

μου εἰς τὴν γεφυροποιίαν¹. Ὅτι ὅμως ὁ Τάριος ἔδρασεν ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, μανθάνομεν νῦν τὸ πρῶτον.

Ἄλλ' ἂν ἡ γέφυρα ἐκτίσθη μεταξύ τῶν ἐτῶν 14 καὶ 47 π. Χρ., τότε τὸ φράγμα ἢ ἦτο προστατευτικὸν αὐτῆς ταύτης, ἔργον ὀψιγενές, ἢ ὑποθέτει ἄλλην τινὰ νεωτέραν σύγχρονόν του γέφυραν διάδοχον τῆς ἐπὶ Τιβερίου κτισθείσης. Μετὰ βεβαιότητος θὰ εἴπη γνώμην, ὅστις θὰ ἔχη πλείονα στοιχεῖα πρὸς κρίσιν. Ἐγὼ δὲν ἠδυνήθην νὰ λάβω εἰδήσεις περὶ ἄλλων λειψάνων τῆς γεφύρας εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὅπου εὗρέθη ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ. Ἀκριβῆς πίστωσησιν τούτου θὰ ἦτο ἴσως ὠφέλιμος καὶ διὰ τὰς σημερινὰς ἀνάγκας.

Ἐπειδὴ ὅμως ὁ μὲν Τιβέριος δὲν διεκρίθη ἐπὶ κατασκευῇ δημοσίων ἔργων (Suet. Tib., 47), ὁ δὲ Τάριος, δηλῶν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, ἐξάρει μᾶλλον τὸν πατέρα Αὐγούστον, φαίνεται, ὅτι ἡ γέφυρα κατασκευάσθη οὐχὶ πολὺν χρόνον μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Αὐγούστου, ὅτε ἡ αἰγλή τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου ἦτο ἔντονος ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ τε Ταρίου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ.—*Marathoniaca.*—I, *by George Sotiriadis.*

THE HERAKLEION OF HERODOTUS AT MARATHON — A MYCENEAN TOMB — AN ALTAR ON A SUMMIT OF MOUNT AGRIELIKI — AN AQUEDUCT OF HERODES ATTICUS. — INSCRIPTIONS AND BAS-RELIEFS.

During my excavations this year (1933) at Marathon, quite close to the Metochi of Vranà and the chapel Agios Demetrius, at the foot of Mount Agrielikiki, I noticed — near a plane-tree, and the only spring of water in this western part of the plain — important remains of the Heracleion of Herodotus i. e. a sanctuary or temenos of Hercules, which has always been the object of archaeological research about these parts of the country (Herodotus VI. Chap. 103, 108, 116)².

The remains of this temenos consist of a large enclosure or wall of stones collected at random and about one metre thick; in ruins of course and only preserved in its lower portions. The enclosure comprises an even surface of about 22,000 square metres, is quadrilateral, situated at the foot of the mountain and contains a large number of broken ordinary ancient vases. That the wall was ancient Greek is quite evident from the form of

¹ Πρβλ. HIRSHFELD, ἔ. ἄ. 274 ἐξ.

² Comp. Pindar, Pythica VIII 78, 79 ἐν Μεγάραις δ' ἔχεις γέρας, | μυχῶ τ' ἐν Μαραθῶνος in combination with Olympica IX 89, 90. The Poet in these Odes speaks of the Heracleion of Marathon where silver bowls (ἀργυροῖδες) were given as prizes (γέρας) to the victors.

its construction. As for the enclosure it is the only one in existence in this district and is precisely where the Heracleion should be looked for owing to the vicinity of the spring, as an abundant supply of water was absolutely indispensable for the use of the large number of annual recruits, between the ages of 18-20, who had to be trained there for their two years' military service. With the exception of this spring the surrounding country is absolutely dry and there can be no doubt that the well from which this excellent water springs was an ancient one, as shown by the quantity of marble slabs around its orifice or well head. The water of this spring never dries up, even during the most exceptionally dry summer and autumn, while in ordinary years, during the rainy months, the well is filled to the brim to a height of 15 metres and people can supply themselves directly without having to draw it up.

When the landing of the Persians at Marathon was announced in Athens on the 5th of the Metageitnion month (August-September) of 490 b.C., the assembly of the Demos must have been immediately summoned on the following day, the 6th of the month. According to its decision accepting the proposal of Miltiades («τὸ Μιλτιάδου ψήφισμα» as mentioned by Aristoteles Rhetorica III, 10 p. 1411a) the Athenians came out of the city in a body (πανδημεί), on the day following (the 7th) marched to Marathon to meet the enemy, and encamped at the Heracleion.

Therefore last year (1932) in an article of mine published in the Minutes of the Greek Archaeolog. Society — which Society enabled me, by its material support, to continue my researches in Marathon this year also — I pointed out that the Heracleion should, more probably, be looked for at least eight stadii west of the «Marathon Mound» (Σωρός) and one kilometre, or even a little more, from the site where we must admit that the old town of Marathon stood, exactly under the east side of its Mycenæan Acropolis, which I discovered in 1926. It is from Herodotus that we gather the information that the distance from the Soros was at least 8 stadii, or one and a half kilometers and it is the Soros itself which enables us to locate the battlefield. The distance, however, of about one kilometer from the town of Marathon, we can, as I have already said, only conjecture, but with certainty, from the fact that the Heracleion, being the sanctuary of the Protector of Athletic games could not possibly be further away from the town, it being, as already stated, a military camp. In fact it was customary

for these camps, to be situated a short distance outside the gates of the towns, as, in the towns themselves, it was difficult to find sufficient space for military training.

On the other hand the camp selected by the Athenians from which they could face the enemy—who evidently intended to attack Athens from Marathon, either from the mountainous Pentelicon land, or, as it appears more probable and logical, from the flat country now called Mesógeia, the ancient Mesogæa—could not be elsewhere but at the foot of Mount Agrieliki.

Here the Athenians would not only be near the town of Marathon, from which they could draw supplies and other necessities for the army, but also be more protected from any attack of the Persians, who undoubtedly having landed and encamped in the inland part of the Gulf of Marathon, i. e. in the plain of Tricorynthos, between the Gulf of Marathon and Mount Stavrokoráki¹, extended their camp from the sea to the mountain all along the deep and broad river-bed of Charádra.

Facing the enemy's camp the Athenians, who held all the positions around the Heracleion as far as Mount Kotróni, had their back entirely unassailable owing to the steep rocks of Agrieliki, which is 567 metres high.

From this position the Athenians were therefore able, by reconnoitring the Persians from a small height above the Heracleion and the rocky prominence of Agios Demetrius, keep an eye on the Persians should they attempt to move their army against Athens by the littoral route of the Marathon gulf to the south and afterwards through the Messógeia, or should the enemy attempt a diversion, or make a general attack against Athens through the passes of Pentelicon.

The mountainous passes lead to the plain of Athens by two routes, one the ravine of Rapetozza-Dionysos, and the other by the ridge Kalissia. In this way the Athenians would be able to communicate with their city quickly and easily in the eventuality of the Persians rendering the road

¹ Comp. Général ARTHUR BOUCHER *La bataille de la Marne de l'Antiquité MARATHON*, d'après Herodote (Berger - Levrault, Éditeurs) Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg, 1920, p. 8-10 and Croquis N° 3 p. 18 with regard to the Persian fleet. Also my own remarks in my communication to the Minutes of the Academy of the 26th of May 1932, and *Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος* 1933 p. 525-546, and the Minutes of the Archaeological Society 1932. (Article: Excavations of Marathon).

between Athens and the Athenian army through the Messógeia dangerous, by approaching with a section of their great fleet to some southern coast, Araphina for instance, and landing part of their army there.

On the day before, the 6th of the month, the assembly of the Demos (comp. Herodotus book VI chap. 105) had decided to ask for the help of the Spartans against the enemy who had already invaded the country. So it is certainly on the evening of that same day that the dayrunner (ἡμεροδρόμος) Pheidippides left Athens, without further delay, for Sparta in order to present the Athenian's request to the Spartans. We know how he executed his mission, having covered the distance of 250 kilometers' which separates Athens from Sparta, in two days¹. Pheidippides having reached Sparta on the evening of the 8th of the month, must have appeared before the Spartan Authorities and spoken to them approximately in those words which we know from Herodotus (book VI chap. 106). Having received their answer he certainly left Sparta on the same evening, and travelling with the same celerity must have returned to Athens on the evening of the 11th. By the 12th the Spartan answer must have spread all over Athens and have also reached Marathon.

This news, however, must certainly have also reached the Persian camp, carried there by the Persian spies who were everywhere active and no less by the members of the royalists faction in Athens who were friendly to the Persians (οἱ μηδίζοντες). Consequently everyone was able to judge, when, at the earliest, the Spartans could reach Marathon, granting that they would keep their promise and leave Sparta on the night of the full moon, that is to say immediately after sunset of the 15th of the month². According to Herodotus (VI 120) the Spartans, marching rapidly so as to arrive in time for the battle, which was expected to take place as soon as the two armies confronted one another, probably on the 8th of the month, or therabout, reached the frontier of Attica only on the third day after their departure (τριταῖοι ἐγένοντο ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ) which would be the 18th of the month, or on the night of the 17th to the 18th. One day being barely sufficient for the Spartan reinforcement to march from the Attic frontier to Marathon, that is to say to arrive in Athens toward mid-

¹ Comp. BOUCHER, p. 16, 17 and n. 1 and 2.

² The beginning of each day was calculated by the ancients from the evening after the sun had set.

day of the 18th, and from there marching rapidly to arrive after a few hours in Marathon, we must suppose that the battle had already taken place on the previous day (the 17th), as it is certain that the Spartans reached the Marathon battlefield on the day after the victorious battle (Herodot VI 120: ὅστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς. Comp. Plato in Laws, III 692 d. 698 ε). What however is more probable is that even taking into consideration the great speed with which they marched (ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν, says Herodotus into the same chapter), and their extraordinary powers of endurance, the Spartans reached the Attic frontier late on the third day, which would be the 18th of the month, and so reached Marathon only on the 19th. In that case it is possible that the battle did not take place on the 17th but on the 18th of the month, perhaps at the very hour that the news, sent by signals¹ and not by messenger, of the splendid victory had reached Athens. Judging from what Herodotus says (VI 120): ὅστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς, ἡμίροντο ὅμως θεήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους (the dead of course), I conclude that the Spartans received the news of the victory at the moment of their arrival in the city.

The Athenians on the morning of the 18th, led by Miltiades, left their camp and drew themselves up against the enemy between Mount Agriekli by the Heracleion and Mount Kotroni, 220 metres high, exactly opposite.

This distance, in an almost straight line and parallel to the carriage-road of today from Athens through the Messógeia to the modern village of Marathóna, is about 2 kilometres.

The Athenians must have arrayed themselves thus, facing the enemy, as mentioned above, who was approaching from the river-bed of Charadra (v. Boucher, p. 10 note 1 and p. 21 croquis N° 3 bis and p. 32 N° 6), as the Persians could not possibly have encamped elsewhere than in the plain of Tricorynthos, between Mount Stravokoráki, 310 metres high, and the sea.

The town of Tricorynthos can supply water in great abundance, even during the driest summer, from its great spring Macaria, now very cha-

¹ If it were possible, as Herodotus says (VI 115 and 121 ἀναδέξαι (τοὺς ἐν ἄσται Ἀλκμαϊωνίδας) Πέρσησι ἐκ συνθήματος ἀσπίδα, ἐοῦσι ἤδη ἐν τῆσι νηυσί) for the Persians, departure from Marathon after their defeat with the intension of attacking Athens, to be signaled from the city, it would be equally possible for the Athenians to learn the news of their own victory at Marathon² in the same way.

racteristically called the Big Eye (Μεγάλο Μάτι). This is the spring which forms the so-called Great Marsh of Marathon (Pausanias I 32) at the north-east section of the plain towards Mount Drakonéra and the equally mountaneous strip of land known as Kynósoura. This water continued to flow till quite recently in a small stream to a distance of two kilometres from its source to the coast where the Persian fleet must have anchored (v. Boucher p. 9/10) and thus acquired the water necessary for its requirements. Now however, owing to the construction of a broad high-road through the marsh, as far as the so-called Pyrgos, the stream no longer reaches the sea. But further details about this cannot be given in this short communication. Here, as Herodotus states, the Athenian battle array equalled that of the Persians; the front therefore of the two forces was about two kilometres, probably slightly less, if we take into consideration what Cornelius Nepos states in his life of Miltiades Chap. V viz. that the Athenians took the precaution of fortifying their flanks on either side both from Kotróni and Agrielikí. And even if the Persian army, in its full force ie. the heavy infantry consisting of Persians and Sakae, equalled that of the Athenian hoplites, without, naturally, counting the light Persian archers who were undoubtedly more numerous than the Greeks, and whose arrows were so numerous that their great number was not without danger to the Greek phalanx, although iron-clad¹. From this battle-array of the Athenians the «Soros» is only 1500 metres or 8 stadii distant. We must therefore deduct 40 or 50 metres for the distance the Athenians had to cover running to avoid exposing themselves to the Persian arrows, hurled at them not only by the archers who formed a particular body of the Persian army, but also by those of the heavy infantry who besides carrying bow were also armed with a small shield (γέρορον), dagger and 2 javelins (παλτόν).

For want of time many further details about the Heracleion and most of the subjects referred to in this little communication must be omitted. I am publishing them in a next number of the Minutes of the Academy.

¹ I suspect that the Persian army was forced to occupy such a narrow front because the bulk of its forces, that is to say the heavy infantry of the Persians and Sakas (Σάξαι), was just about equal to that of the Athenian hoplites, but much more numerous if we include the thousands of sailors and other archers, whose vast quantity of arrows, shot of every minute, were a source of considerable danger to the Greek phalanx in spite of their iron armour. (See Boucher, p. 25).