

Flanderková, Kristýna

Reflection of the Peloponnesian and Corinthian wars on the grave stelai

Studia archaeologica Brunensia. 2025, vol. 30, iss. 1, pp. 5-28

ISSN 1805-918X (print); ISSN 2336-4505 (online)

Stable URL (DOI): <https://doi.org/10.5817/SAB2025-1-1>

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/digilib.82891>

License: [CC BY-SA 4.0 International](#)

Access Date: 06. 12. 2025

Version: 20251204

Terms of use: Digital Library of the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University provides access to digitized documents strictly for personal use, unless otherwise specified.

Reflection of the Peloponnesian and Corinthian Wars on the grave stelai

Odraz peloponéské a korintské války na náhrobních stélách

Kristýna Flanderková

Abstract

This paper combines the topics of Peloponnesian and Corinthian wars with depictions on funerary stelai. In the first part, it provides an overview of the situation in Greece in the time period between 450 and 370 BC and investigates the way society reacted to some historic events while also examining other influences of war, which we can see in art of the time. In the second part, we investigate stelai with depictions of warriors mainly from Attica and Boeotia, but include an overview from Macedonia, Thessaly and Peloponnese as well. The analysis made on the stelai from Attica and Boeotia is supplemented by statistics, which complements our findings with numbers.

Key words

Peloponnesian War, Corinthian War, funerary stelai, sculpture, relief, warrior

Abstrakt

Tento článek sleduje proměny reliéfů náhrobních stél za dob peloponéské a korintské války, konkrétně v časovém rozmezí 450–370 př. n. l. V první části se věnuje zkoumání současné situace, reakcí společnosti na některé historické události a zkoumání dalších vlivů války na jiné oblasti umění. V druhé části se zabývá konkrétními náhrobními stélami se zobrazeními válečníků především z oblasti Atiky a Boiótie, ale shrnuje i situaci s náhrobními stélami v Makedonii, Thesálii a na Peloponésu. V případech Atiky a Boiótie je zahrnuta i doplňující statistika prezentující zastoupení jednotlivých zobrazení válečníků na stélách ve srovnání se stélami bez takových vyobrazení.

Klíčová slova

peloponéská válka, korintská válka, sochařství, náhrobní stély, reliéf, válečník

1. Introduction

This article draws from a master thesis written by the author (*Flanderková 2023: Reflections of the Peloponnesian and Corinthian wars on the grave stelae and the artistic mobility*). The topic combines the historic events during the wars with the depictions on funerary stelai at that time. Both are largely discussed matters. The grave monuments are a long-studied subject and their intricate and ambiguous iconography prompted scholars to compile voluminous catalogues. The Peloponnesian and Corinthian wars have been studied from every angle as well. The causes and events of these conflicts were of interest to many authors, both ancient and modern, and still fascinate us today.

We investigated the time period from 450 BC to 370 BC – in this way, we could perceive the changes in stelai production before the start of the Peloponnesian War, then encompass both wars and a few years of peace afterwards. The study was based on examining a total number of 191 stelai using stylistic analysis, while also applying supplementary statistic. We aimed to collect a representative number of works while focusing mainly on stelai decorated with a figure relief, and chose from those already published in literature. As for the places of origin of our stelai, we decided to focus mainly on the Attica and Boeotia regions. Thessaly, Macedonia and the Peloponnese were included as secondary and comparative regions. As we know, Athens was one of the two main protagonists in the Peloponnesian War, and Boeotia led by Thebes also actively participated. Sparta, the opponent of Athens, lacks stelai that could have served for comparisons, but is mentioned nonetheless. The other mentioned regions took part in the wars, however, they were not involved as strongly as the former ones. Concerning the Attic stelai, the scope of our selection was limited by the purposes of the thesis. To work with the

whole enormous number of specimens would be impractical, because the aim was to show the main tendencies in warrior depictions and their relationship with wars, not to present an exhausting list of all stelai found. Therefore, the author included only a representative number of them from every discovered type. The main division of all collected stelai was into those, which include a warrior figure (with the corresponding attributes, such as a shield, sword, helmet or a spear), and those without any warrior connotations. The latter group was then further divided into categories based on their attributes, such as hunters, athletes, mothers with maids and others, however, this part was omitted here in order to focus primarily on the warriors.

Aside from Attica, stelai from other regions come in far smaller numbers, and the ones showing warriors are also fairly scarce. This imbalance regarding the numbers of specimens is why the examination is mainly focused on the warrior images, their possible connections with wars and discussing their iconographic significance. However, as mentioned above, supplementary statistic in the SPSS Statistics programme has also been done and is included here, in order to provide the reader with an overview of the collected examples. In this manner, we examined the connection between the wars and the stelai in particular regions and investigated the ways, in which they could tie together.

2. The wars, society and art

The first twenty years of the examined time span were not without conflict – the first Peloponnesian War was just ending.¹ Athens was forced to agree to a peace treaty but continued to expand and establish new colonies in Italy and Thrace, strengthen its position in the

Delian League and the city itself lived through prosperous and confident years. The start of the Peloponnesian War is dated by Thucydides to 431 BC (*Thuc. II*, 2, 1–6, 4) and right the following year a horrible plague struck Athens. We know, again from Thucydides, what suffering was brought together with it and the deep mark it left on the city. He speaks of sanctuaries filled with dead bodies, people dying by caring for others and overall declining morale of the society (*Thuc. II*, 48, 1–53, 4). Additionally, their situation was aggravated by the ongoing war which continued to exhaust the city for the following decades. The important Battle of Delion fought between Athens and Boeotia, which resulted in Athenians suffering heavy losses and ended with Boeotian victory, was one of many to follow unfortunate events for Athens until the Peace of Nicias concluded in 421 BC, and even after that.

For Boeotia, however, the Battle of Delion was an opportunity for defeating its long-term opponent and neighbour. Before the end of the first Peloponnesian War in 446 BC, Boeotia spent ten years under the Athenian influence, until its victory in 447 BC in the Battle of Coronea. The Battle of Delion was therefore a great event, which was commemorated in Boeotia accordingly.

During the Peace of Nicias, which lasted until 414 BC, Athens launched a large expedition to Sicily on behalf of Leontini against Syracuse and Selinus. Early on, during the preparations, Athens witnessed an unforgivable act – the Hermocopidae Affair. An organised group damaged a large number of herms in Athens, which was an action very much offending the god Hermes. The matter was further investigated and at the end, Alcibiades, who was also accused of mocking the Eleusinian mysteries, was recalled from Sicily and about fifty people were executed. Overall, the expedition ended catastrophically and the city lost the majority of

its navy, the generals Nicias and Demosthenes, and also several thousand citizens.

After the end of the Peace of Nicias and early in the Decelean War, in 411 BC, Athens faced a brief deflection from democracy when oligarchs carried out a coup and started the rule of 400. It did not last long and ended the same year, but the Athenian democracy was threatened again later, after the Peloponnesian War in 404–403 BC, and this time it resulted in a bloody civil war between the oligarchs and democrats. The situation finally calmed down in 400 BC, after a short-lived existence of an oligarchic state in Eleusis, which was incorporated back in the democratic city of Athens. Still in the Decelean phase of the war, the Athenians also experienced the warfare from a much closer distance – Spartans took the Decelea fortress and plundered Athenian countryside until the end of the war. During the span of this second phase, Athens both suffered losses and achieved victories, and their last one was in the Battle of Arginusae in 406 BC. However, although a victory, the battle was followed by an unfortunate aftermath. Athenian strategoi could not collect the survivors and the dead because of a storm, which caused them to be called to Athens and accused of abandonment of troops. The ones who obeyed and returned were eventually executed. Not long after that, in 405 BC, Sparta captured most of Athenian ships in the Battle of Aegospotami, the siege of Athens started and the city surrendered the following year, in 404 BC. The Peloponnesian War ended.

In the last thirty years of the fifth century, Athens lived through one stressful event after another and these uncertain circumstances were mirrored somewhat in the religious situation in the city during that time. About fifty years after the Persian wars, cults of new gods were imported to Athens. After the outbursts of the plague, Athenians were in a need of

more healing deities and it is generally agreed that the admission of the healing god Asclepius is connected to it (*Rubel 2014*, 100, 103–105). The newly accepted cult of Bendis might have also shared the connection, since the goddess was associated with a Thracian healing hero, Deloptes. A political explanation is, however, also at play – at the time of the introduction of the goddess in 430/429 BC, Athens was supporting the Thracian king Sitalces, and this might have been one of its actions in foreign policy. Moreover, a number of Athenian silverware objects from the time of the Peloponnesian War were found in Thrace, some of which carried the images of Athenian state ideology. They functioned as a diplomatic gift and further reveal the ways of Athenian diplomacy at the time (*Sideris 2015*, 80–82). Either way, Bendis' arrival in Athens was likely a result of the overall unstable situation in Athens (*Rubel 2014*, 102–103).

With the admission of new gods to Athens, the old ones also received renewed attention – for example, in the first decade of the war, the temple for the goddess Nemesis of Rhamnous was under construction. This action was connected by scholars to the plague as well (*Rubel 2014*, 102–103). Apparently, the city was in search for divine support and was trying all the possibilities, and so the Hermocopidae Affair could not have come at a worse time. The effects of this shocking event spread also into art, and in the subsequent years we can see representations of sacrifice to Hermes on luxury toreutics (*Sideris 2021*, no. 240, silver kantharos with a gilded scene of ram sacrifice to Hermes).

After a short and restless peace following the Peloponnesian War, the Corinthian War started in 395 BC with Sparta on one side, and allies, which just a decade ago would be very unlikely, on the other – Thebes, Argos, Corinth and Athens. To the other Greek cities and Persia's contempt, Sparta was spreading its influence

through the sea and the tensions were rising, inevitably leading to a new large-scale conflict. The war ended in 387 BC in Sardis, but the cities looked on the peace conditions with little contentment, and Thebes did not even agree to them. Sparta was still enforcing its will in other cities, and it took hold of the city of Thebes itself. However, that did not last long – Thebans with the help from Athens retook the city and after defeating Sparta in a battle were the main leading power in Greece for several following years, which are outside the scope of this article.

The continuing battles, wars and instability became an omnipresent reality in the Greek society and their impact showed through art as well. Directly connected to the wars are the public burials. Gathering the bodies of the deceased after a battle was an important tradition, and we can see in the aftermath of the Battle of Arginusae, how punishable was its violation. The dead were buried at public expense at polychandria (mass graves) and commemorated on casualty lists (*Arrington 2015*, 39). Afterwards followed a funeral oration, as was the famous one delivered by Pericles in 430/429 BC, documented by Thucydides. The casualty lists were usually not extensively decorated but we have a few adorned with reliefs. From Athens comes the Palaiologou relief (Third Ephoreia M 4551), dating to ca. 420 BC, and one more from the early years of the Corinthian War, from 394/3 BC (Athens NM 2744, *Boardman 1995*, no. 122) (Fig. 1). Both these reliefs show multiple figures in an endless struggle, with Athenians having an upper hand but still not ultimately defeating the enemy. Even though the lists are connected to specific battles, the images do not show a specific event but a timeless fight instead (*Arrington 2010*, 76–78). Similarly, several preserved bases from casualty lists show signs of being reworked in order to be later joined together on the sides – this was the case with the base probably carrying the casualty list com-



Fig. 1. Relief plaque from a casualty list. NAMA, inv. no. 2744 (photo K. Flanderková)

Obr. 1. Reliéf ze seznamu padlých. NAMA, inv. č. 2744 (foto K. Flanderková)

memorating the Battle of Delion. In this way, even the battle which ended badly for Athenians could be viewed in a bigger picture, the loss incorporated in a greater narrative and transferred to a collective struggle. And so, it did not as much glorify the dead but stood more as an example for the living (*Arrington 2010*, 80–83).

Outside of Attica, a public funerary monument was found near Thespieae, most likely commemorating the warriors fallen at Delion. The lists were decorated with a simple moulding at the top and were presumably fastened to a wall, in front of which they stood. On the sides, they were flanked by statues of lions (*Arrington 2010*, 54–55). One more casualty list from Boeotia was found in Tanagra and was of an even more simple form – the names were

written in four columns on a local black stone and, too, probably commemorated the dead from the Battle of Delion (*Low 2003*, 103–104).

The influence of omnipresent death on other forms of art can be also seen in a slight change in the depictions of white-ground lekythoi. They gained more popularity in Athens around the middle of the fifth century and functioned as offerings for the dead. Because of their function, they were of a more private character and carried domestic scenes. They often showed two versions of a scene, either a woman preparing to visit a tomb, or the said visit already in progress. But as the Peloponnesian War continued, the scenes showing the visit became more frequent, while the preparation type slowly lessened in numbers. The

figures are serene, the dead are contemplating their own death with silent gazes and their visitors are calm and elegant. Death is shown with all honesty and sorrow which accompanies it, in scenes of departing soldiers, mothers, and children. It is something natural out there, waiting for everyone (*Tritle 2004*, 55–56; *Shapiro 1991*, 651–653).

3. Stelai in the Greek world

Attica

In Attica, the Archaic series of stelai ended at the close of the sixth century, probably by the legislation prohibiting the expensive decoration of tombs. For this reason, the examples of stelai from the first half of the fifth century are scarce, and all that remains for us are modest or only slightly decorated slab stelai with inscriptions. Their production continued throughout the fifth century (*Boardman – Kurz 1971*, 121–127) and further and they are also represented on the white-ground lekythoi. Grave markers of other types also possibly existed but were made probably of a perishable material or in such a way that they are not recognized as stelai today (*Ridgway 1981*, 129).

At the end of the third quarter of the fifth century, the figure-decorated stelai came into favour again and a new production began, possibly stimulated by the presence of many sculptors and marble carvers in the city, employed in the public building programmes on the Acropolis and elsewhere (*Arrington 2015*, 208). The stelai were shorter and broader than their Archaic counterparts, followed the style of Parthenon sculptures and quickly became mass-produced. Their depictions were conservative, while their variants, types of figures, motifs, attributes and overall iconography repeated themselves (*Boardman – Kurz 1971*, 130–132).

Besides commemorating the dead and being part of funeral ceremonies, the family tombs had also other purposes, concerning living in the polis. They often played a role in legal cases concerning inheritance, and we have several examples showing that they could be used as evidence for one's ancestry during disputes (*Bergemann 1997*, 24–25). Similarly, they frequently carried the names and figural representations of their relatives, who were (at the time) alive. It was suggested that the images on grave reliefs were referring simultaneously to various spheres of a person's life, as was the public sphere and oikos. Depictions of men shaking hands with their relatives could be a way to emphasise their ancestry, while images with their wives highlighted the marriage, which was one of the virtues of a good citizen and aimed at overall good of the polis (*Bergemann 1997*, 129). Therefore, while the stelai were erected in memory of the dead, they also had great importance for the living.

The first stelai of the new Attic series started to appear between 440 and 430 BC in modest numbers, depicting sitting women, hunters and other traditional motifs. Then they gained in numbers and reached the quantity we know from the following centuries. The earliest depictions of warriors started a few years later with the Albani relief at the beginning, and other warrior stelai following after that. The Albani relief, which is either a state monument from a public burial or a private monument (*Arrington 2015*, 229–230), is dated from 430/429 BC to 425 BC. The first dating considers it the state relief, in front of which Pericles delivered his funerary oration. The second one connects it with the Battle of Delion in 425 BC (*Clairmont 1993*, vol. II, 156–155).

The relief itself shows a dynamic image of a warrior, who came down from his horse and is prepared to slay his enemy. The defeated man reclines on the ground, protecting himself



Fig. 2. Dexileos stele. Kerameikos Museum, inv. no. P 1130/I 220. Dexileos, the victorious horseman

Obr. 2. Dexileova stéla. Muzeum Kerameikos, inv. č. P 1130/I 220. Dexileos jako vítězný jezdec

Source/Zdroj: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Grave_relief_of_Dex-ileos,_son_of_Lysanias,_of_Thorikos_\(Ca._390_BC\)_4454389225.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Grave_relief_of_Dex-ileos,_son_of_Lysanias,_of_Thorikos_(Ca._390_BC)_4454389225.jpg) Tilemahos Efthimiadis from Athens, Greece, CC BY 2.0 <<https://creativecommons-mons.org/licenses/by/2.0>>

with a lifted arm and chlamys draped around it. The horse in the background stands on his rear legs, with the forelegs off the ground, and adds to the overall movement of the depiction.

The portrayal of a horseman overpowering a properly defeated enemy then becomes a repeated representation, often used on stelai meant for warriors. Although the funerary stele found in Chalandri and now in Berlin is mostly

fragmentary, we can still see the front part of a horse with its legs in the air and a fallen warrior underneath them. The man protects himself with an arm bent over his head as well, but this time, he is holding a dagger. The stele is accompanied by a fragmentary epitaph, which expresses the horseman's boasting claims about his war deeds (Hurwit 2007, 44–45). It is dated to 420 BC (Clairmont 1993, vol. II, 156–155).

Other, more complete examples following the tradition, are the well-known Dexileos relief (Fig. 2) and the Academy Base (Clairmont 1994, vol. II, 151–152). The former has the name Dexileos commemorated on a nearly two metres wide floral crowning which also dates the stele to 394/393 BC, to the start of the Corinthian War (Goette 2009, 192–193). The latter presents variations of the composition on three sides and is dated to around 400 BC to early fourth century.

Other stelai depicting warriors in motion are those with solitary warriors attacking. One with this kind of representation was found in Decelea, the stele of Lisas from Tegea dated to the late fifth century. Lisas is turned to the right, sneaking and prepared to the strike with a spear, which was painted. The shield is on his left arm, he is dressed in exomis and wears a pilos on his head. In regard to its place of finding, there were some suggestions that Lisas might have fought and died on the Spartan side during the Peloponnesian War, because otherwise, fighting on the Athenian side would probably secure him a burial in Athens (Clairmont 1993, vol. I, 255–256). Another possibility, hinted also by the Attic dialect of the inscription on the stele, is that he was a metic based in Decelea during the war (Bruckner 1886, 38–39).

Similar is the stele of Ktesikrates, now in Louvre. He wears a chiton, cuirass and an Attic helmet. The shield is barely visible behind him, and there is a loutrophoros draped with sashes in the middle of the crowning. Although it is very fragmentary and a lot of it is restored, we can see a warrior in a three-quarter view in striding motion to the right (Clairmont 1993, vol. I, 288–289).

These warriors, falling into the “moving warrior” category, are shown either right before the moment of victory, or rushing towards the battle. Either way, the motion is emphasised by the drapery of their clothes and posing of the

figure as well, and thus the engagement and also the motion itself play an important role in the depiction. In a way, these depictions correspond with the reliefs decorating the casualty lists – they both show the participants in battle, but while in the latter, the fight is never-ending and continuous, the stelai of individual warriors show them at their best, that is either boldly rushing towards the fight or slaying the opponent. It has been suggested that this depiction of motion, decisiveness and vigour are highlighted as Athenian virtues (Arrington 2010, 78–80). These attributes were mentioned by Pericles in his funeral oration, and also by Corinthians when they were talking to Spartans about the difference between them and the Athenians (*Thuc. I*, 69, 4). The Athenians faced progressively worsening conditions as the war stretched on, and so it is possible that although the stelai commemorated the deceased warriors, they could also stand as a reminder of the ideal virtues to the living Athenians in the times of distress.

There are also several solitary warriors, who are standing calmly. As an example, we can mention one found in Megara and currently presented in the Worcester Museum. The warrior stands in a three-quarter view to the right, in a slightly relaxed pose, and his head overlaps the upper mouldings of the crowning a little. He wears an exomis, a cloak over his left shoulder and baldric over his chest. He carries a shield on his left arm and holds a spear in that hand as well, while in the right, he clutches a pilos. The stele is dated to the last decades of the fifth century and Clairmont suggested the warrior could be a casualty of the catastrophic Athenian expedition to Sicily (Clairmont 1993, vol. I, 241–242).

The stele was also connected to the one of Chairedemos and Lykeas (Fig. 3) through the man’s pose, which is reminiscent of that of Doryphoros (Neer 2010, 194). This stele comes from

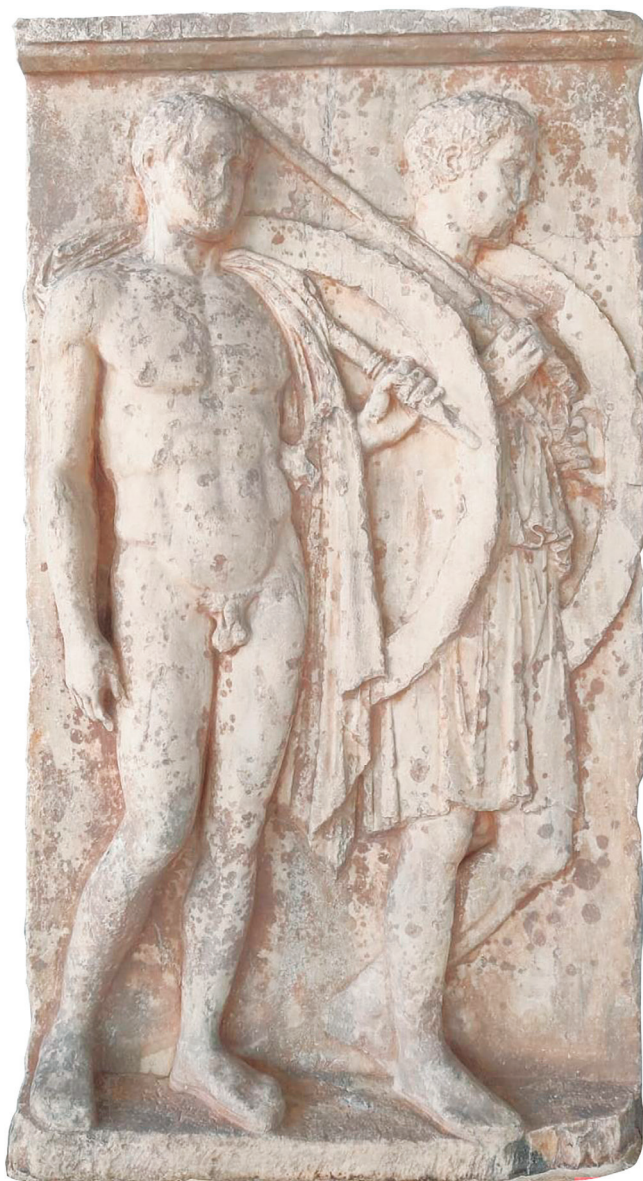


Fig. 3. Chairedemos and Lykeas. Piraeus Museum, inv. no. 385. Two warriors next to each other (photo K. Flanderková)

Obr. 3. Chairedemos a Lykeas. Muzeum v Pireu, inv. č. 385. Dva válečníci stojící vedle sebe (foto K. Flanderková)

Salamis and depicts the two warriors standing close to each other. Chairedemos in the front stands relaxed in the three-quarter view, with a cloak around his left shoulder and a shield on the left arm. His left hand holds a spear resting on the shoulder. Lykeas stands behind him in profile and is dressed in belted chiton and chlamys. He holds his shield on the left arm as well and rests his spear on his right shoulder. Since the name Lykeas is fairly rare, he was identified with a deceased warrior on a casualty list from 411 BC, which commemorated the fallen in the naval Battle of Cynossema. There, his name is attached to the office of trierarch (Goette 2009, 199). The name of his companion was also found on a casualty list but as the name is not so uncommon, he cannot be identified with it with certainty (Neer 2010, 236).

The stele of Demokleides (Fig. 4) uniquely shows a seaman sitting on the ground, next to the prow of a trireme. He wears a chiton and sits on his chlamys, rests his right elbow on his knee and the side of his face in his palm. Behind him lies his shield and on it his helmet. The rest of the image is filled with the sea and the ship, hinting at the way of his death, which is unusual. Even though the navy was a very important part of Athenian forces during the war, the depictions of seamen on stelai are very scarce.

More often, they are represented as hoplites, like Lykeas mentioned above, or Menon from a stele in the Brauron museum. Although he was identified as a trierarch on a casualty list from the Peloponnesian War, he is shown with the hoplite equipment as well (Goette 2009, 199). The images of seamen thus seem not to be in favour at that time and hoplites and horsemen probably fit better the preferred iconography. Goette suggested in this regard, that the standing warriors with hoplite

equipment on private memorials originated in the imagery of state burial monuments (Goette 2009, 199–202). Consequently, it is possible that we have more navy officers hidden among the hoplite representations, which have not been identified as such.

Concerning the calm warriors on stelai, the dexiosis motif is common between two warriors and between a warrior and his relatives as well. A stele now in the Getty Museum is dated to the end of the fifth century and shows a warrior Philoxenos together with his wife, Philoumene. Both are standing in profile, although the woman's body is in a three-quarter view. The man wears a chiton, a cuirass with two rows of pteryges and an Attic helmet. On his left arm, he carries a shield. His wife is dressed in a chiton and a himation. They stand on the sides of the stele, facing each other in strong symmetry, and are connected through their linked hands. Grossman proposed that it be a departure scene, as we know them from red-figure vases (Grossman 2001, 15–17). Considering the dexiosis motif itself on the stelai with warriors, Stupperich suggested it as a symbol and visualisation of unity of the democrats with state burials (Stupperich 1994, 96).

Now, regarding our testing pool of stelai, the ones from Attica count a total number of 135. 26 of them include the figure of a warrior, the remaining 109 are without it. In other words, the warrior stelai make up almost 20 % of the total number (Graph 1). As we can see in the table below (Tab. 1), Athenians favoured depictions with an additional figure, whether it was a fellow warrior, a family member, or a foe about to be defeated. This also further illustrates the way, in which the images of warriors on stelai were implemented into the traditional compositions and became a common way to depict a citizen.

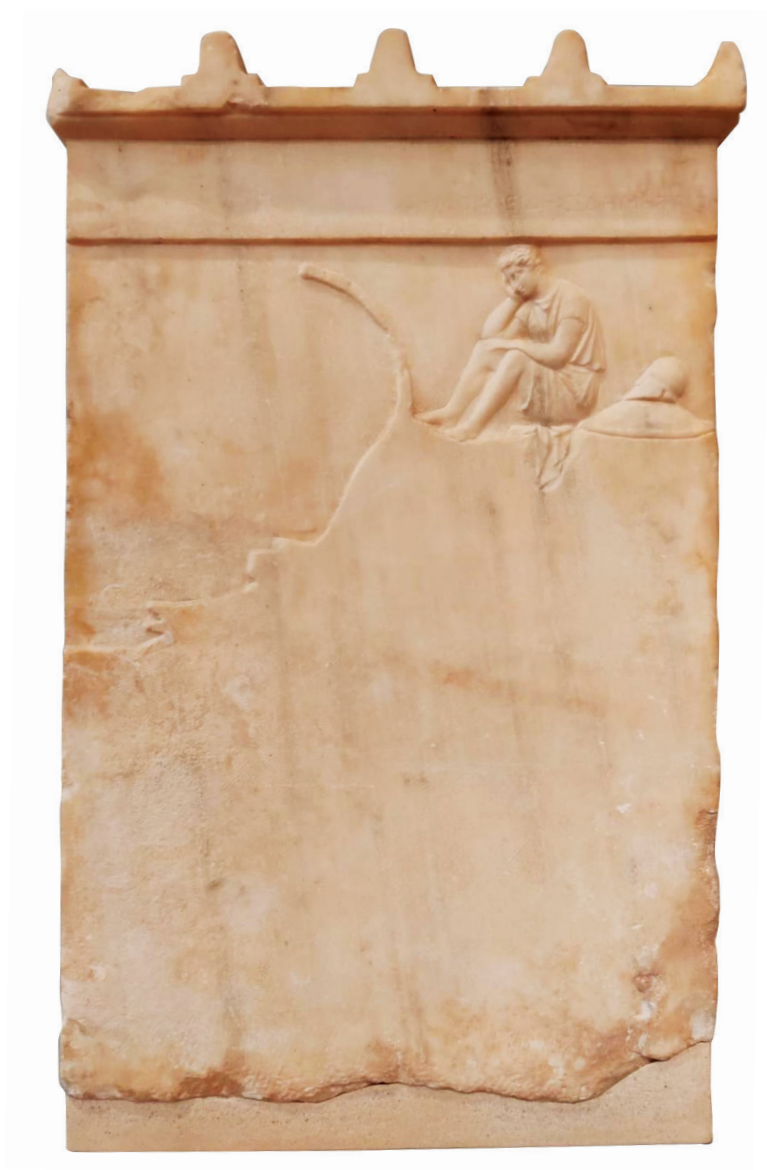


Fig. 4. Stele of Demokleides. NAMA, inv. no. 752. A warrior sitting next to a ship (photo K. Flanderková)

Obr. 4. Damokleidova stéla. NAMA, inv. č. 752. Válečník sedící vedle lodě (foto K. Flanderková)

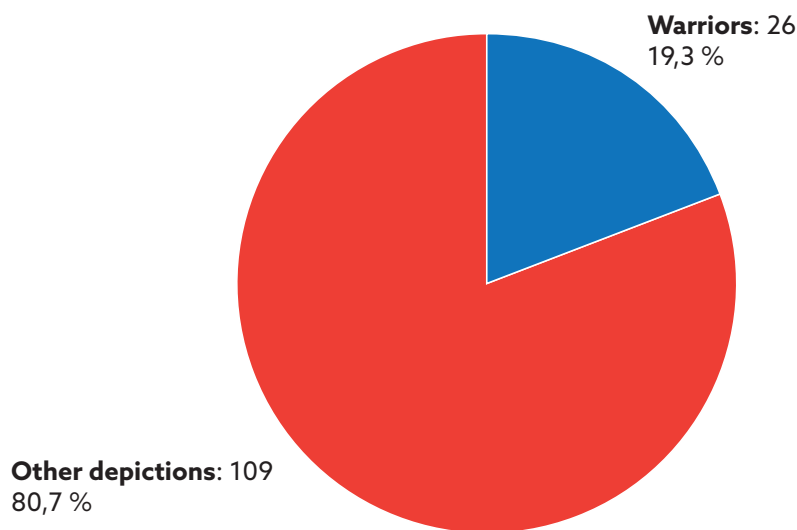


Chart 1. Percentage division of stelai with and without warriors in Attica

Graf 1. Procentuální rozdělení stél s válečníky a bez nich v Atice

Warriors		
Stance	Calmly standing	4
	Calm with another person	14
	In motion alone	2
	Attacking somebody	6
Total		26

Tab. 1. Number of stelai with warriors in Attica

Tab. 1. Počet stél s válečníky v Atice

Boeotia

While the production of figure-decorated stelai was at a standstill in Attica, in other parts of Greece, it was well underway and followed mostly Archaic iconography. In Boeotia, the production continued unchanged, in numbers lesser than in Athens, but uniform. Continuing from the Archaic period were depictions of horsemen with galloping horses and in the late

fifth century appeared a group of stelai with images of warriors incised on black limestone (*Ridgway 1981*, 148–149). Other examples made from Boeotian stone come from Thespieae, showing men and women similar to the Attic production. The depictions of warriors on stelai, however, show a pause of several decades in the production. Since the last examples in the first half of the century, the next ones appear only from 430 BC and later, up until 390 BC.

The group of warriors incised on black limestone is dated to the last decades of the fifth century and comes from the vicinity of Tanagra and Thebes. Five of the warriors were recognised by Keramopoulos (1920) as commemorating the dead from the Battle of Delion, partly because the names Saugenes and Koironos were identified with fallen warriors on casualty lists from the said battle. The rest of the stelai were discovered later after his identification, and some of them are attributed to the battle as well. Majority of the stelai are inscribed, and the letters seem to be done by at least three different people (Schachter 2016, 198–199) (Fig. 5).

As an example, we can mention the stele of Rhynchon (Aravantinos 2010, 285–287). The incised image shows a warrior striding to the right, wearing a decorated cloak around his neck, which was identified as a cavalryman's chlamys (Van Effenterre 1989, 109). He also wears a pilos adorned with a laurel wreath. On his left arm, he holds a shield, which shows the scene of Bellerophon on Pegasus killing the Chimaira.

Saugenes is similar to Rhynchon in his attire – he is naked save for a cloak around his neck, pilos adorned with laurel wreath and he also bears the Bellerophon scene on his shield. They are dressed as parabatai, warriors who rode into battle on chariots and then fought on the ground. The last parallel is the crowning of the stelai – both are decorated with scenes of mourning and symposion. One difference is that Saugenes finds himself in battle environment. His spear is broken and there are stone missiles around him (Schachter 2016, 200–202).

The laurel wreath around a pilos and a scene with Bellerophon are similarities shared also by other stelai of this kind. The stele of Athanias² (Grossman 2001, 101–103), which is dated around 400 BC and thus differs slightly from the others, has the shield decorated with Bellerophon as well. And Billei and Pherenikos

have both their pilos decorated with laurel wreaths. These adornments caused Daumas (Daumas 1998, 195–200) to suggest that the fallen warriors could have been Kabiroi initiates. The cult's rituals are still largely a mystery to us, however, from the archaeological material it seems that it was of a chthonic nature and the figures of a man, the Kabeiros, and a boy, the Pais, were important. We also know that a shrine stood close to Thebes and a road to Thespieae, and that it was gaining prominence in the fifth century (Demand 2014, 64–65). On the other hand, Schachter believes that the sanctuary was still too small at that time, and thus a connection with our stelai is improbable. He proposes that the laurel wreath may have been a Spartan influence instead, because in art, they were worn by Spartans fallen in battle (Schachter 2016, 201). One more possibility is that the wreaths could indicate that as children, the men served at the sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios, also a Theban cult (Grossman 2001, 101; Keramopoulos 1920, 3–4). Pausanias tells us that during the ritual proceedings, a boy from a noble family was appointed as a priest for one year, and as such, he wore a laurel wreath (Demand 2014, 59–60).

Considering the depiction of the myth of Bellerophon and Chimaira, Hesiod describes that Chimaira was the mother of the Sphinx, the enemy of Kadmeians (Schachter 2016, 201–202), thus making this an interesting choice for a decoration on a shield. Also, what may or may not relate to the choice of this myth as a decoration, but it is interesting enough to mention, is the situation of this myth in Attica. It was popular in the Archaic period but then quickly lost favour by the end of the fifth century and have not been depicted in art since then (Grossman 2001, 101).

Other than the black limestone stelai, we have few more examples of stelai with warriors. One of them is a horseman from



Fig. 5. Grave stele of Mnason. Thebes museum, inv. no. 54. A rushing warrior (after Aravantinos 2010)

Obr. 5. Mnasonova stéla. Muzeum v Thébách, inv. č. 54. Spěchající válečník (podle Aravantinos 2010)

Thespieae, which dates to the late fifth or early fourth century. Only the upper part of the stele remains but we can see that the man stands in front view, holding reins with his left hand and his sword with the right (Aravantinos 2010, 273). One more stele from Thespieae shows a warrior wearing a petasos and holding a sword and a sheath, while being followed by a dog (Shild-Xenidou 2008, no. 30; Oikonomou 2023, 31). One striding warrior comes from Thebes, wearing a tunic and a pilos on his head (Oikonomou 2023, 27).

Lastly, as is mentioned above, the black limestone stelai come mainly from the areas of Thebes and Tanagra, and none is from Thespieae – from where we have marble stelai of youths and women and one featuring a warrior. From Thespieae also come casualty lists connected to the Battle of Delion, which were found in Tanagra as well, but not in Thebes (Schroder 2020, 226; Oikonomou 2023, 35). It was supposed that the reason for this is that Thespieae suffered such significant losses of troops in the battle that they decided to commemorate the fallen

with a common monument (*Shachter 2016, 199*). However, there was a common monument in Tanagra as well, and we still have private stelai from the area. Either way, the main reason probably lies within the opportunity for Thebes and Tanagra to commemorate a victory over Athens as their longstanding opponent, through the commemoration of their dead (*Oikonomou 2023, 36*).

Regarding the quantity of stelai collected from Boeotia, the total number was 24, where 8 stelai show warrior figures and 16 are without them. Most of the stelai with warriors belong to the black limestone group, while the rest are individual finds. Here, the division of percentage is a bit different than in Attica, and the warriors make up a third of the total number of stelai (Graph 2). As we could see above, they are mostly shown as solitary warriors, and are not depicted with other figures, whether it be a friend or foe – the image of a victorious warrior is not used here (Tab. 2). The preference of single figures on funerary stelai in Boeotia extends beyond representing warriors and concerns also other images of adults, and therefore it is not surprising that warriors also follow this style of depiction.

Macedonia and Thessaly

The production of stelai was underway throughout the whole fifth century in Macedonia and Thessaly as well. In the former, lone figures and families were a usual theme on stelai. The depictions of men were often connected to warfare, and therefore their images frequently carry attributes of soldiers and riders. In places such as Potidaea or Amphipolis, where the Athenian and other southern Greek influence was stronger, the attributes were slightly different, and men were depicted more as citizens. Women were usually depicted together, with

himation drawn over their heads, and children and younger figures were accompanied by birds, pets, and toys as a sign of their premature death (*Douitsi 2017, 11; Kalaitzi 2016, 27*).

The images of warriors on stelai appear throughout the century and continued in various media even after that, possibly expressing values important to the Macedonians. Considering the stelai, we have two interesting warriors – one from Pella and one from Aigai/Vergina (*Paspalas 2011, 183*). The latter one is dated between 430 and 420 BC. It is a slender slab with a triangular crowning and a relief of a man in a three-quarter view. He wears a chiton and a simple cloak, behind which we can see a sheath for a sword. On his head he wears a petasos. In his right hand, he holds vertically two spears, while resting their ends on the ground. With his left hand, he holds a bird, which he brings closer to his chest. His drapery is broadly rendered, and can be reminiscent of works from Paros (*Douitsi 2017, 37–38; Kalaitzi 2016, 23*). The other stele, from Pella, shows the warrior naked, save for a pilos and a cloak around his shoulder. Both works show simultaneously the influence of Attica and Islands as well (*Paspalas 2011, 183*). The traits ascribed to Ionian tradition are frequent among stelai in the fifth and fourth centuries, and as the fourth century was nearing its end, the influence of Attic production became more prominent (*Paspalas 2011, 183*).

In Thessaly, the production was at first influenced by the Islands as well, which showed itself in the palmette finials. After the start of the new Attic series by the end of the fifth century, the Thessalian production sourced its inspiration from it, however, it still remained true to the local tradition in compositions and attributes. The themes are also in favour of solitary figures, families and children, usually rendered more linearly and decoratively than their Attic counterparts (*Bordman – Kurz 1971, 230–235*).

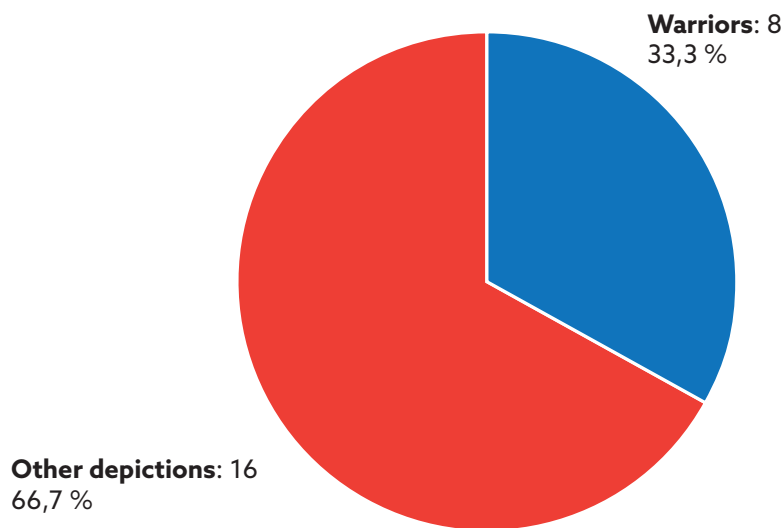


Chart 2. Percentage division of stelai with and without warriors in Boeotia

Graf 2. Procentuální rozdělení stél s válečníky a bez nich v Boiótii

Warriors		
Stance	Calmly standing	3
	Calm with another person	0
	In motion alone	5
	Attacking somebody	0
Total		8

Tab. 2. Number of stelai with warriors in Boeotia

Tab. 2. Počet stél s válečníky v Boiótii

An example of a unique scene comes from Rodia Tyrnavou and shows a woman breastfeeding her child while sitting on a chair, with a stool under her feet (*Bosnakis 2013*, pl. 15).

Considering figures with some warrior attributes, we have a few from the fifth century. One stele, found in Larisa, features a man with the name Ekkedamos (Fig. 6). He stands in a three-quarter view to the right, wears a chlamys fastened on his right shoulder. In his left

hand, he grasps two spears and rests their ends on the ground. On his right hand sits a cockerel and he brings it closer to his chest. The pediment is tall and slightly curved (*Kaltsas 2002*, no. 174).

Overall, the warriors on stelai in these regions have probably more to do with local traditions of depicting the dead and with local conflicts than with the continuing Peloponnesian War.



Fig. 6. Stele of Ekkedamos. NAMA, inv. no. 734. A standing man with two spears (photo K. Flanderková)

Obr. 6. Ekkedamova stéla. NAMA, inv. č. 734. Stojící muž se dvěma kopími (foto K. Flanderková)

Peloponnese

In the Peloponnese, examples of grave markers have been very scarce since the Geometric period and not much has changed until the middle of the Hellenistic period – at that time, grave monuments started appearing in greater numbers (Christesen 2018, 42–46). Although there are some differences between the regions, most of the peninsula holds true to that development.

Corinth offers some examples of slightly decorated inscribed monuments. Typical here are the trapeze grave monuments, usually made of poros, which were originally thought to be sarcophagus lids. Milis recognised one inscribed specimen made of marble, and therefore others might be of this type as well (Milis 2007, 359–364). There is one example of a stele with a victorious warrior, Alkias from Phokis (Fig. 7), which was made by a local workshop and is now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (Loewy 1886, Taf. 5; NAMA 751). The stele is dated to the late fifth century.

In Argos, we can find stelai with inscriptions first appearing in the Classical era, but in not very significant numbers (Christesen 2018, 42).

The numbers are even lower in Sparta, and the inscribed funerary monuments or engraved stelai there are almost completely absent since the Archaic period. The most common grave markers in the Peloponnese at that time, although still rare, were lions and then sphinxes, while the latter were more common in Corinth. They were probably placed upon graves of warriors, and later in the Classical period this tradition spread, and lions were erected upon cenotaphs and collective graves elsewhere. Other grave markers in the Peloponnese, considering the Archaic and later periods, are very scarce and found outside of Laconia (Kokkorou-Alevras 2010, 271–275).

The overall lack of inscriptions in Sparta could be related to Xenophon and Plutarch,

both mentioning that Lykourgos, when passing laws for burial practices, allowed inscribing the name of the deceased only for those who had fallen in battle (Pavlidis 2010, 554; *Plut. Lyc.* 27; *Xen. Lac. Pol.* 18). There are approximately twenty-four stelai of this kind, which provide us with very short and severe inscriptions, stating only the individual's name and that they died in war. The tradition was very enduring and throughout the middle of the fifth century up to the first century BC, from which we have the examples, changed very little despite changing politics and cultural circumstances. They were also found in many places in Laconia, such as Pellana, Kefala and others, but only one was discovered outside its border, in Tegea (Low 2006, 86–91).

Overall, the grave markers were more variable and also more numerous in Corinthia, Argolid, and in general, the northern Peloponnese. In the rest of the Peloponnese the tradition of putting up grave markers seems less vital. During the Archaic period, Sparta possibly underwent a change into a strict community, developing a collective consciousness. The individual was merited by its contribution to the city, which can be seen in the Lykourgan laws and the rare warrior stelai, stressing the fact that they died in battle for the city instead of focusing on their individual identity (Pavlidis 2010, 554). At the same time, however, the stelai could be a personal demonstration of one's relationship to the community and contribution (Low 2006, 91). Kokkorou-Alevras also argues for a "Peloponnesian Ideal" as a possible explanation for the similar temperate attitude towards funerary monuments on the peninsula. The Laconian approach towards grave markers might have influenced the rest of the Peloponnese, while the slight difference in Corinth and Argos might have been caused by them being influenced by Attica. Simultaneously, Corinth had



Fig. 7. Stele of Alkias from Phokis. NAMA, inv. no. 751. A victorious warrior (photo K. Flanderková)

Obr. 7. Stéla Alkia z Fókidy. NAMA, inv. č. 751. Vítězný válečník (foto K. Flanderková)

a vast web of trade links, through which the influence could arrive, as Argos was a centre of economic and political power (*Kokkorou-Alevras 2010*, 281).

4. Conclusion

The Greek world between the years 450 and 370 BC underwent several stages of development and different parts of it lived through different phases. After years of growing tension between Athens and Sparta, the Greek cities were thrown into chaos and forced to pick a side in the bloody conflict. The violence of war was accompanied by civil wars, plague in Athens and its tragic expedition to Sicily – all of these resulting in a shift in a mood in the society. We mentioned the adoption of new cults in Athens and the search for new possibilities, combined with simultaneous willingness to risk nothing in the face of the old gods. Death was becoming closer every day, and it did not end with the Peloponnesian War – the Corinthian War followed soon after not very long peace.

With the start of the Peloponnesian War, the new production of stelai in Athens also appeared – the first figured tombstones are dated to around 430 BC. The warriors appear with only a few years delay, and, together with other depictions, continue on. Considering that the production and war started at the same time, together also with the first outbreak of the plague, it is entirely possible that the increased number of dead encouraged the new stelai production (*Goette 2009*, 196).

Considering the depictions of warriors, they seem to have gone one of two ways; either they adhered to the virtues promoted as “Athenian”, as was vigour and decisiveness, or followed the route of calm imagery. In this way, they were incorporated into the traditional compositions

with other figures and became another option for depicting a worthy citizen. If we take into the account the role of funerary stelai in Attica which we mentioned earlier, that is its importance for the living and life in the polis, it seems to correspond with this function. Athens favoured depicting the warriors with other people more than showing the warriors alone, and in the case of calm imagery, it was oftentimes with other family members. In this manner, the stelai showed a citizen as a warrior, and also conveyed his other roles in the polis through the depicted relations.

We know of several cases, where the deceased did in fact fall in war, however, the chosen depiction did not align with their function in the war – as was the case with the navy – Lykeas or Menon from Porto Rapti. This was probably due to the favoured iconography of the hoplite, which, as was suggested, possibly originated from public burials.

Athens was at the centre of the war, especially in the Deceleian phase – its countryside plundered right before the citizens’ eyes. Therefore, it is no surprise that the war was omnipresent in their lives and its effects ubiquitous. In Boeotia, the reaction to the war through private stelai was different, more thing of an opportunity – the opportunity being the large event of the Battle of Delion and its commemoration by the black limestone stelai. The other examples also focus on the time period between 400 and 390 BC, bound to the events of the Peloponnesian and then the Corinthian War. The images of warriors are limited to solitary figures, which are in the tradition of other Boeotian depictions.

The other regions included, i.e. Thessaly, Macedonia and Peloponnesian peninsula, were commemorating the fallen during the wars in their own ways and traditions. The Peloponnesian peninsula was steeped deep into the Pello-

ponnesian ideal of severe commemoration, with few exceptions in centres more open to foreign influences, as was Corinth. The first two mentioned, were also following their lo-

cal traditions and values, and then were influenced by Attic depictions only by the end of the century.

- 1) The secondary literature dealing with the Peloponnesian War is extensive: *Gomme 1966; Kagan 2004; Will 2019; Orrioux – Pantel 2004*; the author of this paper drew primarily from: *Habaj – Nývlt 2022*.
- 2) This stela was not found in situ and was repatriated from abroad.

Bibliography

- Aravantinos, V. 2010*: The Archaeological Museum of Thebes, series The Museums Cycle. Athens.
- Arrington, N. T. 2010*: Between Victory and Defeat: Framing the Fallen Warrior in Fifth-Century Athenian Art. PhD Thesis. Berkeley.
- Arrington, N. T. 2015*: Ashes, images, and memories: the presence of the war dead in fifth-century Athens. Oxford.
- Bergemann, J. 1997*: Demos und Thanatos. Untersuchungen zum Wertsystem der Polis im Spiegel der attischen Grabreliefs des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und zur Funktion der gleichzeitigen Grabbauten. München.
- Boardman, J. – Kurz, D. C. 1971*: Greek Burial Customs. London.
- Boardman, J. 1995*: Greek Sculpture: The Late Classical Period. London.
- Bosnakis, D. 2013*: Becoming Thessalian. Style and Ideology of the Thessalian Grave Reliefs, 5th and 4th centuries BC. Volos.
- Brueckner, A. 1886*: Ornament und Form der attischen Grabstelen. Strassburg.
- Clairmont, C. V. 1993*: Classical Attic Tombstones. Kilchberg.
- Christesen, P. 2018*: The typology and topography of spartan burials from the proto-geometric to the Hellenistic period: rethinking Spartan exceptionalism and the ostensible cessation of adult intramural burials in the Greek world. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 113, 307–363.
- Daumas, M. 1998*: Cabiriaca: recherches sur l'iconographie du culte des Cabires. Paris.
- Demand, N. 2014*: Thebes in the Fifth Century, series Routledge Revivals. New York.
- Douitsi, A. 2017*: Funeral Monuments in Macedonia during the Archaic and Classical Periods. Master Thesis. Thessaloniki.
- Goette, H. R. 2009*: Images in the Demosion Sema. In: O. Palagia (ed.): *Art in Athens During the Peloponnesian War*. Cambridge – New York, 188–206.
- Gomme, A. W. 1966*: A historical commentary on Thucydides. Oxford.
- Grossman, J. B. 2001*: Greek funerary sculpture: Catalogue of the collections at the Getty villa. Los Angeles.
- Habaj, M. – Nývlt, P. 2022*: Válka o Řecko: Spartaňané Proti Athéňanům. Praha.
- Hurwit, J. M. 2007*: The Problem with Dexileos: Heroic and Other Nudities in Greek Art, *American Journal of Archaeology* 111/1, 35–60.
- Kagan, D. 2004*: The Peloponnesian War. New York.
- Kalaitzi, M. 2016*: Figured tombstones from Macedonia, fifth-first century B.C. Oxford.
- Kaltsas, N. 2002*: Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Los Angeles.
- Keramopoulos, A. D. 1920*: Eikones polemiston tes en Dilioi maches (424 p. Ch.). *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1920, 1–36.
- Kokkorou-Alevras, G. 2010*: Funerary statuary of the Archaic period in the Peloponnese. In: Cavanagh, H. – Cavanagh, W. – Roy, J. (eds.): *Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese*. Nottingham, 269–288.

- Low, P. 2003:* Remembering war in fifth-century Greece: Ideologies, societies, and commemoration beyond democratic Athens. *World Archaeology* 35/1, 98–111.
- Low, P. – Christien, J. – Ducat, J. – Figueira, T. J. – Humble, N. – Lupi, M. – Millender, E. – Ruzé, F. 2006:* Commemorating the Spartan War-dead. In: Powell, A. et al. (eds.): *Sparta and War*, Hodkinson. Swansea, 85–110.
- Loewy, E. 1886:* Grabrelief aus Korinth. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Athens* 11, 150–161.
- Millis, B. W. 2007:* An Inscribed Funerary Monument from Corinth. *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 76/2, 359–364.
- Neer, R. T. 2013:* The emergence of the classical style in Greek sculpture. Chicago, Illinois.
- Oikonomou, S. 2023:* Boeotian Monuments for the Fallen Warriors. *Ariadne* 28, 17–39.
- Orrioux, C. – Pantel, P. S. 2004:* *Histoire grecque*. Paris.
- Paspalas, S. A. 2011:* Classical art. In: Lane Fox, R. J. (ed.): *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in The Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC – 300 AD*. Leiden – Boston, 179–207.
- Pavlidis, N. 2010:* Worshipping heroes: Civic identity and the veneration of the communal dead in Archaic Sparta. In: Cavanagh, H. – Cavanagh, W. – Roy, J. (eds.): *Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese*. Nottingham, 552–576.
- Ridgway, B. S. 1981:* *Fifth century styles in Greek Sculpture*. Princeton.
- Rubel, A. 2014:* Fear and loathing in ancient Athens: religion and politics during the Peloponnesian War. Durham.
- Schachter, A. 2016:* *Boiotia in antiquity: Selected papers*. Cambridge.
- Schild-Xenidou, W. 2008:* *Corpus der boiotischen Grab- und Weihreliefs des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts*. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung 20. Mainz am Rhein.
- Sideris, A. 2015:* Theseus in Thrace: The Silver Lining on the Clouds of the Athenian-Thracian Relations in the 5th Century BC. Sofia.
- Sideris, A. 2021:* *Metal vases & Utensils in the Vassil Bojkov Collection*, vol. 2. Sofia.
- Schröder, J. 2020:* *Die Polis als Sieger: Kriegsdenkmäler im archaischklassischen Griechenland*. Klio. Beihefte, Neue Folge, Band 32. Berlin – Boston.
- Shapiro, H. A. 1991:* The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art. *American Journal of Archaeology* 95/4, 629–656.
- Stupperich, R. 1994:* The Iconography of Athenian State Burials in the Classical Period. In: W. D. E. Coulston (ed.): *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the democracy*. International Conference celebrating 2500 years since the birth of the democracy in Greece. Oxbow monograph 37. Oxford, 93–104.
- Thucydides 1910:* *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Crawley, R. (trans.). London.
- Tritle, L. A. 2004:* *The Peloponnesian War*. Westport. Connecticut.
- Van Effenterre, H. 1989:* *Les Béotiens: aux frontières de l'Athènes antique*. Paris.
- Will, W. 2019:* *Athen oder Sparta: Die Geschichte des Peloponnesischen Krieges*. München.

Abbreviations

- NAMA – National Archaeological Museum, Athens
 Plut. Lyc. – Plutarch, *Lycurgus*
 Thuc. – Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*
 Xen. – Xenophon, *Hellenica*
 Xen Lac. – Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*

Odraz peloponéské a korintské války na náhrobních stélách

Období druhé poloviny pátého století a začátku století čtvrtého v antickém Řecku v sobě zahrnuje roky relativního klidu, následované dekadami válečných událostí a nemnoha mírových let. Článek kombinuje toto historické pozadí se studiem náhrobních stél a zaměřuje se především na zobrazení válečníků ve vztahu k tomuto dění. Časově se omezuje na časové rozpětí 450–370 BC, aby bylo možné zahrnout období jak před peloponéskou válkou, tak i dobu po válce korintské. Co se týče geografického zaměření, článek se věnuje především oblastem Atiky a Boiótie, které se válek přímo účastnily a zároveň disponují množstvím nálezů náhrobních stél. Jako druhotné regiony jsou zařazeny Makedonie, Thesálie a Peloponés. Jako základ pro stylovou a kvantitativní analýzu byl vybrán reprezentativní vzorek 191 stél tak, aby zahrnoval příklady ze všech zmíněných oblastí. Přednost měly především stély s figurálním reliéfem; ty byly poté rozříděny do dvou hlavních kategorií – podle toho, jestli zahrnovaly postavu válečníka, anebo ne.

První část článku se věnuje některým historickým událostem v uvedeném období, reakcím společnosti na ně a jejich dopadu na některé jiné oblasti umění. V Aténách konkrétně docházelo tehdy k mnoha změnám, kdy polis přešla od období prosperity k dekadám sužovaným válkou, nálezou a několikrát i vlastními vnitřními konflikty. Snahu zlepšit podmínky obyvatel můžeme vidět například v prvních letech po nákaze, kdy se Athény uchýlily k přijetí nových kultů božstev, jako byla thrácká Bendis a bůh lékařství Asklépios. Své vypovídají také zlomky reliéfů, které zdobily seznamy padlých vojáků v bitvách peloponéské a korintské války. Zdůrazňují návaznost a kontinuitu bojů, a tím redukuje velké prohry (jakou byla například bitva u Délia) na jednu událost z mnoha.

Na tomto historickém pozadí je tedy vystavěna druhá část článku, která se věnuje jednotlivým jmenovaným oblastem a předkládá příklady individuálních stél v těchto regionech. Největší rozmanitost vidíme v Aténách, kde umělci zobrazení válečníků rychle zakomponovali do ostatních variací a kombinovali je s ostatními figurami. Kolem roku 430 př. n. l., na

samém začátku peloponéské války, se v Athénách po několikaleté pauze objevuje nová produkce reliéfních stél, která postupně nabírá na kvantitě a pokračuje až do čtvrtého století. Proto v letech před peloponéskou válkou nemáme z tohoto regionu téměř žádné jiné příklady. Ty ovšem máme z Boiótie, která žádnou pauzu ve výrobě stél nezaznamenala. I tady se ovšem první bojovníci na stélách objevují po přestávce až s nástupem války a pojí se především s bitvou u Délia, která znamenala velkou výhru pro Boiótií. Tito dva sousedí měli za sebou několik dekad ochlazení vztahů, jelikož Boiótie byla deset let pod vlivem Atiky. Bitva u Délia tak byla skvělou příležitostí odvděčit se starému rivalovi. S touto výhrou byla spojena skupina náhrobních stél rytých do černého vápence, která se našla v okolí Théb a Tanagry. Stély zobrazují solitérní válečníky, přičemž někteří z nich sdílejí atributy, jako je zobrazení mytu o Bellerofonovi a Chiméře na štítech. Ať už jde o stély z této skupiny anebo další ojedinělé nálezy, boiótsí válečníci jsou zobrazováni především osamotě, bez další osoby, ať už by to byl protivník či spoluobčan, na rozdíl od atických stél, kde často nacházíme zobrazení válečníků s dalšími osobami.

Nálezy z Makedonie a Thesálie poukazují spíše na vlastní tradice a lokální spory, zatímco situace na Peloponésu je v tomto ohledu ještě trochu odlišná – reliéfně zdobené náhrobní stély se v tomto období téměř nevyskytují, což je pravděpodobně dáno rozšířeným „peloponéským ideálem“.

Válka se tedy promítla do náhrobních stél v jednotlivých regionech v souvislosti s tím, jak ji tamní obyvatelé válku prožívali a co pro ně znamenala. Pro Athénany byla válka všudypřítomná a po mnohá desetiletí ovlivňovala životy lidí – znázornění bojovníků tedy, stejně jako jiná vyobrazení na atických stélách, měla význam i pro v té době žijící obyvatele a plnila funkci příkladu správného pojetí života občana. V Boiótií se mnoho náhrobních stél vztahuje především ke specifické události, tedy k bitvě u Délia. Vliv války na náhrobní stély zde měl tedy konkrétnější charakter.

Mgr. Kristýna Flanderková

- Ústav archeologie a muzeologie, odd. klasické archeologie,
Filozofická fakulta, Masarykova univerzita
Arna Nováka 1/1, 602 00 Brno
e-mail: kflanderkova@seznam.cz
-



Toto dílo lze užít v souladu s licenčními podmínkami Creative Commons BY-SA 4.0 International (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/legalcode>). Uvedené se nevztahuje na díla či prvky (např. obrazovou či fotografickou dokumentaci), které jsou v díle užity na základě smluvní licence nebo výjimky či omezení příslušných práv.