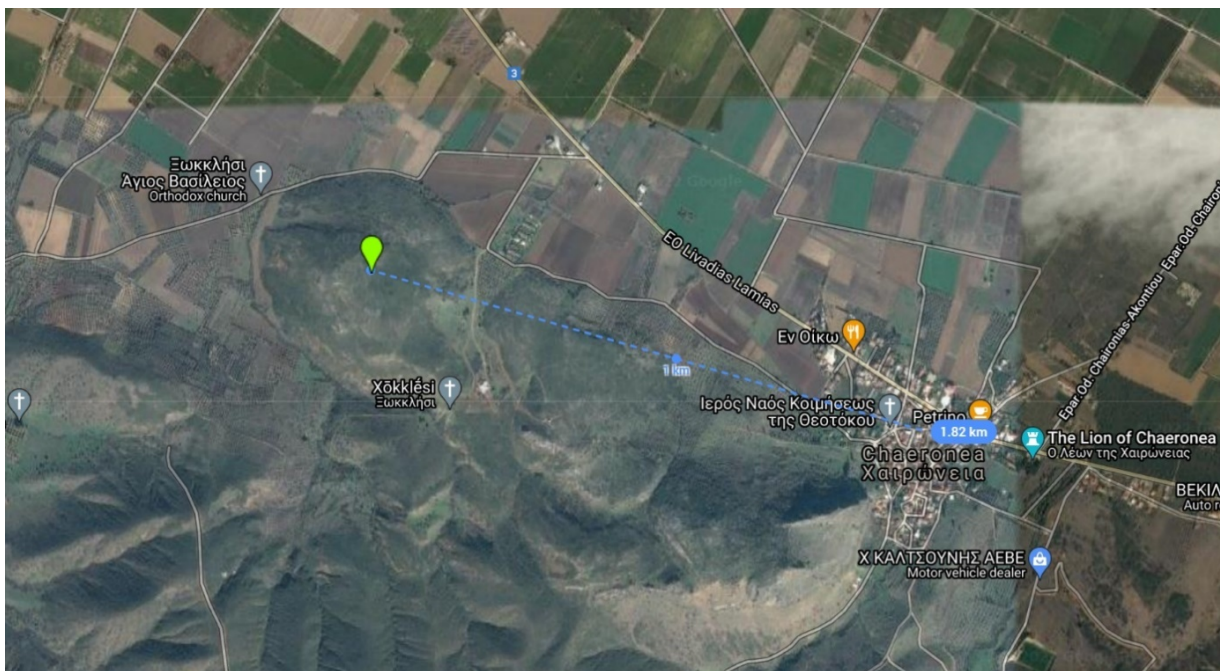


Figure 32. Thourion/Isoma hill marked in green, and Chaironeia to the right. Credit: Google Maps.

The trophy-base was found at the very top of Thourion (Figure 33), and Camp et al. discussed how it was here the Pontic army fled, down the hillside (1992, p. 453). Both trophies were raised on the exact place where the enemy broke (Camp et al., 1992, p. 451–453; Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 364). For the Chaironeia trophy, this was conveniently at an extremely visible location. Importantly, the trophy is visible from the main road leading to Athens. Chaironeia held a strategic location in antiquity, and to gain access to Central Greece, one would have to pass through the area. This main vein to Athens, and Central Greece in general, would have had a large number of travellers. Even more so considering the close proximity of the important sanctuary-city of Delphi, with which the city of Chaironeia had plenty of interactions (Meyer, 2008, p. 83, 85). The trophy would also have been constantly visible to other nearby communities, and would have been a daily reminder of Rome's power and Sulla's victories.

Ibarra writes exhaustively on the topic of the trophies' intended audience, and concludes that for the physical trophies (as in, excluding coinage), it was a mix of Romans, Greeks, and even



Figure 33. The findsite of the Chaironeia trophy-base, with the village of Chaironeia in the background on the right-hand side. Photograph: author.

the defeated Pontic army (Ibarra, 2009, p. 65–82). The reasoning here is based on geography, the military situation, the iconography and messages of the trophies, and the style of craftsmanship of the trophy (Ibarra, 2009, p. 60–61, 64–66). However, ‘Romans’ and ‘Greeks’ are not homogeneous terms in this setting. The ‘Roman’ audience would consist of Sulla’s soldiers, who in turn consisted of Italians who were not necessarily Romans (Ibarra, 2009, p. 65). Moreover, passersby from various regions could see the trophy for centuries after the event, even though they did not have any direct role in the battle. The ‘Greek’ audience would be made up of the citizens of Chaironeia, other local Boeotians, and again, Sulla’s soldiers. The soldiers would have been Chaironeians, Boeotians, and Macedonians (Ibarra, 2009, p. 76, 79). Ibarra also notes that some Roman or Italian veterans might even have become part of the Chaironeian citizenry after settling there. As we can see, the ‘audience’ is very fluid and composed of overlapping groups, especially due to the multicultural composition of Sulla’s army (Ibarra, 2009, p. 76).

Kountouri et al. also conclude with the intended audience being Sulla’s army, the Boeotians, and the Roman Senate (2018, p. 364). The trophies’ messages to the senate and the people of Rome must have been, while very important, primarily conveyed by coinage. As Sulla’s exploits could not gain him any symbolic capital without being done in the name of the Roman

State, 'bringing' the trophies to Rome and the Senate through coinage was essential (see 4.7 for more on this structure).

The intended audiences of the trophies certainly affected the symbolic purposes of the trophies, as Sulla would have been very conscious of this. The conveyed messages and symbolisms must be appropriate for the intended audiences, but as Ibarra underscores, *appropriate* does not necessarily mean a positive message. It only required the audience to understand (Ibarra, 2009, p. 76). It seems that by making the trophies resonate with the intended audience, Sulla advocated for, or perhaps demonstrated a symbol of unification under Roman rule (Ibarra, 2009, p. 79). Sulla did after all adopt the local Greek design traditions of the trophy, in what might have been an attempt to show his amenity towards the Greeks, or at least make sure their symbolism was understood (Kountouri et al., 2018, p. 364; Picard, 1957, p. 174). To a great degree, Roman victory equalled Chaironeian and Boeotian victory, as they had driven off the foreign powers of Pontus:

Sulla's trophies were not merely an overt statement of *Roman* conquest, but the just triumph of two allied forces protecting their established interests. Boeotia was defending its own territories and Rome was regaining control of its province from eastern usurpers.

Ibarra, 2009, p. 80

Another aspect can be inferred from the fact that the trophies were erected where the enemy soldiers broke and fell, per Greek tradition. Ibarra compares it to a grave marker, where soldiers of both sides surely must have died violently (2009, p. 81). In this sense, the trophies commemorate the soldiers who fell during the battles. This would have brought the Greek and Roman mix of soldiers (and locals) together, and the trophy would further serve its purpose of a unifying monument (Ibarra, 2009, p. 81–82).

The locations might not have served an inherent symbolic purpose, but their prominent placement would certainly have amplified the effects they had on the intended audience. The trophies would convey Sulla's messages and Rome's might as constant and strikingly visible monuments in the landscapes of Chaironeia and Orchomenos, certainly becoming part of the public landscape, and thus entering the local collective memory and history, as attested to by Plutarch's detailed account of them. The trophies' symbolic purposes and messages would be

highly effective, resonating clearly with the mixed audience, and Sulla would later spread it to the rest of the Roman Republic with the use of his coinage.

4.7 Compilation and Conclusion

The trophies of Orchomenos and Chaironeia were the first raised in Greece by a Roman. In this case study, I have examined their symbolic purposes through the theoretical frameworks of collective memory and symbolic capital. I have reviewed the design, the inscriptions, Plutarch's written account, coinage, location, and audience.

The design of the trophies was a cognizant choice by the Roman general, laden with symbolism and messages. By creating iconographical strong trophies, Sulla maximized their symbolic purpose and made for easily recognizable monuments which would later enter the collective memory of the intended audiences. A powerful image with a powerful message. The inscriptions, verified and elaborated upon with the help of Plutarch's work, promoted Sulla personally, as the protagonist. Even with the dedications to the triad of deities, Sulla was still the undisputed protagonist exalted in the inscriptions and by extension the trophies as a whole. Rome is inherently promoted through her general's victory, but it is clear *who* exercised the might of the Republic.

The minting and circulation of the coins must have been a conscious effort by Sulla to leverage his iconographical powerful trophies to accumulate symbolic capital. The coins carried the distant trophies directly to the people of Rome and her territories, and the associated symbolic purposes, Sulla's ideological and political messages, would constantly be reinforced by their circulation. He was evidently successful in his endeavour, as the trophies would become established images in the collective memory of Rome (and likely her provinces), shown by his son Faustus' choice of depicting the same trophies on his own coinage some 30 years later.

Sulla's construction of two permanent public monuments would build and perpetuate symbolic capital for him, as well as establish themselves in collective memory of the intended audiences. The collective of the Roman Republic certainly did accumulate symbolic capital from the trophies as well, but there is a shift in tradition towards exalting the individual. Seemingly, it was *Sulla's* power which was declared. *Rome's* power was asserted only by extension through Sulla.

Sulla was part of the aristocracy of the Roman Republic, and in this setting the context changes. What seems at first glance to be purely individualistic actions, funnel into the collective of Rome. Within the Roman Republic, successful actions which built symbolic capital for an

individual, be they military or political, were all in the service of the collective *res publica* – the public (Hölkeskamp, 2010, p. 90). Crucially, only actions and honours won in the name of the *res publica* were turned into permanent history. This history was created by stories and of course, imposing public monuments (Hölkeskamp, 2006, p. 490). In turn, these monuments would accumulate symbolic capital for both the individual *and* the collective. To illustrate, for all his emphasis on himself as the protagonist, Sulla would not make his deeds part of history without rendering his services to the *res publica*, and consequently not accumulate symbolic capital through his trophies. This is not to say he would have wished to attempt to move beyond the boundaries of this structure, as it was, and had been for centuries, the established tradition which ambitious protagonist used to climb the political ladder. Thus, his trophies celebrating his victories, inherently also served the collective of Rome. Climbing the aristocratic social ladder of the Roman Republic was achieved by accumulating copious amounts of symbolic capital through individual success in war and politics, in service of Rome. Though Sulla's trophies, in a change of tradition, strongly emphasised his individual glory, in the end, this was always in the name of the *res publica*.

5. Results, discussion, and conclusion

In my dissertation, I have extensively analysed the symbolic purposes and usages of the Leuktra trophy and the Sulla's trophies of Chaironeia and Orchomenos, all three trophies located geographically close in the region of Boeotia (Figure 7). To remind the reader, I will quote the research question again: *Using qualitative case studies, which notable differences can we identify in the symbolic purposes of trophies and their usage, based on whether they were raised by Greek or Roman agents?* By focusing on the symbolic purposes behind the trophies, I have attempted to derive the intentions purposed by the agents behind the constructions. Similarly, I have examined the interactions between the audience and the trophies, and the resulting effects. I have also attempted to understand how these monuments have been used by both individuals and collective entities over centuries to construct a variety of meanings and memories. In this final chapter I compare the results of the case studies and present my conclusion on the research question.

To best answer the research question, I have employed collective memory and symbolic capital theories. In the theoretical framework chapter, I discussed the Romanization debate which has coloured Classical studies in an unfortunate way, and sought to identify the issues with applying this theory to certain topics within the field, in my case the victory trophies. Though using collective memory and symbolic capital in Classical studies is hardly ground-breaking, this dissertation has hopefully shown that it is a nuanced and versatile framework when applied to the topic of victory trophies. Though revisions of Romanization can be successfully applied to certain topics, it would prove constraining and inflexible when analysing multifaceted subjects such as the trophies. By employing the frameworks of collective memory and symbolic capital, I have enjoyed the use of an encompassing tool which to view the trophy monuments and all that they entail from multiple unique perspectives.

5.1 The Multifaceted Trophies

I have presented multiple key aspects of these trophies: design, iconography, audience, political and ideological messages, geography, and the matter of public landmarks. All these aspects play a role in enhancing perhaps the paramount function of both sets of trophies: building symbolic capital. In turn, symbolic capital and its inherent functions also help establish collective memory, as shown by the long-lasting iconography and memory of both the Leuktra trophy and Sulla's trophies. Evidently, all aspects of the trophies are heavily intertwined and should be treated together. Thus, to get the most accurate and comprehensively answer my

research question, I have grouped the most closely connected aspects and will compare each ‘category’ before moving on to the next.

I should raise the issue of classifying Sulla’s trophies. Sulla’s trophies (and the Leuktra trophy) reside geographically close, within the region of Boeotia, Greece. Sulla’s trophies of Chaironeia and Orchomenos are interesting for their Greek design, Greek inscriptions, and locations in Greece. Identifying it as a purely ‘Roman’ trophy would be counterintuitive, and the concept of how to designate, if at all, these historically unique trophies is a whole topic in and of itself.

We can see similarities in both case studies starting with geographical location, size, and public landmarks. While the Leuktra trophy’s location in relation to the battle cannot be determined with absolute certainty, it is highly likely that it was placed at the battle's turning point. It had two primary functions: it was a highly visible monument in the flat landscape, and it ‘claimed’ the site as it was an important and symbolic location. When raising the trophy, the Thebans made permanent an important piece of their history, which had a deep connection to their self-identity and collective memory by the time of its construction.

Sulla’s trophies were also raised at the turning points of the battles. The Chaironeia trophy atop a hill; the Orchomenos trophy towering in the flat fields. The Roman general's chosen locations were both symbolically powerful with regard to the battle. They also served as constantly visible public monuments, becoming part of the local landscape as landmarks. This, in turn, had the effect of the trophies entering the collective memory of the local Greeks, the wider Greek world, and Rome itself (especially when aided by the iconography on coinage).

The chosen set of Greek- and Roman-raised trophies seem to have marked important events of the battles they commemorated. Both the Thebans and Sulla might have used the trophies to ‘claim’ that a location was meaningful and symbolic to the collective memory and identity of either themselves, or the intended audience. Both case studies show that the trophies act as conspicuous public landmarks, which contributed to them entering the collective memories of their intended audience.

I will now move on to design, iconography, and coinage. These all served to convey and amplify political and ideological messages. Based on design elements of the Leuktra trophy (the iconography of the ‘spartan spear’ in particular) and historical written sources, the Greeks had chiefly two messages they wished to spread. The first was the decline and shame of their enemy; the second was their own (the polis and its people) ascension and might. Perhaps as late as a

century later, coinage depicting the *tropaion* was used as a reminder of their former achievements. It might have been an attempt to exploit some symbolic capital from the trophy, and, whatever the case, the coinage proves the successful implementation of the trophy in the Greek/Boeotian collective memory.

Sulla's Roman trophies were iconographical strong monuments heavily laden with symbolism and carefully considered political messages. The politically savvy Roman was undoubtedly conscious of the symbolic value of his trophies and the messages they could convey. The inscription on the Orchomenos trophy, the militaristic design of the trophy base and the *tropaion* would imply that the primary purpose was to promote Sulla's own personal image and ambitions.

However, there are multiple factors to consider before drawing such a conclusion. The inscription of the local names on the base of the Chaironeia trophy (Homoloichus and Anaxidamus) opens the possibility of a focus on the locals as well. If the case, the 'usefulness' of many Greek aspects of Sulla's trophies can be contemplated. Kountouri et al. speculates that the morphologically Greek-like design of the trophy of Orchomenos was meant to resonate stronger with the intended Greek audience. Returning to the seemingly individualistic purposes of Sulla's trophies, there is also the matter of the historical and political context of the Roman Republic and its aristocracy, of which Sulla was part. While the 'promotion' of Rome was de-emphasised, the power of the Republic was undoubtedly reinforced, as Sulla's actions were for the *res publica* as explored in the conclusion of chapter 4 (4.7). It is important to underscore the fact that even though the trophies' focus on the collective might seem minimal at first glance compared to personal self-aggrandising aspects, the political and historical context gives reasons as to why this was not necessarily the case.

The coinage minted just a few years later spread the messages of the trophies to the wider Roman world and to Rome itself. Perhaps the most important use of coinage was to bring the images of the faraway trophies to the people of the Republic (the mentioned coins have been found in the Netherlands, Serbia, Romania, Spain, and Italy). This was an effective way to transport the trophies to people who would not have the opportunity to see them in person, enabling them to 'see' the trophies without actually seeing them. This again creates another layer of meanings, symbols and connections.

Sulla's trophies seem to have entered the Roman collective memory and to have gained the Sullan family copious amounts of symbolic capital, as Sulla's son Faustus would also pull on

the iconography of the by then famous trophies of his father. This underlines Sulla's success in using the trophies and their spread of his political and ideological messages. It also underlines the changing use of trophies, and that they could be appropriated and used in other ways than what was intended by their constructor. Different agents could give very different meanings to these monuments, and they could change substantially over time. Faustus' use of the iconography of the trophies does not de-emphasise the collective of Rome nor exalt him in any significant way. For Faustus, it was a way of making use of symbolic capital inherited from Sulla, by reminding the people of the Republic of Rome's great victories, propagated by his father.

Comparing the Greek and Roman cases regarding design, iconography, and political/ideological messages, we see many similarities, but also a development happening. The Thebans used the design and iconography (including coinage) to humiliate the enemy and emphasise their downfall, while simultaneously exalting their own (Theban) people/army and state. The Roman general Sulla also asserts the power of Rome as a whole his trophies, but it is achieved through him as an individual, as the protagonist. However, when considering the society of which Sulla was part, the aristocracy of the Roman Republic, this seemingly purely individualistic look changes. Within the unique political structure of the Roman Republic, individual achievements *do* glorify the Roman state as a whole. Though Sulla's trophies emphasised his personal deeds, they ultimately also served the *res publica*. The shift then, is from no apparent individual promotion in the Leuktra trophy, to its existence in Sulla's trophies. However, there is yet another factor at play here, the scarcity of evidence, which I discuss more at the end of the following section.

5.2 Symbolic Capital & Collective Memory

Finally, all the aspects discussed above funnel into the concepts of symbolic capital and collective memory. In the case of the Leuktra trophy, the Thebans who raised it aimed to increase their own symbolic capital. 'Their own', meaning the city of Thebes and the Thebans (presumably both the army and civilians). This is indicated by the fact that the symbolic capital gained through the trophy's different aspects would benefit the polis and its people as a whole, not select individuals. There are instances of an individual or a small group of Greeks of the Classical period constructing monuments for their own personal gain (see Chapter 2, the *Stoa Poikile* and the *Tyrannicides*), but in the case of the Leuktra trophy, the larger society of Thebes benefited. Though we do not know for certain if it was a small group or a single individual who initiated and funded the Greek Leuktra trophy's construction, the results are the same; the

various elements of the trophy building symbolic capital all did so to the benefit of the larger collective. Interestingly, Cicero's later interpretation of the Leuktra trophy indicates the changeable memories of trophies. For him, the trophy could have been used to either glorify the Thebans or to shame the Spartans. This might speak more to how a Roman of the Late Republic viewed Greek trophies of the Classical period, perhaps attributing to them Late Republican qualities and functions.

Comparatively, the Sulla's trophies in Boeotia are laden with features that enhance their symbolic capital gain. Only the Orchomenos trophy is in a state where a thorough analysis is possible, but we must imagine Sulla's two trophies to be very similar in design and nature, considering their identical depiction on contemporary and later coinage (Figures 29 and 30). The Roman trophies are very interesting as they promote both the collective and the individual, the latter seemingly a new shift in tradition. The trophies as landmarks commemorate Roman conquest, which provides symbolic capital to the state itself. However, the trophies also function to build *Sulla's* symbolic capital, and to a considerably higher degree. The emphasis on *whom* the trophy highlighted, *whose* deeds were being commemorated, and why, all heavily accentuates Sulla as an individual. None of these symbolic capital-accumulating factors would function without being performed in the name of the *res publica*, however. The actions of Sulla was, based on the historical and political context, inherently for the good of the collective, even with focus on him as a protagonist. As for the exaltation of the local soldiers on the trophy, whether inscribed on Sulla's orders or done independently by locals, it suggests the importance in which the victories of Rome, through Sulla, were held by the people of Chaironeia. The trophies, at least the trophy base at Chaironeia, seem likely to have been a source of pride in the collective history of the locals.

Sulla's trophies were generally more symbolically charged than the Leuktra trophy. Although not to reduce the symbolic purposes of the Leuktra trophy, I would be remiss not to mention how blatant the symbolism of Sulla's trophies are in comparison. The inscription, the multifaceted design, and the coinage of the Roman trophies were all dedicated to promote his personal political and ideological messages in different ways, even though it all did funnel into the *res publica*.

Comparing the two case studies and what I have inferred of the trophies' purposes on symbolic capital, there are indications of a shift in use between Greek and Roman agents. Kinnee argues for an increase in individualistic 'personalisation' of trophies in the Hellenistic/Republic period.

She argues that the trophies shifted from exalting the “... army as a whole and the general in command... to the increasingly self-aggrandising trophies of republican Roman generals” (Kinnee, 2018, p. 49, 69). This statement seems to correspond well with my analysis of the two case studies. The Leuktra trophy possesses no inscription, and no exaltation of any individual, perhaps the closest analogy being the possibility of the shield-frieze representing the elite Sacred Band of the Thebans. In fact, we have no surviving inscriptions on any extant permanent Greek trophies, and Kinnee believes them to simply not have been a ‘soapbox’ to preach from (Kinnee, 2018, p. 114). Sulla’s Orchomenos trophy, and presumably his Chaironeia trophy, have inscriptions which clearly promoted the Roman general himself and were dedicated to his personally chosen deities, notably whilst still promoting the Roman Republic.

However, the ‘soapbox’ remark by Kinnee raises an issue. Since there are no extant Greek permanent trophies with inscriptions, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not individual promotion in Greek cases compared to Roman cases are due to lack of evidence, or a change of habit about inscribing the trophies.

5.3 Final thoughts

The change in the use of trophies in the late Republican period seems to be the start of what was to become the new trend of self-promoting Roman protagonists. Keaveney’s biography on Sulla is subtitled ‘*The Last Republican*’. After a vicious civil war, Sulla relinquished his dictatorial powers and retired after his brutal proscriptions had taken place. He had given the Roman Republic another lease on life, which would be cut short just one generation later. The next generation of republican generals, such as Pompey, Caesar, and later, Octavian, did not wish to restore the republic in the same manner. Although outside the scope of this dissertation, their trophies and other means of commemoration reflect their heavily self-promoting purposes. For instance, Pompey had a portrait of himself made out of pearls; in the name of his ancestor goddess Venus, Caesar made a dedication at a temple in the form of a cuirass of pearls. (Hölscher, 2018, p. 93).³¹

Sulla and his self-promotion through the Boeotian trophies appear more modest than the examples of Pompey and Caesar, but certainly still not in the same vein as the collectively beneficial Classical Greek trophy. The Roman Sulla moved away from the Greek ‘even distribution’ of symbolic capital between the larger collective and certain prominent individuals

³¹ For more, see Kinnee (2018, ch. 6), Hölscher (2018), and Picard (1957).

(though the latter fact is not found in the Leuktra case). He vastly increased his own individual gain of symbolic capital compared to the Greek example and aimed to cement his name in Rome's collective memory and landscape. However, he still adhered to the established structure of the aristocracy of the Roman Republic. For successful military and political actions to be made part of collective history, and thus accumulating symbolic capital for the individual behind said actions, they had to be done in the name of the *res publica*. While Sulla's trophies undoubtedly marked a shift in tradition, promoting him personally, it was ultimately also for the benefit of the collective of the Roman Republic. Sulla's later counterparts (e.g., Caesar, Crassus, Pompey) uprooted and altered this tradition completely, and one could argue that Sulla's trophies represent a snapshot of a changing tradition.

Sulla struck a skewed and hard-to-define balance with his trophies. Compared to what the Classical Greek Thebans did with the trophy of Leuktra, this does indeed signify a shift in the usage of the trophies between Classical period Greeks versus the Hellenistic period Romans. It may be that Sulla's trophies represent a critical junction where key aspects of the ancient Greek tradition of victory trophies were being phased out, never to return to their original form. That is, an increase in the promotion of the individual seems to be taking place, though it is certainly not removed from promoting the collective. If by the Leuktra trophy, the Thebans continued a tradition by honouring a larger collective, then Sulla's trophies can be seen as the beginning of a move away from that. Again, this is with the scarcity of extant source material in mind, as there are no *surviving* inscriptions on Greek-raised victory trophies.

In my qualitative study, the nuances of the symbolic purposes of the Leuktra trophy and Sulla's trophies have been examined closely. The Greek-raised trophy seems to be mostly for the benefit of the collective, to exalt the Thebans and to shame their defeated enemy. Though the Roman-raised trophies of Sulla emphasise him as an individual protagonist, they provided the Republic benefits and symbolic capital as dictated by the Roman political system. Both Classical Greek and republican Roman trophies created a beneficial symbol of prestige, but for whom these benefits profited depended on the myriad of factors I have shown in this dissertation, and the result is a showcase of a tradition in motion.

To note, since this is a qualitative study, my selected case studies seem to lean the way of the "collectivistic Greeks" versus the "individualistic Romans". The in-depth knowledge attained show nuances and aspects which both confirm and reject that notion. The cases indicate that these particular trophies were multifaceted and changing phenomena, but they alone are insufficient to draw a general conclusion. They grant exciting insight, and perhaps this study

has contributed to demonstrating that there is a knowledge gap in this specific topic, which the limited scope of this dissertation cannot cover.

Concerning further studies, the topic and sub-topics surrounding the trophies could easily fill a bookshelf. With very few modern dedicated works on trophies, there is a wealth of barely-touched material and subjects to delve deeper into. Further comprehensive studies on trophies will hopefully emerge in the future, and I am personally disposed toward research on two topics in particular. First, examining the symbolic purposes and usage of trophies by Hellenistic Kings after Alexander, the Diadochi, could yield interesting insights. There is certainly a torrent of information surrounding this topic to be explored. Secondly, the Roman general Gaius Marius, Sulla's contemporary, is known to have raised permanent trophies, though no verified examples are extant (the famous *Trophies of Marius* at the Capitoline Hill in modern-day Rome being misattributed to him). He and his trophies would make for an interesting subject, certainly when being able to compare him with his rival Sulla.

Perhaps the most intriguing topic for future studies is also a challenging one due to the lack of extant material to work with. In Euripides' play *Andromache*, dated to ca. 428–425 BCE, more than fifty years before the Battle of Leuktra, there is lamentation of the increasing individualistic use of trophies by Greeks. Firmly within the Classical period in Greece, this passage suggests that a shift from the 'collectivistic use' of trophies was already observed in the late 5th century BCE.

What terrible customs we must endure these days in Greece! It's not the soldiers who did all the hard work on the battlefield but the General who gets all the credit whenever the army raises a victory trophy. One man, who, among ten thousand men raised his spear, one man who did the work of only one man, gets all the praise.

Eur. *Andr.* 693–698

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