

A MONUMENT TO THE BATTLE OF MARATHON

(PLATES 31–35)

what now remaineth here?
What sacred trophy marks the hallow'd ground
Recording freedom's smile and Asia's tear?

Byron, *Childe Harold*, II, 90

WILLIAM Dinsmoor has always emphasized the importance of the correlation of Greek archaeology with history. This basic idea permeates his writings but finds its fullest expression in the article which he contributed to the volume *Studies in the History of Culture* (presented to Waldo G. Leland, 1942). On the occasion of his 80th birthday I present some archaeological evidence bearing on the Battle of Marathon.

In the northeastern part of the plain of Marathon, about midway between the shore and the foot of Mt. Stavrokoraki and only a few hundred meters from the edge of the Great Marsh, stands the little chapel of the Panagia Mesosporitissa (Pl. 31,a), so called because its festival falls about in the middle of the sowing season, November 21st. A short distance in front of the chapel is an old well whose mouth is formed by a large block of white marble (Pl. 31,b), and just beyond this are the ruins of a mediaeval tower built of large re-used ancient blocks, conspicuous among which are a large Ionic capital measuring 1.35 meters across the volutes and two large column drums about 0.80 meters in diameter (Pl. 31,c-e, 32).

These remains of antiquity have always been visible, and the first published notice of them is that of W. M. Leake who, although he did not see them himself on his visits to Marathon, refers to them on the strength of a report from a certain W. Bankes.¹ Subsequently they were described, with some variations in detail, by Vischer, Lolling, Eschenburg and Milchhoefer, and they are briefly noted by Frazer and Hitzig-Bluemner.² Since the end of the nineteenth century, however, they have dropped out of the literature and do not appear in the descriptions of the remains of antiquity

¹ W. M. Leake, "On the Demi of Attica," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom*, Vol. I, Part II, London, 1829, pp. 173-174. This will be quoted below, note 17. W. M. Leake, *The Topography of Athens and the Demi*, Vol. II, London, 1841, p. 103, contains a slightly abridged version.

² W. Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, Basel, 1875, p. 74, note 2. H. G. Lolling, *Ath. Mitt.*, I, 1876, p. 79. Hauptmann Eschenburg, *Topographische, archaeologische und militärische Betrachtungen auf dem Schlachtfelde von Marathon*, Berlin, 1886, p. 10; summarized in *Arch. Anz.* 1889, p. 36. E. Curtius und J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, Erläuternder Text von A. Milchhöfer, III-VI, pp. 50-51, and 53. J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, II, pp. 435-436. H. Hitzig and H. Bluemner, *Pausanias Graeciae descriptio*, I, p. 335.

in the plain of Marathon by Soteriades, Pritchett and others.³ They have never been illustrated or even adequately described or evaluated.

I came upon these ruins by chance several years ago and was immediately impressed by the Ionic capital which, in spite of being badly damaged and only partly visible (Pls. 31,c, 33,b), was clearly of monumental proportions and late archaic style. Further investigations seemed indicated, and the owners of the property, Mr. Nikos K. Konstantinides and his brothers, generously gave their consent. The Archaeological Service gave the necessary permission to clear the visible remains and work was carried on in collaboration with Mr. Verdellis, the Ephor of Attica,⁴ at intervals during the months of August and September, 1965, for a total of eight days, employing three workmen. The thick brush and late fill over and around the ruins were removed so as to expose what remained *in situ*, and the fallen blocks were rolled a short distance away so that they could be better seen and studied.

THE MEDIAEVAL TOWER

The ruins, an amorphous pile before being cleaned, proved to be those of a mediaeval tower built largely of ancient blocks (Fig. 1; Pls. 31, 32). The tower is oriented almost exactly to the cardinal points of the compass, its long sides facing east and west, its ends north and south. It is 5.82 meters long and 4.48 meters wide and is in most places preserved to the height of the orthostate course, rising about a meter above ground level which is the same now as it was when the tower was built.

The north end is best preserved, and the large Ionic capital is built in near the middle of this face (Pl. 32). It rests on one pair of its volutes, and the other pair faces upward. Its bottom is visible in the outer face of the tower. Its top, which is turned towards the inner face of the tower, was mostly hidden by the fill inside the tower.⁵ The capital is flanked on either side by large orthostates with pointed decoration on their face. The chinks left by the irregularities of the capital and the gaps in the inner face of the wall are filled with rubble and mortar construction. Below the capital and the orthostates is a euthynteria course consisting of four large blocks of various sizes but uniform height. Beneath this is a foundation of rubble and mortar.

³ George Soteriades wrote many articles on Marathon among which we may mention *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, I, 1927, pp. 117-150, articles in *Πρακτικά* for 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, and 1939 and in *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* for 1932, 1933 and 1934. W. K. Pritchett has two articles: (1) *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, IV, 1960, pp. 136-175, and (2) *University of California Publications: Classical Studies*, Vol. I, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, Part I, 1965, pp. 83-93. See also G. D. Androutsopoulos, *Πολέμων*, III, 1948, pp. 129-136; and Wrede in *R.E. s.v.* "Marathon" (1930).

⁴ Mr. Kallipolitis, the previous Ephor of Attica, and the Epimeletes Messrs. Petrakos and Davaras also took an active interest in the matter. John Travlos generously offered to make the drawings and has also provided one of the photographs. James R. McCredie has provided another photograph.

⁵ On one of the last working days the capital was tipped back so as to expose the better preserved volutes on which it was resting. It remains lying upside down pending final disposition.

The west side has at its north end a large orthostate block with pointed decoration on the face; it has been cracked by a settling of the foundation. There is a large, unfluted marble column drum (A) near the center of this side, half of whose diameter is incorporated in the wall while the other half projects into the space within the

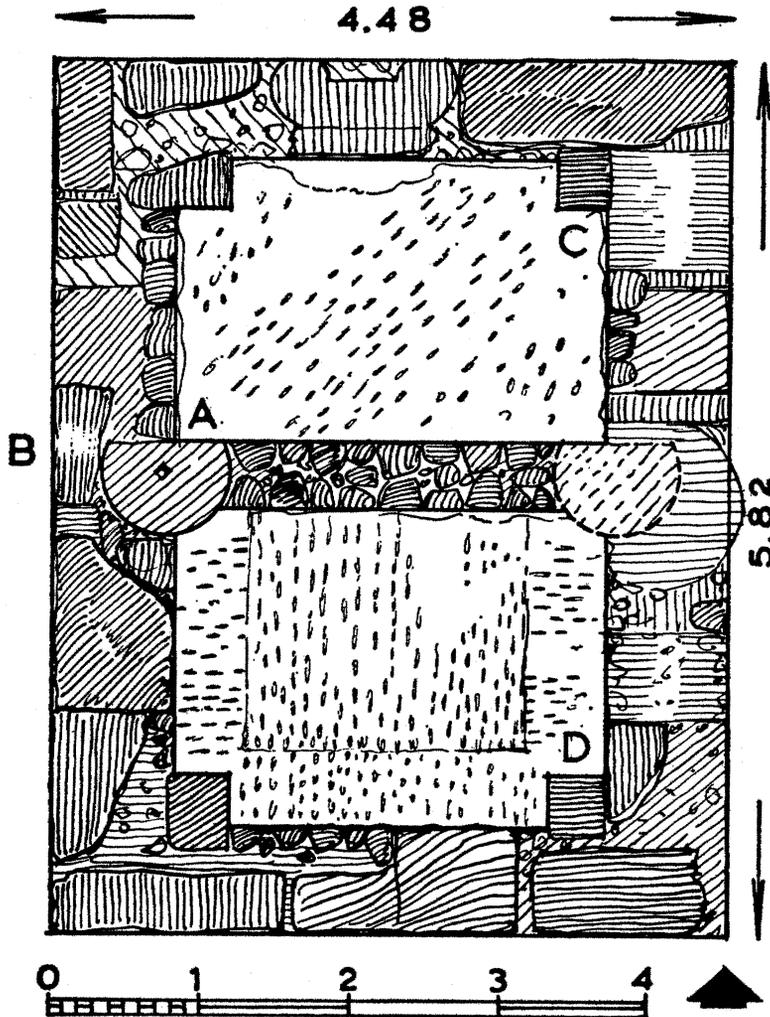


FIG. 1. Plan of the Mediaeval Tower. Letters indicate Column Drums. (Drawn by John Travlos.)

tower. A fragment of another similar drum (B) is built into the outer face of the wall at this point. A block of the string course above the orthostates is in place just south of the column drums and is the highest preserved block in the tower.

The south end has two large blocks with pointed decoration, one of them built in face downwards. There is a conglomerate block at the southeast corner.

The east side is badly preserved and hardly rises above the euthynteria except at the two ends. There are fragments of a marble column drum (D) built in near the south end and a whole drum (C) near the north end of this side. In the euthynteria course at the center of this side there is a round press bed for oil or wine. On it, if we may judge from traces of mortar that remain, stood another column drum, corresponding to the one at the center of the west side.

The foundations are of rubble and mortar and extend down to an undetermined depth. On each of the four sides of the tower we made a small trial cut to depths varying between one and two meters without reaching their bottom. The foundations are set down through absolutely sterile silt which begins just below the thin surface layer of humus. This indicates that the ground level has not changed since the tower was built; I would venture a guess that it has not changed appreciably within historical times.

The inside of the tower is divided into two rooms of equal size by a light rubble wall running east and west starting from the column drum already mentioned which projects inward. The floor of both rooms is made of tile fragments set on edge and bonded in mortar. The inner faces of the walls are covered with a coarse, very crumbly stucco of which three coats are preserved in some places. The four inner corners of the tower are reinforced by rectangular buttresses bonded into the body of the wall.

There is no door in the ground floor of the tower, and we may assume that the entrance was by way of the upper floor which was reached by a ladder as is the case, for example, in the mediaeval tower near Brauron.

Over the floor of the tower there lay to a depth of from 0.50 m. to 0.75 m. a fill consisting of rubble, broken tiles and fallen plaster, evidently debris from the time of the destruction of the tower. In this fill we found one Venetian coin of the late fourteenth century and a few Byzantine sherds of the same general period or earlier. The earliest sherds were very late Roman combed ware of a type that usually occurs with early Byzantine glazed pottery. In a layer of silt over the floor of the southern room a few more sherds were discovered; the characteristic pieces were Byzantine sgraffito.

The tower thus probably dates from the 11th or 12th century and fell into ruin in the 15th century. The locality is still known as Kastro and is so referred to in the modern titles dating from about 1870 as Mr. Konstantinides informs me.

THE ANCIENT COLUMN MONUMENT

The ancient blocks used in the construction of the mediaeval tower can be grouped in several series. First and foremost is the Ionic capital, the column drums that evidently belong with it and a fragment of sculpture that probably crowned it. Then we have the orthostate blocks with pointed decoration on their faces⁶ and a series of

⁶ Several have been mentioned in the description of the tower. The isolated piece illustrated

euthynteria or step blocks that perhaps go with them.⁷ In addition to these there are some miscellaneous pieces that should be mentioned, particularly an inscription⁸ and the marble block re-used as a well head.⁹ Most of these require further study and detailed drawings, and we will confine ourselves here to the column monument.

The best way to form an impression of the capital is to study John Travlos' drawings of it reproduced in Figure 2 and the photographs on Plates 32 and 33. A few words of description will suffice to supplement the illustrations. The capital is of monumental proportions and is made of Pentelic marble. It is sadly damaged, most of its edges and corners being broken away and its surface, particularly where it has been exposed, being discolored and covered with lichens. Nevertheless most of the essential measurements and details can be recovered except for the exact profile of the plinth above the abacus. The echinus was not carved, and we may assume that it was decorated with a painted egg and dart. The eye of the volute was a rounded knob. A broad,

Plate 34, a, is 1.10 m. long, 0.64 m. high and a maximum of 0.60 m. from front to back, and is roughly triangular in plan. It is of coarse-grained dark blue to gray marble, evidently local; similar marble may be seen today in a modern quarry about a kilometer south of the village of Marathon. Though coarser grained, it is otherwise quite like the dark stone used at Rhamnous for the lower step and euthynteria of the temple of Nemesis and for the small temple. I am amazed at Plommer's statement in *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, p. 69: "I could not see at Rhamnous where marble ended and local stone began." The difference is quite clear in spite of the weathered condition of the blocks.

⁷ Several of these are built into the euthynteria course at the north end of the tower. The isolated piece illustrated here, Plate 34, b, is 1.20 m. long, 0.65 m. wide and 0.47 m. high. It has a T-clamp. The marble is the same as that of the orthostates.

⁸ The inscription (Pl. 34, e) is on a fragment of a large marble block about 0.38 m. high and 0.57 m. thick. The back is roughly worked and perhaps not original. The block is broken at either end and has a preserved width of about 0.60 m. There was a moulding 0.07 m. high, now broken away, at the top of the inscribed face. The letters are 0.03 m. high and their forms are those of the later fourth or third century B.C.

Χαρίδημ[ος --]
 Πρωτομα[χ --]
 [.]α[---]

The name Protomachos in the second line might be restored in the genitive case as the patronymic of Charidemus or in the nominative as the name of some other person. In the third line there is the upper part of a round letter approximately beneath the sixth letter of line 2. We might conceivably restore the demotic [Μαρθ] ὁ [νιος], or, if the second line is nominative, still another personal name. The nature of the monument is not clear. It might be a grave monument of *mensa* type (although the top is rough picked, not smooth as one would expect) in which case the inscription will record the name of the deceased, his patronymic and demotic.

⁹ This is a handsome block of white marble about 1.20 m. long, 1.00 m. wide and 0.32 m. high. The top is heavily worn and none of the original surface is preserved. It is finished on all four sides to a finely picked surface and there is a drafted band along the bottom edge about 0.035 m. high. On one of the long sides (the present north face) there is a slightly recessed surface starting 0.22 m. from the bottom. If this carried up to the top (most of the stone is missing here), it would have made a band about 0.10 m. high across the top of this face. I have examined what remains of the surface carefully for traces of an inscription, but in the present damaged state of the stone there is nothing to be seen.

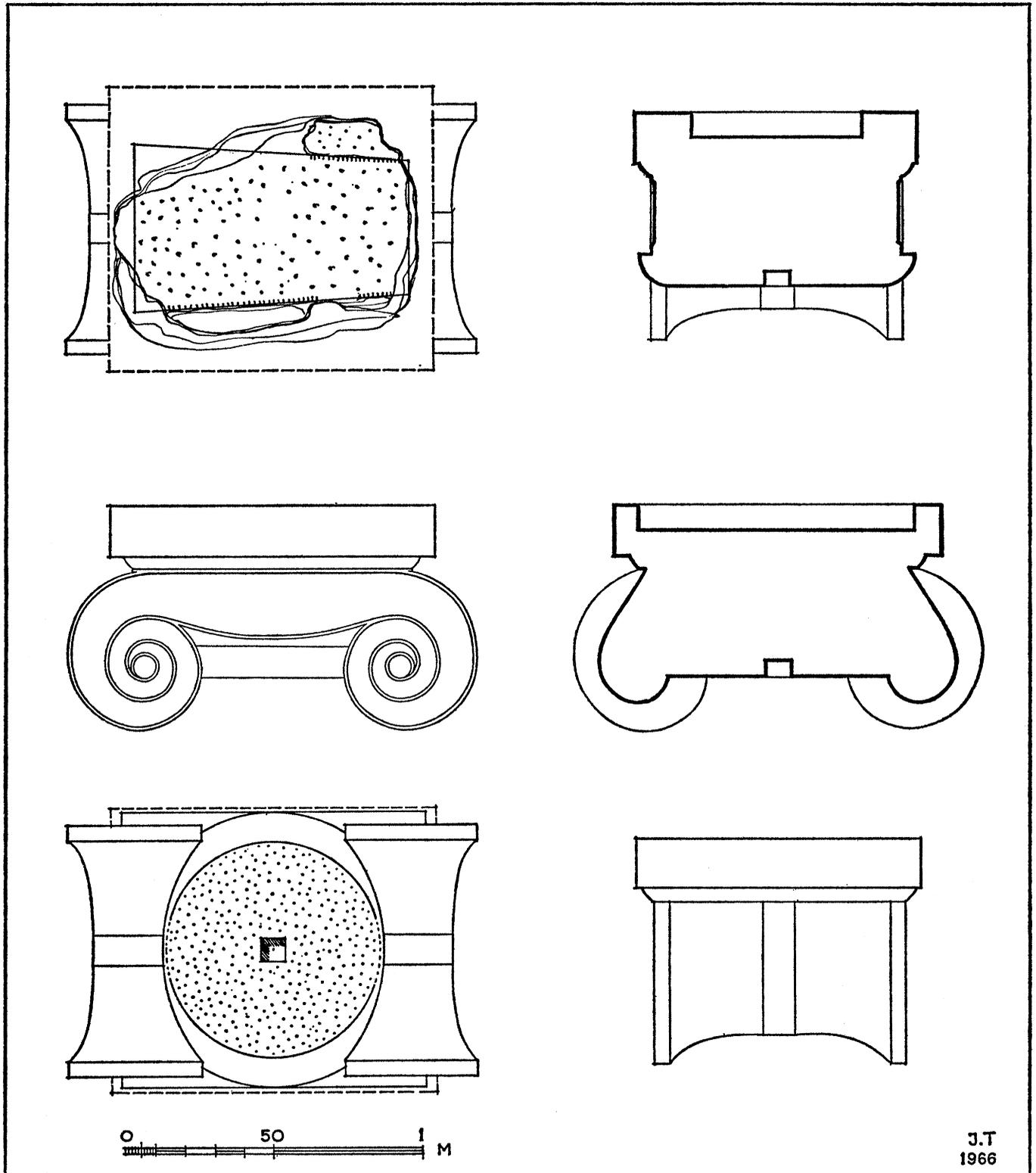


FIG. 2. The Ionic Capital. (Drawn by John Travlos.)

slightly raised band runs up and down the center of the bolster side. The top is almost wholly occupied by a large trapezoidal cutting about 0.94 m. long, 0.45 m. wide at one end, 0.57 m. wide at the other end and 0.09 m. deep, evidently intended to receive a marble or stone statue (not a bronze one). The measurements of the under side of the capital indicate that the top drum had a diameter of about 0.73 m.

At least five column drums are represented by existing fragments, a sixth has left a trace, and two others have been reported. They are of Pentelic marble and are unfluted, their surfaces having been brought to a smoothly picked finish. A band a centimeter or two wide next to the joint is more smoothly finished. The bearing surfaces have broad anathyrosis with a sunken area roughly dressed around the square empolion cutting in the center. Some particulars of the individual drums follow.

Drum A. (Pl. 34,c-d). Built into middle of west wall of tower on inner side. Height 0.86 m. Diameter 0.82 m. at the present top. The present lower diameter cannot be measured.

Drum B. Built into middle of west wall of tower on outer side. Diameter 0.76 m. One end only preserved. Two fragments that may come from the other end of this drum were found outside the northwest corner of the tower. Estimated diameter of these 0.78 m. One of these fragments has a roughly cut letter, H, on the bearing surface.

Drum C. Built into east side near northeast corner. Height 0.84 m. Diameter 0.82 m. The diameter at the other end cannot be measured.

Drum D. Built into east side near southeast corner. Badly smashed; two moderate sized and dozens of smaller fragments were found. No significant dimensions preserved. A fragment built into the rubble foundation of the south side may also be mentioned here.

Drum E. A sizeable fragment built into the Mesosporitissa chapel about the middle of the south side, low down. No significant dimensions can be taken.

In addition to these Milchhoefer¹⁰ noted two drums lying in the direction of Bei, i.e. west of the tower. These seem to have disappeared unless they are represented by two moderate sized fragments built into the wall of an oven about 40 meters west of the tower. One or other of them may have been the drum which has left a trace at the middle of the east wall of the tower.

A fragment of sculpture in Pentelic marble (Pl. 34,f) was found lying outside the northwest corner of the tower. It is about 0.60 m. in height and roughly 0.45 m. in length and breadth. It is terribly damaged and its sculptured surface is preserved only over a very small area on one side where some broad folds of drapery are to be seen. It has a plinth about 0.15 m. high.

¹⁰ Reference cited above, note 2.

There can be no doubt that these three elements, capital, drums, and sculpture, belong together and are parts of a single monument, a free-standing column about ten meters tall supporting a statue. This type of monument is common throughout classical antiquity, the column with the Naxian sphinx at Delphi being a familiar early example.¹¹ The Athenian acropolis had many such monuments in the period before the Persian Wars; most were of moderate size but there was at least one gigantic Ionic column of which two fragments of the capital survive.¹²

For the style of our capital the closest parallels seem to me to be the capitals from the temple of Athena at Sounion, a capital once kept in the Pinakothek on the Acropolis, and the capitals which Amandry assigns to the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi.¹³ These all date from the period just after the Persian Wars but before the middle of the fifth century, and it is to this quarter century that our capital may be assigned on stylistic grounds. The style of the sculptured fragment, so far as one can judge it, would suit this period. It has neither the stiff formal folds of the archaic period nor the deeply cut free folds of the high classical style.

Whether the other two series of blocks, the steps and the orthostates, go with the column monument is less certain. The T-clamps of the steps would allow them to be fifth century, but the pointed decoration of the orthostates is perhaps more suitable to the fourth.¹⁴ If they do not belong with the column monument in its original state they may be part of some later embellishment of it, in the form of a low massive stepped pedestal. Or they may be from a separate and later monument having nothing to do with the column.

All this material that we find re-used in the tower doubtless originated somewhere in the immediate vicinity and was not brought here from any great distance. The tower, to be sure, is built upon its own foundations of rubble and mortar, and we found no ancient foundation beneath it. The Mesosporitissa chapel, however, stands on a slight rise of ground, as Milchhoefer noted, and in front of it, in the direction of

¹¹ W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, pp. 121, 143 and 326, cites examples of various periods. For the column of the Naxian sphinx see Amandry's book cited below, note 13. The Marathon column may have been about the same height as the Naxian column. We have a drum from the upper middle part of the shaft (Drum B) and two from the lower middle part (Drums A and C) and these have about the same diameter as the corresponding drums in the Naxian column. Amandry estimates the height of the Naxian column, including capital and base, at 9.90 m.

¹² Theodor Wiegand, *Der archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, p. 173. I would estimate the diameter of the volute to be about twice that of the Marathon capital. Wiegand makes the alternative suggestion that the Acropolis fragments may come from a large altar.

¹³ Pierre Amandry's study of this series of capitals is the best that has appeared: *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, *La Colonne des Naxiens et le Portique des Athèniens*, pp. 45-47, 98-101, pls. XXIX-XXXII, XL; this last plate illustrates comparative material. The Sounion capitals are also illustrated in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1917, p. 184 and *B.C.H.*, LXXXV, 1961, p. 603, fig. 1. The capital once kept in the Pinakothek is illustrated in *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, Beilage XVIII, 9 (text p. 170) and *Arch. Anz.*, 1936, pp. 327-328, fig. 21 (text pp. 331-332).

¹⁴ W. Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, figs. 71, 72, 73, 76, 104, 105, 106.

the tower, there is a dike of earth which rises slightly above the level of the surrounding plain and has a good deal of broken stone in it. The dike is not cultivated and this may be due to the fact that there are ancient foundations below. Elsewhere this part of the plain is flat and almost completely free of stones.

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

A single large votive column of the second quarter of the fifth century before Christ standing out in the plain of Marathon can hardly be anything other than a monument to the battle of 490 B.C.

Several such monuments existed as we learn from Pausanias, Book I, Chapter 32. "The tomb of the Athenians is in the plain and on it stand stelai bearing the names, listed by tribes, of those who fell. There is another tomb for the Plataeans of Boeotia and for the slaves; for slaves fought then for the first time. There is also a separate monument for an individual, Miltiades, son of Kimon. . . . There is also a trophy of white marble. The Athenians say that they buried the Medes, and indeed it is a sacred duty to cover a human corpse with soil, but I was unable to find a tomb, nor was there any mound or other visible sign, but they brought them and threw them haphazard into a trench."¹⁵

The tomb of the Athenians is certainly the Soros, and the tomb of the Plataeans and slaves and the monument of Miltiades would seem from Pausanias' description to have been near by. Clarke and Leake each report seeing a small tumulus near the Soros which they thought might belong to the Plataeans and slaves.¹⁶ The Pyrgos some 600 meters north of the Soros has sometimes been taken for the monument of Miltiades, or at least as marking its position; it appears to have been a mediaeval tower built of ancient materials but there is very little left on the spot today.

After mentioning these three monuments which were probably grouped fairly

¹⁵ The bones of the Persians were perhaps discovered in modern times if we may judge from a report by Hauptmann Eschenburg on p. 10 of the work cited above, note 2. Captain Eschenburg spent seven months at Marathon in the winter of 1884-85 making a survey of the plain for the *Karten von Attika*. As an army man he became interested in the battle and subsequently wrote his own account of it. This is no longer much read as it is based on the erroneous assumption that the Soros was *not* the tomb of the Athenians, an idea that had a brief vogue after Schliemann's incomplete excavations in 1884 and until the Greek excavations of 1890. His circumstantial report of the discovery of huge masses of bones lying in disorder in the area of the Mesosporitissa chapel and over as far as the marsh is, however, worth noting: "bei der Anlage der hier liegenden Skouzee'schen Weinberge in Unmassen regellos liegende Knochenreste aufgedeckt wurden, die auf viele hunderte von Todten hindeuten. Ich verdanke diese Mitteilung dem Epistaten des Herrn Skouzee, einem jungen intelligenten Griechen, unter dessen Leitung diese Weinberge angelegt wurden. Ich selbst habe am Rande der Weinberge nachgegraben und gefunden dass das Erdreich mit Knochenresten durchsetzt, sich bis in den Sumpf hinein erstreckt." Herodotos (VI, 117) puts the number of Persian dead at 6,400.

¹⁶ E. D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*⁴, London, 1818, Vol. VII, pp. 27-28. W. M. Leake, *The Topography of Athens and the Demi*, Vol. II, p. 101.

closely together in the southern part of the plain, Pausanias tells of ghostly apparitions on the battlefield, of the worship of the fallen as heroes, of the worship of Marathon the eponymous hero of the deme, of Herakles and of another hero Echelaios. Then abruptly he mentions the trophy of white marble and discusses the burial place of the Persians. This is followed immediately by mention of the Makaria spring and the marsh into which the barbarians fell through ignorance of the roads and where their heaviest losses occurred. The spring and the marsh are certainly located in the north-east part of the plain and the trophy was probably there too to judge partly from the order of Pausanias' description and partly from the probability that it would have been erected near the spot where the heaviest Persian losses occurred. I should like to suggest that our column monument is in fact the trophy of white marble mentioned by Pausanias.¹⁷

This trophy was one of Athens' proudest monuments. Aristophanes refers to it three times "and always as striking the deepest chord of Athenian patriotism."¹⁸ Kritias, the sophist, speaks of Athens as "the city that set up the fair trophy at Marathon."¹⁹ Plato says that the Athenians were the first to set up trophies over the barbarians, referring to Marathon and Salamis.²⁰ Themistokles declared that he

¹⁷ This idea was first suggested by Leake. I quote from the first edition of the *Demi* (above, note 1) which contains the important observation, omitted in the second edition, that the column did not belong to a building. "Mr. W. Bankes, who has more recently visited Marathon, and who examined the plain with his usual diligence, discovered near the south-western angle of the Great Marsh, and about a quarter of a mile from the sea, at the church of Misosporetissa, the remains of a single Ionic column, of two feet and a half in diameter, of the best period of the arts, and which had the appearance of not having belonged to any building. It may have been a part of the trophy of white marble which was erected by the Athenians after the action, and which, from the remark of Pausanias on its material, seems to have still existed in his time; for this is precisely the spot where the chief slaughter of the barbarians took place, and where the victory of the Athenians was crowned by driving them to the shore, and into the marsh."

¹⁸ *Knights*, 1334; *Wasps*, 711; *Lysistrata* 285. The quotation is from B. B. Rogers' note on the *Wasps* passage.

¹⁹ Fragment B 2, line 15, Diels-Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*,¹⁰ Vol. II, p. 377.

²⁰ Menexenos 240 D. and 245 A. See also Plutarch, *Aristides*, 16,4 and Nepos, *Themistocles*, 5,3. The Salamis trophy, which is mentioned along with the Marathon trophy in these three passages, seems also to have been a marble column; it stood on the Kynosura peninsula on the island of Salamis. Remains of it were formerly visible and are described in James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, I, London, 1762, p. ix, paragraph L, 4. "Some Fragments of an ancient Column of white Marble, which are yet remaining on Punto Barbaro, a Promontory of Salamis, at the entrance of the Streights which separate that Island from the Continent of Attica. They are probably the Remains of a Trophy erected for the Victory of Salamis. These Fragments are yet very discernible from Athens, and must have been much more so, when the Column was entire." Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, Vol. II, Chapter XLVI, who visited Greece in 1765 says "I landed on Cynosura, and examined some remains, consisting of a few stones with a fragment or two of white marble, while the wherries doubled the cape." He supposed these remains to belong to the trophy. His map shows the position of the trophy a little less than half way from the tip of the peninsula to its base.

Ludwig Ross writes in his diary under the date July 21, 1839, the following: "Wir segelten

could not sleep for thinking of Miltiades' trophy.²¹ Some Athenian bronze coins of the Roman period showing a warrior and a captive standing before a trophy have been thought to represent the Marathon trophy.²²

In trying to reconstruct the course of the battle in this part of the plain (Fig. 3) we may suppose that the Persian fleet was drawn up along the Schoinia beach, a fine long stretch of sand in the most sheltered part of the bay. Behind this beach are sand dunes, now covered with a beautiful stand of umbrella pines, and inland of this is the Great Marsh, now largely reclaimed. The Persian camp may have been partly on the dunes, but the main part of it was probably west of the marsh where there is a broad stretch of level ground with a good source of water, the Makaria spring, not far off. The Athenian camp was at the southern extremity of the plain in the temenos of Herakles which I would locate just north of the small Brexisa marsh where the fifth century inscription with the regulations for the Herakleian games was found.²³ On the day of the battle the Athenians lined up here at right angles to the sea. The Persians, having crossed the Charadra (no serious obstacle²⁴), lined up south of it

dann um die äusserste schmale und niedrige Spitze des Langen Kaps, welches man für die Kynosura hält, und wo ich im Oktober 1835 mit Schaubert und Laurent einige Quadern fand, die von dem Tropaion oder dem *κυνὸς σήμα* herrühren mögen." This quotation is from p. 49 of Ross' manuscript diary "Attika mit Salamis, Megaris und den angrenzenden Teilen von Böotien" which bears on the title page the indication "Athen, im Januar 1837." This diary is kept at the Berlin Academy, but I was able to consult it through the kindness of Dr. Werner Fuchs when it was on loan at the German Institute in Athens in the fall of 1965. The only reference to these remains that I have found in Ross' published works is in his *Wanderungen in Griechenland*, I, p. 140, where he writes "ein Siegesdenkmal erhob sich auf dem Vorgebirge Kynosura, von dem man noch Reste sieht."

To judge from the position given the trophy on Chandler's map it would seem to have stood on the height marked 35.1 on Sheet XXI of the *Karten von Attika*. The text to the *Karten* (VII, pp. 26-27) does not mention any remains here, and the last blocks may have disappeared completely by the late nineteenth century when that account was written. When one visits the spot today one sees only ruined dugouts and other military installations of the time of the Second World War. The tip of the cape is now occupied by a Naval Stores Depot.

²¹ This was a well-known anecdote and is repeated by a number of late writers: Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 3, 4; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 84 C (92 C where *νίκη* is substituted for *τρόπαιον*), 185 A, 800 B; Philodemus, *Rhetoric*, II, 205, 32 (Sudhaus); Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, IV, 44; Valerius Maximus, VIII, 14, ext. 1.

²² J. N. Svoronos, *Les monnaies d' Athènes*, pl. 97, 32-35. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 298, fig. 9. Miss Richter, however, has recently made the plausible suggestion that these coins represent statues that stood in the theater of Dionysos, citing a scholiast on Aelius Aristides (*Oratio XLVI*, 161, 13, rec. Dindorf II, pp. 215 f. and scholion, *ibid.*, III, pp. 535 f.) "There are two statues in the theater of Athens, one of Themistokles on the right, the other of Miltiades on the left, and near each is a Persian prisoner." G. M. A. Richter, *Greek Portraits*, IV, pp. 9-11 (*Collection Latomus*, LIV) and *The Portraits of the Greeks*, pp. 95, 96 and 98.

²³ See my article "The Deme of Marathon and the Herakleion" to appear shortly in *A.J.A.* The inscription was published in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 329-337, and in *S.E.G.*, X, 2.

²⁴ A. R. Burn goes too far when he says that the Charadra "was not there in antiquity" (*A Traveller's History of Greece*, p. 123; see also *Persia and the Greeks*, p. 245, note 19). The

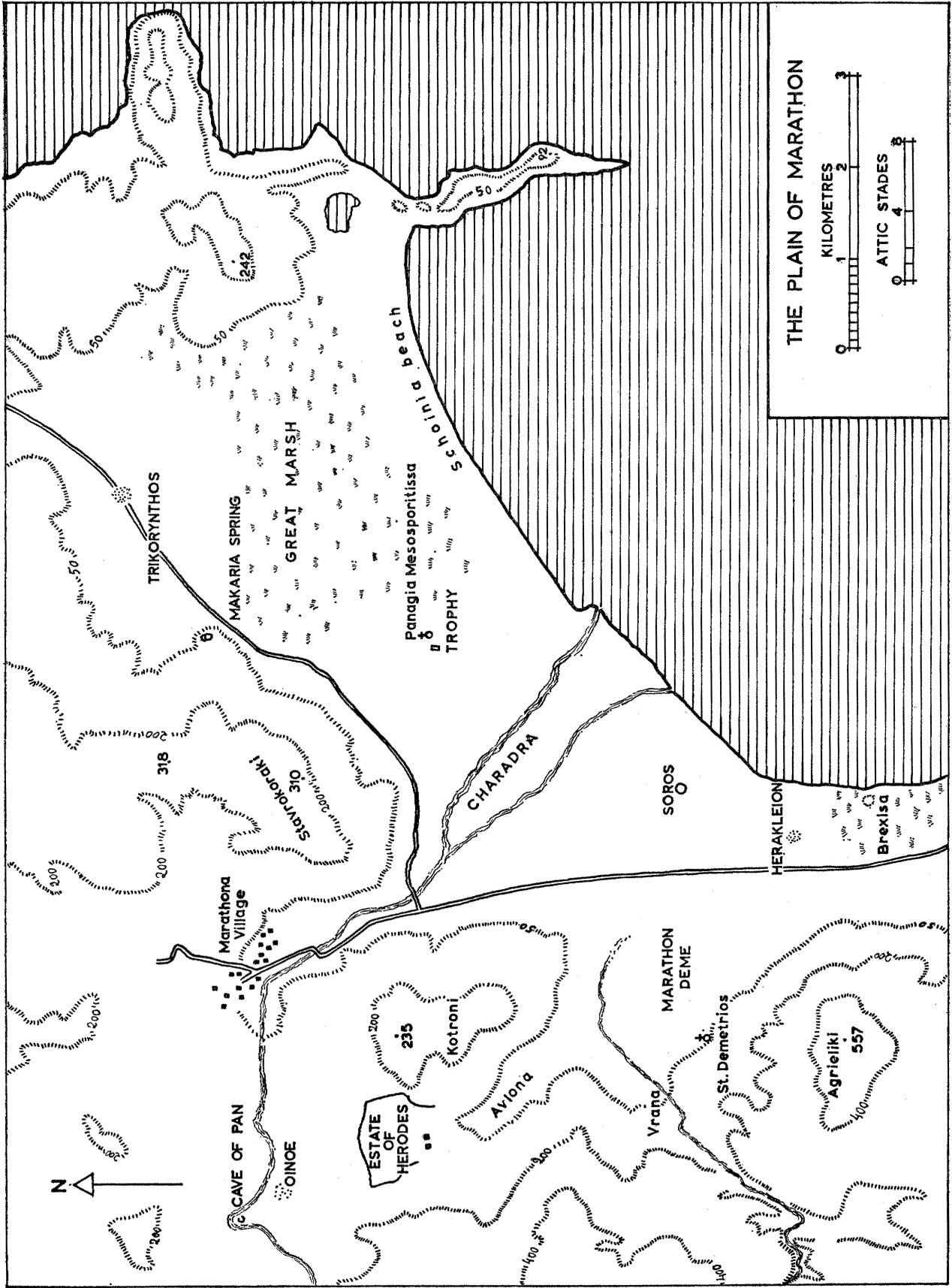


FIG. 3. Map of the Plain of Marathon. (Drawn by Hero Athanassiades.)

facing the Athenians at a distance of not less than eight stades. The main battle was fought in the area of the Soros. The defeated Persians fled back across the Charadra to their camp and ships. Access to the ships was difficult, however, being possible only along the narrow coastal strip between the marsh and the sea. This bottleneck was the scene of heavy fighting as the Athenians tried to capture the ships and the Persians defended them. Herodotos gives some details of the action here (VI, 113-115) including the report that Kynegeiros, son of Euphorion (who as we know was the brother of the poet Aischylos) fell having had his hand cut off by an axe as he siezed the stern of one of the ships. The fighting at the ships was also depicted in one of the panels in the Stoa Poikile,²⁵ and a reproduction of part of this scene is preserved on a sarcophagus in Brescia (Pl. 35).²⁶ The defense was in the main successful, and the Persians escaped losing only seven of their ships, no doubt those at the western end of the beach. But though the defense of the ships was successful and most of them got away, a large portion of the Persian army was abandoned to its fate. Not being able to reach the ships via the beach because of the narrow space and the fighting that was going on there, they must have tried to approach from the landward side. They did not know that the marsh was deep and difficult to pass and thus many of them lost their lives in it as Pausanias tells us in his description of the plain;²⁷ a scene in the painting in the Stoa Poikile showed the Persians fleeing and pushing one another into the marsh.²⁸

Here then, near the site of the Persian camp and near the spot where the heaviest Persian losses occurred, the Athenians erected their trophy. The original trophy, set up right after the battle, will have been an impromptu one composed of enemy armor and weapons hung on a tree trunk. About thirty years later, however, at a time when

Kenurios River of the British Admiralty chart of 1845 is merely a *new channel* of a river that must always have existed. The name "Keynurios" was known to E. D. Clarke who visited Marathon on December 2, 1801; it appears in his text (p. 15) and is shown on his map (*op. cit.*, *supra*, note 16). The consul Jean Giraud who lived in Athens in the late 17th century wrote "Au devant de Maraton passe une petite rivière qu'ils appellent Neopotami, qui veut dire nouvelle rivière." M. Collignon, "Le consul Jean Giraud et sa relation de l'Attique au XVII^e siècle," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, XXXIX, 1913, p. 420. The *Karten von Attika*, Sheet XIX (above, note 2) clearly shows two channels, an old and a new, and both are still traceable on the ground today. The river has no doubt changed its course more than once.

²⁵ Pausanias I, 15, 3.

²⁶ I publish a photograph of this relief through the courtesy of Dr. Gaetano Panazza, Director of Museums and Galleries of the Municipality of Brescia. It shows Greeks and Persians fighting at ships by the shore and has long been recognized as representing the Battle of Marathon. It is well known to art historians but has not been used by historians of the battle; it might be studied with profit by those who believe that the Persian cavalry had been withdrawn before the battle. The relief has been published in *Arch. Zeit.*, XXIV, 1866, pp. 220-224, pl. CCXV 1, and *Jahreshefte*, X, 1907, p. 157, fig. 50 and pp. 162-168 where further bibliography is cited.

²⁷ I, 32, 7.

²⁸ Pausanias, I, 15, 3.

other monuments to Marathon such as the Athena Promachos on the Acropolis²⁹ and the Marathon monument at Delphi³⁰ were being erected, a commemorative monument was also set up on the plain of Marathon. It had the form of a tall free-standing Ionic column on top of which a trophy of marble was displayed. The existing cutting on the top of the capital is too large for just the trophy and we must suppose that there was something else besides, perhaps a Nike preparing or crowning the trophy such as is sometimes represented on vases, reliefs and coins.³¹

EUGENE VANDERPOOL

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
ATHENS

ADDITIONAL NOTE. The British Museum possesses a marble trophy from the plain of Marathon which was presented to the Museum by John Walker, Esq., in 1802. It is briefly described and illustrated with a line drawing in A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, Vol. III, London, 1904, p. 221, no. 2142. I have had the opportunity of examining this trophy through the courtesy of Mr. D. E. L. Haynes, Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. It cannot, I think, have been an integral part of the monument we have been considering above. The style seems late, and the surfaces are finished with a rasp. At most it may have been part of some later embellishment of the monument, but it might equally well, I suppose, have come from a different part of the plain and so be quite unrelated. The crest of the helmet, which is preserved at the back, is broken away at the top. The broken surface, however, is not confined to the area where the crest was but extends on down across the crown of the helmet to the spectators' right showing that something more is broken from here; probably the trophy, which is only about 0.84 m. high, served as a support for a figure placed beside it and here will have been the point of attachment. I hope to discuss and illustrate this trophy more fully elsewhere.

²⁹ Pausanias, I, 28, 2.

³⁰ Pausanias, X, 10, 1-2.

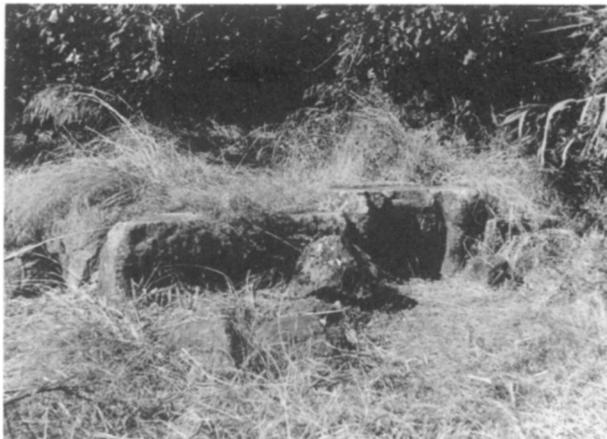
³¹ Cf. the red-figured pelike, Boston 20.187: *A.R.V.*², p. 857, no. 2; L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Part III, pp. 65-67, with a list of trophies on vases. Karl Woelcke, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Tropaions," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXX, 1911, pl. XI, illustrates a number of coins; see also his text pp. 164, 165, 181. Nikes crowning trophies appear on the parapet of the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis: Rhys Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*; a trophy with Persian armor is illustrated on pl. XXXII. Two recent general studies on trophies may be noted: Zofia Gansiniec, *Geneza Tropaionu*, Warszawa-Wroclaw, 1955, with summary in French, and Andreas Jozef Janssen, *Het antieke Tropaion (with a Summary in English)*, Ledeberg-Gent, 1957.



a. Chapel of the Panagia Mesosporitissa.



b. Marble Well Head.



c. North Face of Tower at Start of Work.



d. North Face of Tower after Initial Cleaning.



e. The Tower: General View from Northeast.



a. North Face of Tower.

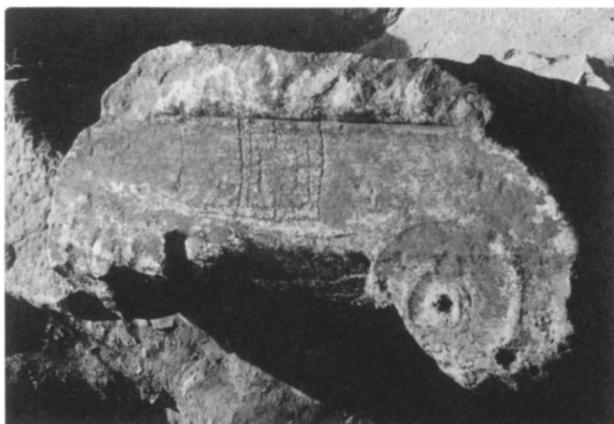


b. Detail of Capital in Tower.

Ionic Capital



a. Better Preserved Volutes.



b. Less Well Preserved Volutes.



c. Top Showing Cutting.



d. Bolster End.



e. Three Quarters View of Top.

Ionic Capital

EUGENE VANDERPOOL: A MONUMENT TO THE BATTLE OF MARATHON



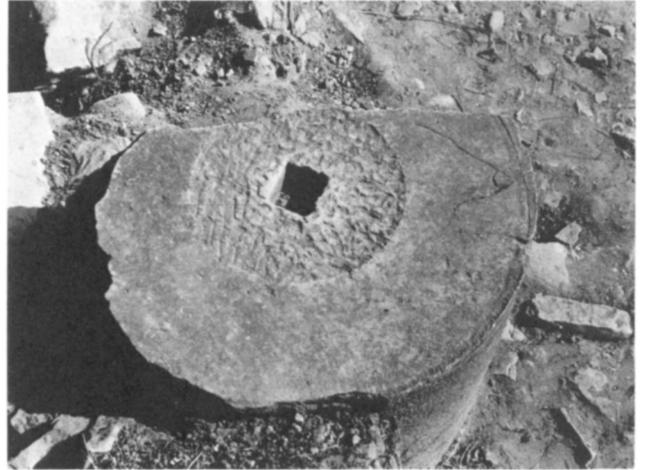
a. Orthostate Block.



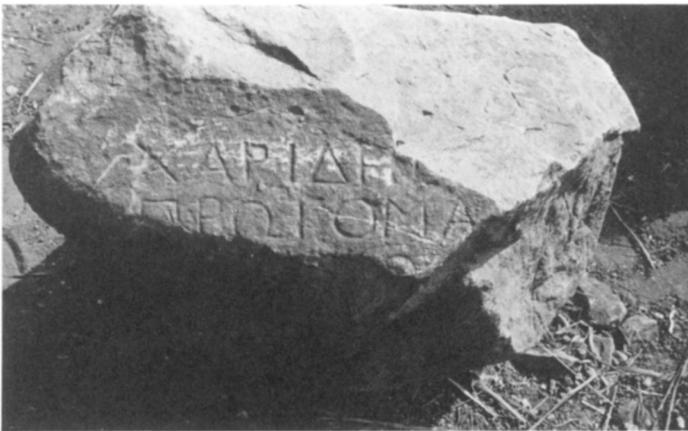
b. Step Block.



c. Column Drum A.



d. Column Drum A, Detail.



e. Inscription.



f. Fragment of Sculpture.



The Battle of Marathon on a Sarcophagus in Brescia.

EUGENE VANDERPOOL: A MONUMENT TO THE BATTLE OF MARATHON