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A Trophy from the Battle of Chaironeia of 86 B.C.

JOHN CAMP, MICHAEL IERARDI, JEREMY McINNERNEY, KATHRYN MORGAN, AND GRETCHE M. UMHOLTZ

Abstract

In this paper we report the discovery of the remains of a trophy commemorating the victory of the Roman general Sulla over the forces of Mithradates VI near Chaironeia in 86 B.C. These remains include an inscribed rectangular base with a thick torus molding and part of a smooth tapering shaft, all in whitish-gray marble. The inscription on the base corresponds closely to an inscription quoted by Plutarch and allows the monument to be securely identified as one of the two trophies set up by Sulla after the battle.

The hilltop on which the trophy was found was ringed by a crude rubble fortification wall, probably built by the Pontic troops stationed there before the battle. Based on the findspot of the trophy and fortification wall, we specify the location of Plutarch’s Mount Thourion and propose a new candidate for the river Morios, thereby refining the topography of the battle of 86 B.C. We also report the discovery of an apparently unpublished site, which we consider to be the likeliest suggested thus far for the temple of Apollo Thourios.*

In 86 B.C. after his successful siege of Athens and the Peiraeus, the Roman general Sulla moved northward into Boiotia to confront Archelaos, general of Mithradates’ forces in Greece. A decisive engagement was fought near the town of Chaironeia in the broad Kephisos valley (fig. 1), where some 250 years earlier Philip of Macedon had broken the power of the independent Greek cities. This earlier battle has left two prominent remains in the plain: the burial mound of the Macedonians who fell, and the polyandron usually identified as that of the Theban Sacred Band, marked by the great marble lion. Until now, no remains of the battle of 86 B.C. have been recognized.

Sulla’s campaign is described in detail by Plutarch, a native of Chaironeia. Two citizens of the city, Homoloichos and Anaxidamos, volunteered to dislodge a contingent of Archelaos’s army that was stationed in a strategic position on Mount Thourion, a hill near Chaironeia. The successful routing of these troops proved an important element in Sulla’s victory and the achievement was properly recognized by the general. According to Plutarch, after the victory Sulla inscribed upon his trophies the names of Ares, Nike, and Aphrodite because he had brought the war to a successful conclusion no less by good fortune than by shrewdness and strength. Now the trophy of the battle in the plain stands where the forces of Archelaos extending as far as the stream Molos first gave way, but there is another placed on the top of Thourion to commemorate the encirclement of the barbarians, which signifies in Greek letters that Homoloichos and Anaxidamos were the heroes.²

Pausanias also refers to the trophies celebrating this victory: “The Chaironeians have two trophies in their territory, which the Romans and Sulla set up after they had conquered Taxilos and Mithradates’ army.”³ It is a pleasure to be able to report the discovery of the remains of the second trophy, set up on Mount Thourion to commemorate Sulla’s victory at Chaironeia (figs. 2–5).

* We would like to thank A. Andreiomenou of the Thebes Ephoria for her support and permission to publish our find. We would also like to thank L.A. Turner for her help with the preparation of the drawings, and M.J. Price of the British Museum for his help with the photographs of the coins. Earlier drafts of this manuscript were improved by helpful criticism from A.L. Boegehold, R.S. Stroud, R.M. Kallet-Marx, and the two anonymous A JA reviewers.

¹ We read μέχρι παρά τον Μόλον with N.G.L. Hammond, “The Two Battles of Chaeronea (338 B.C. and 86 B.C.)," Klio 31 (1938) 195 n. 2, and accept his interpretation of the Greek there.

² Plut. Sull. 19.9–10 (citations from Plutarch’s Lives are made according to the Teubner texts of K. Ziegler [Leipzig 1969–1973], translations are our own). Homoloïchos and Anaxidamos are referred to as ἀριστεῖς. The aristēon as an award for outstanding performance in battle is well attested in the Classical period and may have continued much longer. According to W.K. Pritchett, The Greek State at War Pt. 2 (Berkeley 1974) 286, “aristeia were awarded after battles over a period of several centuries, although the examples are few and scattered.” In the Classical period the award of the aristēia may have conferred the right to erect a trophy (284, n. 31). In the present passage we should perhaps understand the term ἀριστεῖς in a technical sense and consider the honor of being prominently named on the trophy a part of the aristēia received by the two Chaironeians.

³ Paus. 9.40.7.
THE TROPHY

The trophy was found on 17 February 1990 on Isoma hill, which rises to a height of 224 m some 1500 m west of Chaironeia on the south side of the plain (fig. 1). The several related fragments were found in a crude late rubble construction just below the crest of the hill. The principal fragment of the trophy is an inscribed rectangular base of a poor whitish-gray marble, weathered gray. The block is fully preserved across the front and broken unevenly at the back so that slightly less than half survives: length 0.85 m, maximum preserved depth 0.55 m, height 0.32 m (0.392 m with torus). The bottom edge of the block is carved with a decorative double rebate (ht. 0.075 m), which is carried on all three preserved faces. In the top of the block is a circular cutting 0.035 m deep, with a diameter calculated at ca. 0.42 m (fig. 3). Around this cutting runs a raised rim ca. 0.115 m wide, broken off at the top. Two joining fragments show that this rim is all that remains of a torus molding 0.072 m high and 0.14 m wide, surrounding the central cutting and carved from the same piece of marble as the rest of the base. The diameter of the cutting is closely matched by a fragment of unfluted column shaft of similar material that was found nearby (dia. 0.40 m). The shaft as preserved includes one finished end with a round dowel hole 0.03 m in diameter at its center; as there is no answering cutting in the base, this fragment apparently comes from the top of the column that originally stood in the circular cutting. The placement of the circular cutting in the base, equidistant from the front and sides, would seem to indicate that the base was originally square, measuring 0.85 m on a side. This is further suggested by the underside of the block, where the single preserved dowel hole (0.04 × 0.04 × 0.05 m deep, and set 0.12 m from the left edge) lies 0.425 m from the front face, that is, at the midpoint of the restored depth of 0.85 m (fig. 4).

Across the front of the base runs the inscription that allows the monument to be identified as the trophy were recovered; this work was done under the supervision of B. Aravanitos. G. Sahas, president of the village of Chaironeia, arranged for the transfer of the base to the Chaironeia museum.

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4 Τουμα on the Hellenic Army Geographic Service map of the Elateia quadrant, 1:50,000 scale.
5 In November of 1990 the Ephoreia undertook the clearing of the pile of rubble, but no further fragments of
trophy set up by Sulla (fig. 5). Three lines of text are preserved, the top two neatly carved in letters 0.027–0.045 m high with pronounced serifs. The third line is less carefully inscribed with letters 0.035–0.05 m high. The vertical space between each line is approximately 0.01 m. The width of the letter-spaces center to center varies not only from line to line, but also within each line. At the end of line 1 the letters become more crowded; in line 2 the letters are so crowded at the beginning of the line that, even though they are more generously spaced at the end, the 11 letters of line 2 take up appreciably less space than the nine letters of line 1. This irregularity indicates that the layout of the text was not carefully planned before the inscription was cut.

The text reads:

"Ὅμολόχος
Γαναξίδαμος
ἀντιτίτης"

All the letters of line 1 are legible. The spelling of the name Homoloichos with omega is standard in inscriptions, and in some of the manuscripts of Plutarch. The name is fairly common in Boiotia; in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, it appears frequently in military catalogues and lists of religious associations. Men of this name are attested at Orchomenos, Koroneia, Thespiai, Anthedon, the Ptoion, Thebes, Tanagra, and Oropos, as well as Chaironeia. From

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6. The first five letter-spaces of line 1 average 0.10 m center to center, while the last four average 0.085 m. In line 2, the first five letter-spaces average 0.06 m and the last five average 0.07 m. Wider spacing at the end seems to have occurred in line 3 as well: the first letter-space is 0.085 m, but the last two are 0.095 m each.

7. Inscriptions: Homoloichos spelled with an omicron appears exceptionally (IG VII 3349 Ὑμολοχός, in the Chaironeia museum). Manuscripts: Sangermanensis (Coislinianus) 319 preserves the name with omega, the Laurentianus 69.6 reads omicron.

Fig. 3. Top view of the trophy base, showing circular cutting and traces of torus molding

Fig. 4. Underside of the base, showing dowel hole

Fig. 5. Inscribed face of the trophy base
Chaironeia there are at least four inscriptions preserving the name: an account of the naopoioi dating to the late first/early second century A.C., nine manumissions of the late third/early second century B.C., and a fragment that mentions a Homolochoi, son of Alexon, perhaps in connection with an unspecified tenemos. In line 2, parts of all but the fifth letter (restored as xi) are legible. The vertical and upper horizontal strokes of the digamma seem clear, the lower horizontal less so. At Chaironeia the name Anaxidamos is spelled both with and without initial digamma. At least three Chaironeians bore the name. An Anaxidamos son of Xenon appears on a list of proxenoi and theoerdokoi of ca. 225 B.C. at Epidaurus, an Anaxidamos son of Kallikrates is recorded as a witness in a manumission decree from Chaironeia, and a third Anaxidamos served as archon of the city.

The restoration of line 3 depends on Plutarch’s text: Ὠμολοίχον καὶ Ἀναξίδαμον Ἀμαστεῖς (Sull. 19.10; and n. 2 above). The sloping hastas of the alpha are visible, as is all of the rho. After space for two more letters (now illegible), the tau, iota, and final sigma are all clear. The sigma is disproportionately large and of a different form than those in lines 1 and 2, and all the letters of line 3 are cut with somewhat thinner strokes than those of the first two lines. In addition the line is uneven, with the initial alpha and rho set somewhat lower than the tau, iota, and sigma at the end of the line. These differences may indicate that the inscription was carved when the stone was already in place and the lowest line, because of its position, was more difficult to cut. The double rebate running along the bottom edge of the block certainly suggests that it sat on a step or plinth, which would create an obstacle for the stonecutter if the monument had been erected before the inscription was carved. Alternatively, the unevenness of the third line may show that it was added by a different hand, presumably at some later date. The spelling Ἀμαστεῖς for Ἀμαστεῖς can probably be accounted for by the early and widespread iotacism in Boiotia.

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9 D. Knoepfler, “Un compte des naopes béotiens,” *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque* (Neuchâtel 1988) 263–94, esp. 266 lines 3–4. The date of this inscription is problematic, but the use of the symbol Ξ for denarius strongly suggests a date under Trajan or Hadrian (286).

10 IG VII 3376, line 19, and J. Fossey and P. Roesch, “Neuf actes d’affranchissement de Chéronée,” *ZPE* 29 (1978) 125, no. 3 line 2. Other possible occurrences of the name include IG VII 3295 Όμολοχος, 3452 Ἱοχίχος, and less probably 3298 Ἄμολοχος.

11 IG VII 3415, line 2. The text has been restored as ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ τεμένους. The diversity of cult activity (at least 10 gods and one spear were worshipped at Chaironeia) makes it impossible to associate Homolochoi with a specific tenemos. For attested cults of Chaironeia see A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* (BICS Suppl. 38.1, London 1981) passim.

12 With initial digamma: Fossey and Roesch (supra n. 10) 124, no. 2 line 1. Without initial digamma: IG VII 3537, line 4.

13 Epidaurus: SEG XI (1954) 414, lines 31–32; Chaironeia: IG VII 3537, line 4; archon: Fossey and Roesch (supra n. 10) 124, no. 2 line 1. Outside of Chaironeia there is only one other attested Anaxidamos in Boiotia: IG VII 347, from Oropos.

14 C.D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago 1955) 31: ‘The change in pronunciation, which takes place everywhere at a late period, occurred very early in Boeotian, and here showed itself in the spelling, which in the fifth century varies between ει, ω, and ι, but later is regularly ι.’ See also A. Thumb and A. Scherer, *Griechische Dialekte* 2 (Heidelberg 1959) 22. According to L. Sadee, *De Boiotiae titulorum dialecto* (Halle 1903) 100, however, this declension preserves the ι of the stem throughout the inflection, so that one would rather expect the termination -είς. The possibility of a mistake by the stonemason cannot be ruled out.
Two passages from Plutarch give us further information concerning the inscription on the trophy base. In the first, *Sull.* 19.9, quoted above, we are told that Sulla inscribed the names of the deities Ares, Nike, and Aphrodite on his Chaironeia trophies. The second, *Mor.* 318D, refers to Sulla’s good fortune: “In Latin he was called Felix, but for the Greeks he used to write his name thus: Loukios Kornelios Syllas Epaphroditos. And the trophies in my hometown of Chaironeia with reference to the Mithradatic wars are so inscribed.” The block as it survives carries neither this reference to Sulla himself nor any to Ares, Nike, and Aphrodite. It is possible that the missing back half of the block carried the remainder of the inscription. It is more likely, however, that the additional names were carved on a lower block, now missing.

The base and related fragments can be used to restore a trophy with an unfluted marble column and a torus base. Traditionally the Greek *tropaiou* erected on the battlefield consisted of a rough wooden shaft (or tree trunk) firmly fixed in the ground, with a panoply from the defeated enemy mounted on it. More permanent monuments, also referred to as *tropaios* by ancient authors, were sometimes erected later, either on the battlefield or in a sanctuary or the victor’s home city. These permanent monuments, usually of stone and/or bronze, varied widely in form, but generally used some kind of architectural setting to give greater prominence to a sculpted panoply, Nike, or

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15 Trophies were always, either explicitly or implicitly, dedicated to the gods of war: to Ζεύς *Tropaios, Zeus Tropaionouchos*, or whatever other gods were deemed to deserve special credit for the victory. It is only Sulla’s particular choice of divinities that is unusual here. For a discussion of the triad, see C.C. Picard, *Les trophées romains* (BEFR 187, Paris 1957) 175–78.

16 καὶ Ἐρμοιώτηι μὲν Φιλίας ἄνωμαζετο, τοῖς δὲ Ἐλλησὶ οὖτως ἔγραφε “Ἀλύσιος Κορηήλος Σύλλας Ἐπαφρόδυτος,” καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐν Χαιρονείᾳ τρόπαια κατὰ τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν οὕτως ἐπιγράφαται. Compare *Sull.* 34.4: αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς Ἐλλησι γράφοντα καὶ χρηματίζον, ἐστὶν Ἐπαφρόδυτον ἀνήγορεν, καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς τρόπαιοις οὕτως ἐπιγράφαται: “Αἰανός Κορηήλος Σύλλας Ἐπαφρόδυτος.” A. Keaveney, “Sulla and the Gods,” in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 3 (Coll.Latomus 180, Brussels 1983) 61 n. 84, argues that only the Thourion trophy bore a Greek inscription; the trophy on the plain was inscribed in Latin. He bases this assertion on Plutarch’s statement that the Thourion trophy had the names of the heroes inscribed in Greek (*Sull.* 19.10). It is therefore “not unreasonable to infer that the one on the plain was inscribed in Latin.” This interpretation cannot be reconciled with the emphatic statements of Plutarch at *Mor.* 318D and *Sull.* 34.3 (not 24.3, as in Keaveney), cited above, that the trophies (plural) of Chaironeia were inscribed with Sulla’s Greek titulature. The passage in the *Moralia* is the most specific: τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐν Χαιρονείᾳ τρόπαια κατὰ τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν (we read κατὰ rather than καὶ τὰ since the Chaironeia trophies in question are part of Sulla’s Mithradatic campaign and are not supplemental to it). *Sull.* 34.3 speaks only of the titles παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς τρόπαιοις, but it is clear that the Chaironeia trophies must be included. This latter passage is indeed a general statement, as Keaveney remarks, but is surely not to be discounted for this reason alone, particularly since its focus (and that of the *Moralia* passage) is on terminology. To Keaveney’s presumption that Plutarch’s Latin was so “shaky” that he would cite only the Greek version of the trophy inscriptions, we note that Plutarch was educated enough to ponder the precise Greek equivalent for the Latin *Felix* (*Sull.* 34.2). Finally, Keaveney cites a “trophy” to Mars at Sikyon (A. Degrassi, *ILLRP* no. 224) with a Latin inscription as evidence for a Sullan Latin language trophy in Greece. The Sikyonian monument, however, is a statue base, “ut ex vestigis pedum apparat” (*CIL* 12 fasc. 4 p. 940 no. 2828) and cannot therefore be adduced as a comparandum. The most economical conclusion is that both Chaironeia trophies were inscribed in Greek.

17 The existence of a lower block is suggested by the dowel hole in the underside of our block as well as by the decorative rebate along the bottom. Use of a second block would allow all the relevant information to be visible at once, from the front. It may seem surprising to place the Chaironeians’ names above Sulla’s, but this arrangement would have the
other emblem of victory. Our trophy, with its torus base and unfleted shaft, seems to be of this type.

In its least elaborate form this type is barely more than a "fossilized" traditional trophy: a stone panoply is set directly on a stone shaft and base. This type is represented by several surviving stone panoplies; the most interesting for our purposes is to be found at the monastery of Skripou at Orchomenos (fig. 6). This over-life-sized corseleted torso is made of local grayish stone similar to that of our monument. It is identifiable as a trophy because the corselet rises from a smooth cylindrical shaft (dia. ca. 0.50 m). Perhaps we should restore a similar stone panoply at the top of our shaft. Although the Orchomenos trophy might not be associated with Sulla's victory there in 86 B.C., it offers a useful local parallel for our monument. It is also possible, however, that our trophy followed the model of the Athenian trophy at Marathon with a full column and capital into which would be set a crowning sculpture.

The dual trophies at Chaireneia may have had a special significance for Sulla. The final issue of Athenian New Style tetradrachms minted for Sulla shows a pair of trophies on the reverse (fig. 7). In addition, aurei and denarii minted by Sulla at Rome, probably advantage of using the larger (lower) block for the longer names of Sulla and his patron deities.

In perishable trophies the name of the victor and dedication to the god were probably punched into the armor itself (cf. Eust. Il. 10.465: τρόφημα μετά τος νικών ἵππων διά τοὺς γόρδας τοὺς ἐνεώτατοι ... γράφεται ἐνεώτατοι). It is possible, although less likely, that in our monument as well the names of Sulla and the gods were inscribed on an upper element of the trophy.

Examples include the large white marble Ionic column erected by the Athenians at Marathon (E. Vanderpool, "A Monument to the Battle of Marathon," Hesperia 35 [1966] 93–106), and the cylindrical stone monument of the Thebans at Leuktra (A. Orlando, Proakt 1923, 38–40; 1958, 43–44; G. Daux, BCH 83 [1959] 675–79). Both of these monuments preserve cuttings for crowning sculpture.


Pres. ht. 1.40 m, including shaft.

The smaller diameter of our shaft (0.40 m vs. 0.50 m) would seem to indicate that a restored panoply would be smaller than the Skripou torso. The Skripou corselet is of one piece with its shaft, but this arrangement is precluded in the case of our trophy by the dowel hole at the top of the shaft.

Z. Gansiniec, Geneza Tropaionu (Warsaw 1955) 122 n. 132, following O. Benndorf, Das Monument von Adamkissi. Tropaion Triani (Vienna 1895) 139, suggests Sullan connection. C.C. Vermeule groups the Orchomenos trophy with works of the late third and fourth centuries A.C., but does not discuss it in detail: Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues (Bertyus 13.1, 1959) 74 no. 328.

The date of the battle at Orchomenos has been disputed. The case for 86 rests chiefly on Plut. Sull. 20.1–3, where Dorylaos's arrival and activities in Boiotia are made contemporay with Sulla's attempt to intercept forces under L. Valerius Flaccus (cos. 86) near Meliteia in Thessaly. See A.N. Sherwin-White, Roman Foreign Policy in the East (Norman 1983) 139–40.

A marble fragment with carved floral decoration, found nearby, may have formed part of such a capital, but its form is unusual and the style of carving seems much later than the first century B.C. Other fragments found nearby but which seem not to belong to the trophy include two pieces of a small tapering column with a molded base, broken off all around.

M. Thompson, The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens (New York 1961) 425–39, nos. 1341–45. The attribution of these dual trophy tetradrachms to Sulla is reasonably secure (Thompson 432), but their date is problematic. Thompson (439) proposed 84/3 B.C., but this is arguably too late. As M.H. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage 1 (Cambridge 1971) 80 n. 1, has noted, Thompson's chronology for the Sullan New Style issues depends upon a mistranslation of Plut. Luc. 2.2. Plutarch, rightly or wrongly, believed that Lucullus coined money for Sulla in the Peloponnese. If so, much of the Sullan New Style coinage may have been struck rather earlier than Thompson supposed—in 87, as E. Raven, "The Hierapynta Hoard of Greek and Roman Coins," NC 1938, 150–58, originally argued, or early 86. The trophies issue then need not be as late as 84/3, and might in fact have followed shortly after news of Sulla's victory at Chaireneia, and allude to the two trophies erected there. There can be no certainty about this, however. Thompson, in keeping with her date of 84/3, believed that the two trophies on the reverse of the Sullan New Style tetradrachm represent the victories at Chaireneia and Orchomenos (439); B. Frier, "Augural Symbolism in Sulla's Invasion of 83," ANSMN 13 (1967) 112 and n. 5, argues that they are the two trophies at Chaireneia.
in late 82 or early 81, have the head of Venus on the obverse and a pair of trophies on the reverse (fig. 8).\textsuperscript{25} It is tempting to associate these pairs of trophies on the coins with the dual trophies of Chaireneia.\textsuperscript{26} According to Cassius Dio (42.18), Sulla’s signet was carved with a design of three trophies. The third trophy may have commemorated Sulla’s subsequent victory at Orchomenos.\textsuperscript{27} The importance of these three trophies is indicated by the fact that they displaced Sulla’s earlier signet, which depicted the surrender of Jugurtha by Bocchus.\textsuperscript{28} Notably, three trophies are also shown on a coin issued by Sulla’s son Faustus (fig. 9).\textsuperscript{29}

**Thourion and the Battle of 86 B.C.**

In his account of the events leading up to the battle Plutarch describes the area in some detail. After sacrificing at the Kephisos River, Sulla moved toward Chaireneia in order to join up with his forces there and to observe the place called Thourion, which had been occupied in advance by the enemy. It is a rugged peak and a conical mountain, which we call Orthopagos, and below it is the river Morios\textsuperscript{30} and a temple of Apollo Thourios . . . As Sulla was approaching Chaireneia, the tribe men who had been stationed in the city led out his soldiers fully armed and met him, carrying a laurel wreath. When he had received it, greeted the soldiers, and had encouraged them for the approaching danger, two men of Chaireneia, Homolochoi and Anaxidamos, obtained an audience with him, undertaking to dislodge those who had occupied Thourion if they obtained a few soldiers from him. For from Petrachos, as it is called, there existed a path, invisible to the barbarians and running overhead by way of the Mouseion toward Thourion. If they marched by that path they would without difficulty fall upon them and stone them to death from above or would drive them down into the plain. When Gabinius had testified to the men’s courage and good faith, Sulla commanded them to attempt it. He himself drew up his line into battle order. . .\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{25} Crawford (supra n. 24) 373–74, no. 359/1–2. For the date and probable context of these issues, see now T. Martin, “Sulla Imperator Iterum, the Samnites and Roman Republican Coin Propaganda,” SNR 68 (1989) 19–44.

\textsuperscript{26} Crawford (supra n. 24) 373 identifies the trophies on the aurei and denarii with the trophies at Chaireneia; he concurs with B. Frier, “Sulla’s Priesthood,” Arethusa 2 (1969) 187, in reading the dual trophies as “a type personal to Sulla.” A. Keaveney, “Sulla Augur: Coins and Curiate Law,” AJAH 7 (1982) 160, asserts that the trophies represent Sulla’s victories at Chaireneia and Orchomenos. Martin (supra n. 25) does not directly address which victories or trophies these reverses represent. However, since he argues that the two acclamations as imperator celebrated on the reverse occurred after the battles of Chaireneia and the Colline Gate, it is reasonable to infer that in his view the second trophy stands for this latter battle. A similar interpretation, with reservations, was suggested by E. Badian, “Sulla’s Augurate,” Arethusa 1 (1968) 45 n. 53. There is a difficulty with such a view: it takes no account of the two trophies that had already appeared on the Sullan New Style tetradrachms. One would have to suppose that in the aftermath of the Colline Gate the dual trophy imagery was reintroduced to include the more recent battle. This is certainly possible: much had happened in the years between the New Style and Roman issues. But if so, it complicates interpretation of the three trophies on Sulla’s signet ring (see below).

The trophies have a distinctive form on both the New Style and Roman coinage: a small round shield viewed frontally and centered on the tunic. This equipment may be characteristic of that used by the Pontic troops: see A.J. Jansen, Het antieke Troopion (Ledeberg 1957) 70; contra Raven (supra n. 24) 158. The Athenian coins show a smooth shaft set into a rectangular base; some of the Roman coins show armor mounted on a gnarled tree trunk (Janssen 70). It is important to stress, therefore, that the representations of the trophies on the coinage are not reliable evidence for the form of the trophy whose base we have found. The trophies on some coins are clearly temporary, wooden-cored structures; ours is a monumentalized, permanent, stone construction. It is quite possible that the coin trophies are symbolic, or that the stone monument replaced a temporary trophy erected immediately after the skirmish on Thourion.

\textsuperscript{27} We do not know when Sulla commissioned the three-trophy signet. If it was after his return to Rome, it is also possible that the three trophies stand for the dual trophies of Chaireneia and the Colline Gate, or for Chaireneia, Orchomenos, and the Colline Gate.

\textsuperscript{28} Plut. Mar. 10.8–9; Sull. 3.8–9; Mor. 806D; Valerius Maximus 8.14.4; Pl. HN 37.9. A coin of Faustus Sulla, Crawford (supra n. 24) no. 426/1, also depicts the surrender of Jugurtha.

\textsuperscript{29} Crawford (supra n. 24) no. 426/3. Crawford 450 n. 5 rejects the testimony of Cassius Dio and claims that this coin refers to the victories of Pompey, not Sulla; E. Badian (supra n. 26) 39, believes the reference is to Sullan victories, but would have one of the trophies stand for Sulla’s victory at the Colline Gate. B. Frier (supra n. 26) 195 n. 18 also accepts the third trophy as a reference to the Colline Gate.

\textsuperscript{30} Muqāţū is the reading of all the manuscripts. Sintenis in his 1879 Teubner edition p. xvii emended to Mōkōx in order to read the same river here as in 19.10, but the emendation is unnecessary. See Hammond (supra n. 1) 188 for scholarship on this question.

\textsuperscript{31} Sull. 17.6–7; 9–12.
The topography corresponds closely to this description, as we would expect from a native of the region. The hill of Isoma, which we now identify as Thourion, is a roughly conical rise (appearing most so when seen from the north or northwest), jutting northwestward into the plain of the Kephisos (fig. 10). It is rocky at its top, and yet it can be approached easily from above and behind (southeast), along the ridge which runs westward from Petrachos, the rocky acropolis of Chaironeia itself. We were able to walk from Petrachos to Isoma out of sight of the latter in about 30 minutes on a path following the crest of the ridge. Immediately south of Isoma one must hike down from the ridge toward the conical peak, but gullies that carry the winter torrents into the plain still provide plenty of cover (fig. 11). Eventually one comes out on the south side of Isoma in the saddle that lies between it and the great ridge behind. In the saddle now sits the chapel of Ayios Georgios. From here there is a short rise leading to the highest point on Isoma.

The top of the hill is almost flat in the southern part, and further north the slope is quite gentle as well. At some time this upper area was protected by a rubble wall that today is preserved only for one or two courses in places, elsewhere only in outline at ground level (fig. 12). It is built of rough fieldstones and is ca. 1.00–2.00 m thick. The area enclosed is ca. 160 paces on the west, 75 paces on the north, and 215 paces on the east. There is no indication of date and Plutarch makes no mention of any fortifications on the hill, but the casual construction is appropriate for a temporary occupation and it may well have been built by the more than 3,000 men stationed by Archelaos on the hill. The wall defends the west, north, and east sides of the summit; either it was left unfinished, or Archelaos's men assumed that the low rocky outcrops of the southern side were a sufficient deterrent. An attack was clearly not expected from this quarter, as the event showed. On the day of the battle Sulla's deployments in the plain below would have been sufficient distraction for the Pontic troops stationed on Thourion.

Most early travelers and commentators have understood the ancient Mount Thourion to be more or less identical with the modern one, that is, the chain of hills that runs in a roughly east–west direction on the south side of the lower Kephisos plain, bounded on the west by the Vathyrevma valley and on the east by the Herkynos valley. Plutarch's Orthopagos is then

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53 The modern village of Thourion, located on the south edge of the Kephisos plain, some 4 km east of Chaironeia on the modern road to Levadeia, appears not to be an ancient site, and plays no role in reconstructing the battle or ancient topography. For the early travelers, see K. Ziegler, “Plutarchstudien,” *R&M* 76 (1927) 37 and H. Hitzig and H. Blümmer eds., *Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio* 3A (Leipzig 1907) 521–22.
taken to be a secondary peak within the larger massif. Only Leake and Pape-Benseler have concluded that Thourion and Orthopagos were the same.\textsuperscript{34} We follow them in making this identification, but the text of Plutarch, our only ancient testimony for the topography of Mount Thourion, bears examination.

The difficulty lies in the nature of the connection between the sentence in which Sulla advances to observe Thourion and that in which Plutarch describes the hill Orthopagos. The Greek text (17.6–7) runs: ό Σύλλας . . . ἔχορετ . . . κατοψόμενος τὸ καλόμενον Θουρίων ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμῶν προκατελημένον. ἐστὶ δὲ κορυφὴ τραχεῖα καὶ στροβιλόδες δρός,\textsuperscript{35} δ δ καλούμεν ὢρθόπαγον. The text can certainly be read in such a way that ἐστὶ δὲ marks a fresh start (“and there is a peak”), but this interpretation raises a problem. The subsequent account of the encirclement of the Pontic detachment mentions only Thourion, never Orthopagos.\textsuperscript{36} It would be strange if Plutarch wrote his account using a general topographic indicator after he had carefully described a more specific one. Both this passage and the following references to Thourion are more easily understood if the sentence beginning ἐστι δὲ is a clarification of the previous one. Because Thourion is not a landmark with which every reader would be familiar, Plutarch's first mention of it is followed by a description of the most relevant features of the mountain. Although it might seem troubling to have two names for the same topographic feature, Plutarch’s use of καλούμεν suggests that Ὁρθόπαγος (“Steep-Hill”) is a local nickname, whose invocation here helps set the scene for the headlong flight of the barbarians down the hillside.\textsuperscript{37}

The actual engagement that resulted in the trophy is described by Plutarch as follows:

Meanwhile the Chaironeians, who had been given Ercius\textsuperscript{38} as commander by Sulla, went around Thou-

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{34} W.M. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece 2 (London 1835) 196, 199. W. Pape and G.E. Benseler, Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen\textsuperscript{1} (Brunswick 1884) 514.

\textsuperscript{35} Following Reiske's emendation, Ziegler prints στροβιλόδες δρός (i.e., “There is a rough and rounded peak of the mountain. . . .”). He argues (supra n. 39) 36–37 that Orthopagos is the name of the chain of hills and Thourion a single peak in this chain. The text can be well understood, however, as it stands in the manuscripts.

\textsuperscript{36} Also noted by Ziegler (supra n. 33) 37.

\textsuperscript{37} For the translation “Steep-Hill,” see LSJ; Stephanus (Henri Estienne), Thesaurus Graecae Linguae (Graz 1954) s.v. Ὁρθόπαγον translates collis arduus. Pape and Benseler, vol. 2 (supra n. 34) 1072, render as “Scharfenberg.” It remains possible that the ὁρθο- element stresses the regularity of the conical shape, rather than the steepness, of the hill.

\textsuperscript{38} W.K. Pritchett, "Observations on Chaironeia," AJA 62 (1958) 307, spells the name Erykios, as if Sulla's appointee were a Greek. Although this is not impossible (the Palatine Anthology contains poems by one or possibly two poets of that name), Ercius is a well-attested Roman name (the RE lists 10 entries under Ercius). See T.R.S. Broughton, Magistrates of the Roman Republic 2 (Cleveland 1968) 55.
\end{footnotesize}
It is easy to imagine the slaughter as the soldiers fled down the precipitous lower slopes of the hill in panic. We searched the summit and northwestern slopes for lead sling bullets and arrowheads, but were unable to find any. In presenting their plan Anaxidamos and Homoloichos promised that the enemy, once taken by surprise, could be stoned to death from above (Sull. 17.11); apparently stones were the principal and sufficient weapon for the assault.

The discovery of the trophy and the positive identification of Thourion/Orthopagos provide a secure fixed point for our understanding of the topography of the battle of Chaironeia. The fullest study of the battle is that written by N.G.L. Hammond, over 50 years ago. He chose a hill further to the west as his candidate for Orthopagos, and that view must now be rejected. Our identification of Orthopagos with Isoma confirms that made by W.K. Pritchett, who first noted the conical shape of the hill. Hammond's interpretation of the battle as a whole, however, is not affected by this adjustment, and we are in general agreement with his reconstruction.

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39 Sull. 18.1–3.
41 Pritchett (supra n. 38) 307–308.
42 In his map on p. 196, Hammond (supra n. 1) places Hortensius with Sulla’s left flank reserve on the northeast slope of Isoma. Since this is in fact the hill held by the Pontic detachment, it seems likely that Hortensius’s men were stationed somewhat further east along the ridge leading to Chaironeia. If so, this will require us either to shorten Sulla’s line, or to extend it further east. For a more recent discussion of the size of the opposing armies, see Sherwin-White (supra n. 22) 128 n. 112.
THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO THOURIOS

Plutarch specifies the location of Thourion by noting that below (ἐν τῷ) the hill there was a stream, the Morios, and a temple of Apollo Thourios. Earlier commentators, Hammond, Pritchett, and Fossey, who understood Thourion to refer to much of the ridge behind Chaironeia, followed Leake in identifying the Morios as the Vathyrevma, the large stream running northward out of the Vathyrevma valley into the Kephisos plain. The Vathyrevma valley separates this ridge (called Karvouni at its western end) from the village of Ayios Vlasios, which lies just below the acropolis of ancient Panopeus. Leake suggested that a Turkish village he called Mera, located near the banks of the Vathyrevma roughly in the area of the present-day chapel of Ayios Charalambos, preserved the ancient name Morios. Local farmers confirm that a Turkish village named Meraga once existed near Ayios Charalambos. Fossey detected some ancient remains in a small valley running eastward from Ayios Charalambos and tentatively assigned them to the Apollo temple, but in a brief survey of the area we failed to discover substantial ancient remains. Pritchett reports ancient blocks built into a ruined chapel near the shrine of Ayios Vasileios just to the northwest of Orthopagos, though he does not specifically associate those remains with the Apollo temple.

We examined the area to the west and south of Thourion carefully, and can report the discovery of an apparently unpublished site. While the Vathyrevma might be considered, loosely speaking, to lie below Thourion, there is another stream that runs much closer to the foot of the hill. It is the confluence of several intermittent streams flowing roughly northward off the ridge of Ayios Dimitrios toward Thourion/Iasoma (fig. 1). Upon reaching the south side of the hill the gully of this stream sweeps around its western side before dissipating itself in the flat expanse of the Kephisos plain. About 500 m to the south–southwest of Thourion, on the western bank of this stream, we noticed the remains of a large terraced area, where several trees now shelter a shrine of the Metamorphosis of the Savior (fig. 13; cf. fig. 1). The terracing runs for as much as 100 m in a generally east–northeast direction. There are remains of late walls, with numerous early blocks built in. Recognizable architectural elements include three fragments of shafts of monolithic unfluted columns of gray granite, ca. 0.35–0.40 m in diameter and up to 2.20 m in length, one Doric column drum with 20 flutes, ca.

43 Stull, 17.7.
44 Hammond (supra n. 1) 193. This identification worked well with his candidate for Orthopagos. Pritchett (supra n. 38) 308; J. Fossey, Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia 1 (Chicago 1988) 383. Leake (supra n. 34) 199.
45 What Fossey (supra n. 44) 383 calls "the new church of Ayios Ioannes" is in fact a small shrine of Ayios Ioannis Prodromos, marking the site of a ruined chapel whose foundations are still visible.
46 Pritchett (supra n. 38) 308 n. 16. This small structure, although much overgrown, was still visible when we visited the site. Fossey (supra n. 44) 383, apparently misunderstanding Pritchett, supposes that this ruined chapel might be identified with Ayios Ioannis; in fact the two sites are nearly a kilometer apart, on opposite sides of Hammond’s hill.
0.45 m in diameter and 0.50 m high, and a limestone block with a partially preserved molding consisting of a cyma reversa over a fascia. Two other pieces of molding were also found. Especially noteworthy were the over 150 large squared blocks of limestone, some with clamp and pry holes, which would seem to indicate by their very numbers that this was a significant ancient site.

On the east bank opposite, there are many piles of rubble from collapsed huts, in which we found a dozen more large squared blocks and two more pieces of the granite column shafts. All about these collapsed buildings, and washed down into the roadway below, are extensive fragments of roof tiles and pottery from the Byzantine period. Some 50 m further upstream from the terrace, also on the eastern side, is a small fountain, near which lie another column drum, several worked limestone blocks, and four worked pieces of grayish marble, of uncertain date and function.

The terraced area seems to be the remains of a platform for a temple, to which belong the fluted column drum and the moldings. From the nature of the pry holes in the blocks a Classical or Hellenistic date seems likely. At some time in the Byzantine period the temple was replaced by a church. A small settlement grew up around the church. After the settlement passed out of use the church was abandoned, and the site of its remains marked by the present shrine.

Lying just south of Thourion and by the banks of the stream most plausibly identified as the Morios, this terraced area is the likeliest site recognized thus far for the temple of Apollo Thourios.

CONCLUSION

The discovery of the remains of Sulla's trophy on Mount Thourion serves to confirm and illuminate Plutarch's account of the battle of 86 B.C. It clarifies the topography of the area and leads thereby to the identification of the sanctuary of Apollo Thourios near the western limits of Chaironeian territory. Perhaps most important of all, this chance discovery puts us in closer contact with Sulla, whose victory at Chaironeia once again confirmed his good luck.

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47 These include green and brown painted ware of the 11th/12th century.