

PLATAÏKA:
THE TOPOGRAPHY AND REMAINS OF THE
REGION OF PLATAIAI, WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

by

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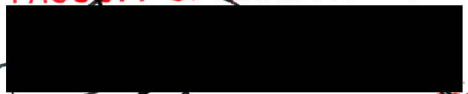
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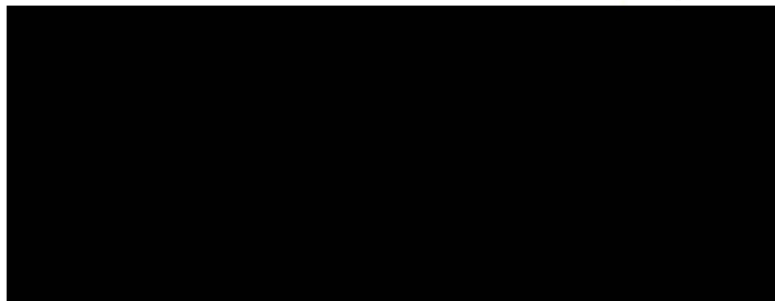
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The ancient acropolis of Plataiai from the northeast.

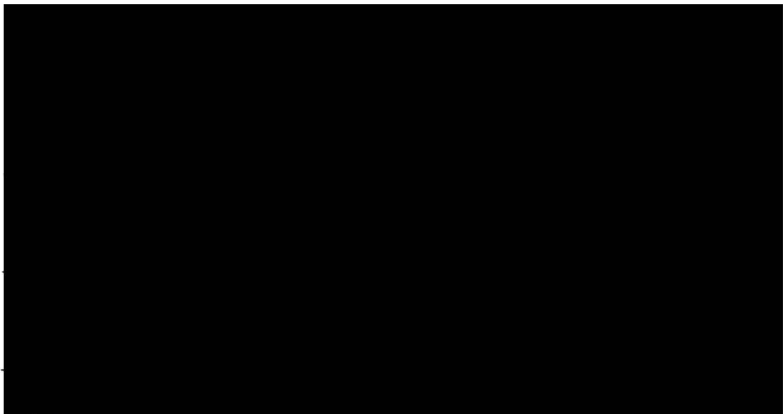
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Abstract

Plataiai is most remembered for the battle of 479 B.C. where victorious Greeks began a process of reversing the encroachment of eastern arms and ideology on to European soil, and for the Games of Freedom which were at that time instituted at Plataiai and have survived as a reminder of the process and its continued impact and validity. The importance of the city and her territory is extensively documented in the works of the ancient Greek historians -- so much so that Herodotos devoted more attention to events in the Plataian region than in any other, while after him Thoukydides came little short of the same intensity. Nonetheless, the historical fame accorded her by the two major historians is but a part of Plataiai's history, a part which in isolation from the whole, proffers a false impression of a constantly democratic city continuously struggling against the malevolence of neighbouring Thebai and habitually nurtured by the patronage of Athenai. The purpose, then, of confining that impression within the context of her entire history, and thereby exposing the fallacy, guides the present history.

The historical introduction complements the subsequent topographical survey, in forming a unity wherein the former elucidates the latter and *vice versa*. The survey, accompanied by maps and plates, guides the reader through the region and its residua, while constantly relating the visual

to the historical. The city site and walls, better preserved than is the case for most ancient Boiotian settlements, are compared in their present condition and location with the findings of the American excavations of the previous century. The comparison has prompted a reappraisal and consequent divergence from the urban circuit formerly reported, with the further result that revisions regarding the physical size and situation of the city through various periods from the sixth century B.C. to the fifteenth century A.D. are proposed. In the greater region beyond the ancient city and modern town, ruins and sherd concentrations are connected with the names of historically known habitations with specific elaboration on the identification and location of the ancient settlements of Hysiai, Erythrai, Skarphe and Skolos. The process of identification, however, is not restricted to a sole concern with demographic shifts within the region, but is extended to a consideration of various regional features which may be associated with the Plataian record within a time span which stretches for more than three millennia from the legendary to the historical. Some of the topographical study evaluates those identifications of previous scholarship which have continued to be questioned; some of the research involves itself with interpretations and material which is presented for the first time. The ultimate goal has been to offer a connection between event and place, whenever there is sufficient topographical and historical reference to do so.



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ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΠ ΑΙΩΝΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙ ΚΑΙ
ΠΛΑΤΑΙΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ
ΜΕΤΕΠΕΙΤΑ ΧΡΟΝΟΥΣ
ΕΩΣ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΥΠΕΡ
ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ
ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ
ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ
ΠΙΕΣΟΝΤΑΣ ΠΛΑΤΑΙΕΙΣ
Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ
ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ ΔΟΞΑΝ ΚΑΙ
ΤΙΜΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΗΡΩΪΚΩΝ
ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΤΟ
ΠΑΡΟΝ ΕΣΤΗΣΑ.

HISTORY

ναοὶ δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ στοᾶ καὶ τοῦνομα ...
τὸ πολὺ μὲν ἀκτῆ, τοῖς δ' Ἐλευθερίοις πόλις.
Dikaiarchos, *Of the Cities in Greece* 11.

History

Doxies

The earth also was corrupt before Zeús¹, and the earth was filled with violence.

And Zeus said unto Deukalíon: The end of all flesh is come before me; for Hellás is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth.

And Zeus said unto Deukalíon: Come thou and thy wife into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation.

And Deukalíon did according unto all that Zeus commanded him.

And it came to pass after nine days that the waters of the flood were full upon the earth.

And the waters prevailed and were increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters; and all the high hills that were under the whole heaven were covered; and the mountains were covered and Boiotía was submerged.²

And Zeus remembered Deukalíon and the waters abated.

And the ark rested upon the mountains of Parnassós and, as the flood subsided and the plain first appeared, the good order in the atmosphere and the calm were the concord and reconciliation of the gods.³

And below Parnassos by Boiotian Alalkomenaí the first plant rose from the earth, and it was the oak and it provided food; for it yet bore the acorn and there was honey from the

bees.⁴

And they knew their preservation would endure.⁵

And Deukalion and his wife offered burnt sacrifice upon an altar and asked how the race of man might be restored.

And Zeus blessed them and said unto them: "Put the bones of your mother behind and be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth."

And Deukalion begat Hállen; and Hellen begat Aíolos, the founder of the Aiolian race; and Aiolos begat Kretheús; and he begat Amytháon; and he begat Melámpous; and Melampous begat Ábas; and he begat Koíranos; and he begat Polýidos and Polyidos founded a city and the city was called Plataiaí.⁶

And the city was near a great lake called Kopaïs; for not all the waters subsided; and the people of the city took to the water in boats and from the flat of their oars they were called Plataians.⁷

And the city grew and was home to great kings and heroes; for King Kithairón was in harmony with Zeus; and Kithairon begat Asopós, who was in his turn king and to Asopos were born daughters; and of these, two were called Oëróë⁸ and Plataía.⁹

And to the city of Plataiai Zeus took Héra where she became his wife and their union was the concord of the sky and earth.¹⁰

For while Hera was still a girl, having been brought up in Euboía, she was kidnapped by Zeus and transported to the Plataian region where she was concealed in a shaded nook which Kithairon provided and which formed a natural marriage-chamber. Makrís, Hera's nurse, came to look for her but was prevented

from interfering or approaching the marriage-chamber by a tale that Zeus was sleeping and dallying with Léto there. So Makris went away and thus Hera escaped discovery. Later, when the marriage of Hera and Zeus became public and their association was brought to light -- which first happened on Mount Kithairon and at Plataiai -- she was named τελεῖα (full-grown, consummate) and γαμήλιος (nuptial).¹¹

But Hera had a falling out with Zeus, as marital partners will, and would no longer consort with him but hid herself on Mount Kithairon. Zeus wandered around looking for her and fell in with Alalkomeneús near the oak-grove of Alalkomenai. He instructed Zeus to trick Hera by a pretence of marrying someone else, namely Plataia, daughter of King Asopos.¹² There, Alalkomeneus assisted him in secretly felling an oak-tree, which they shaped and dressed like a bride, giving it the name of Daidále. When the preparations were made the wedding-song rang out and the nymphs of the River Trítôn which flows into Lake Kopais brought the water for the bridal bath and Boiotia provided pipes and revelry. As all this went on, Hera could suffer it no longer but came down from Kithairon with a retinue of women from Plataiai and ran in anger and jealousy to confront Zeus and Plataia. When the counterfeit was exposed she reconciled herself to Zeus and herself led the bridal procession with joy and laughter. She gave honour to the wooden image by naming the festival Daídala but for all that, she burnt up the image, lifeless though it was, in her jealousy.¹³

So the Plataians then held the Festival of the Daidala

every four years¹⁴ to commemorate the marriage of Zeus and Hera, and Hera became the focus of daily Plataian worship.¹⁵ Before each quadrennial celebration, the Plataians would go to the oak-grove near Alalkomenai where the trunks of the oak were the largest in Boiotia. There in the grove they laid out portions of boiled flesh and kept a strict watch over the crows which flocked to the meat. They carefully noted the tree whereon settled the first crow to take the meat. They then cut down that tree and made of the trunk a wooden image which they called the *daïdalon*.¹⁶ About this image centered the quadrennial celebrations of the Little Daidala, and this the Plataians celebrated alone.

But every sixty years all Boiotia joined in the festivities and the fourteen images which accrued from the quadrennial celebrations and were distributed by lot among Boiotian cities and towns, then formed the centre of a wider celebration -- the Great Daidala. The images were brought to the River Asopos. Bridesmaids chosen for the festival were seated beside the various images in carts. The cities and towns cast lots for position in the procession and then began to drive the wagons from the river up to the summit of Kithairon where an altar was prepared from quadrangular pieces of wood joined as stones in a building. Upon the altar brushwood was spread and on this a cow was set for Hera and a bull for Zeus. The victims were filled with wine and incense¹⁷ and were cleaned of their gall bladders so that bile would have no part in a festival of marriage.¹⁸ Such offerings were to be sacrificed severally by the magistrates

of the various cities and towns but people of wealth sacrificed, in addition, whatever they wished and even the less wealthy might sacrifice a smaller animal. The altar was heaped up with the fourteen *daídala* as well and when set afire, images, victims and altar alike were consumed in a conflagration whose smoke could be seen from as far away as Athénai.¹⁹

But King Asopos had yet another daughter and she was called Antiópe.²⁰ And Zeus had a connection with her more consummate than was the case with her sister Plataia. The union gave seed to the twins Amphiôn and Zéthos, but perturbed Antiope's lawful Theban husband Lýkos. Consequently, Antiope fled and the twins were born on Kithairon and not knowing their true descent grew up there among Plataian shepherds. There in the mountains Amphion practised song and music with his lyre while Zethos spent his time in hunting and tending the flocks. Meanwhile Lykos married Dirke. But when the twins learned of their origin they went against Thébai and Lykos who had disclaimed their mother, and after taking the city vindicated Antiope by killing Lykos and Dirke. The corpse of Dirke they threw into a well.

But the involvement of Zeus with Antiope, the sister of Plataia, happened after the death of Aktaíon and Pentheús, who were also descended from Deukalion. For Aiolos, grandson of Deukalion, begat not only Kretheus but also Athámas who fell in love with Inó, sister of Autonóe and Agaué, all daughters of Kádmos, the founder of Thebai. It was Autonoe who was mother of Aktaion and Agaue who was mother of Pentheus.

And both sons ended life on Kithairon near Plataiai.

For it was Aktaion, who, trained in the art of hunting by the centaur Cheíron, met his end some time before his cousin Pentheus near the same Spring of Ártemis.²¹ Aktaion and his companions, wearied by the chase, sought rest and refreshment from the hunt and the midday heat. To the spring where Artemis often bathed came Aktaion alone and he gazed upon the nakedness of the goddess. And Artemis at such provocation transformed him into a stag though he retained the mind of man. He hesitated in the pain of realization and human tears ran down over a stag's cheek until his own dogs gave him chase and all the while his companions urged them on to the attack and kill until the Aktaion-stag was torn to pieces.²²

There too, Pentheus later got upon a tree to witness in secret the frenzied revelry of the *mainádes*. But the women discovered him and he himself was torn to pieces, but by his own mother Agaue and his aunts Ino and Autonoe who believed him to be a wild beast.²³ For his cousin Diónysos clouded their minds with the power of wine and urged them on to kill.²⁴

But Menoikeús was the grandson of Pentheus and father of Kréon and Iokáste, and Iokaste was mother and wife to Oidípous who at his birth was pierced through the ankles with goads and exposed to die on Mount Kithairon in Plataian territory. But Oidipous survived and grew to manhood to strike down his father Láios, King of Thebai, and it was King Damasístratos of Plataiai who discovered the body and buried it.²⁵

But Kreon also begat a son, also named Menoikeus, and it

was his generation which saw the seven Argives march against Thebai. For Oidipous' own son Polyneíkes, banished from Thebai by King Kreon, was accompanied by Tydeús on that campaign. And it was Tydeus who alone first went against Thebai while his Achaian companions waited at the Asopos.²⁶ Tydeus and all but Ádrastos were killed on that expedition, but Tydeus' son Diomédes performed heroic deeds not only in taking Thebai ten years later but also as King of Árgos and leader in the war against Troía.

Léitos was yet another hero at Troia. For Zeus earlier begat Tántalos, who begat Pélops, who begat Aléktor, who was the father of Leitos. And to Troia Leitos led the Plataians²⁷ but was the only one of the Boiotian chiefs to return home where he later died and was entombed in the Plataian city.²⁸

These were the primordial gods, heroes and kings of Plataiai, but others there were to mould the Plataian mind -- Pan; Deméter and Persephóne; Athená;²⁹ Androkrátes; Leúkon, son of Poseidón and father of Erýthras;³⁰ Peísandros; Damokrátes; Hypsión; Moscheína³¹ and the Sphragitic Nymphs. For there was a cave near Plataiai where there was an oracle, and many Plataians were possessed of the oracular power and were called the nymph-possessed.³²

The story of Plataiai reaches back into the Homeric and pre-Mykenaian periods and further back to the age of neolithic man. Finds of obsidian³³ as well as pre-Mykenaian and Mykenaian sherds support the possibilities, if not the facts, of a pre-history that could be traced to the legend of Deukalion. It would seem that the first inhabitants of the

settlement at Plataiai were indigenous to the land³⁴ and that only later did they come under the sway of the Boiotians and in particular the Thebans,³⁵ though one could hardly say wholly under their sway in view of the resistance to Thebai so characteristic of Plataiai's history. But that Plataiai had some early peaceful association with the rest of Boiotia and Thebai as well seems evident from the fact of the encompassing Boiotian inter-city involvement in the celebration of the Great Daidala; and such an association would suggest that the original Plataians at some time after the founding of Thebai (which on genealogical observation did not precede the founding of Plataiai) became "Boiotized", whether by the natural process of inter-marriage or by conquest, and "Thebanized" to such a degree that Thebai could later claim that they themselves had some part in the settling though not the founding of the Plataian city.³⁶ Nonetheless, whatever the ethnic origin of the settlement, it is clear that the Plataiai of the Homeric saga³⁷ was so fully associated with all Boiotia that it was indeed considered Boiotian.³⁸

It may be argued whether in any period of her history Plataiai was truly ethnically or spiritually Ionic³⁹ or Doric⁴⁰ or in later terms of reference truly Attic-oriented or Boiotian-oriented. Indeed, a great deal of the material and confusion in such an argument may stem from the simple fact of her size and geographic location. A smaller Plataiai caught between a usually greater Thebai and an always greater Athenai would have of necessity opened her doors to the eminent power of any particular age, a policy which in fact

she often used. She was not in a position to isolate the ethnic integrity of her citizens, though she may have often wished to. Her situation alone demanded a fragile balance between major powers which required her to play one against the other. Her prosperity and survival have often depended upon such tactics. Finding herself caught at the fulcrum of the power scales, she decided early in her history that Athenai rather than neighbouring Thebai or distant Spárta was her surest support, and history has proven the wisdom of her choice. It is largely then in her adaptation to the vicissitudes of Atheno-Theban relationships that Plataian history is forged.

Doxies: Notes

1. The genealogies which follow have been compiled from the relevant entries in W. Smith, ed., *A New Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology and Geography* (New York 1881). Accents and diacritics affixed to names throughout the entire text have been shown at first occurrence only. When a name is better identified as Modern Greek rather than Ancient it has been transliterated as if ancient but accompanied by diacritic dots where necessary as an aid to pronunciation. Consequently, in the transliterations of Modern Greek names the pronunciation of $\dot{\beta}$ and $\dot{\upsilon}$ = English "v", $\dot{\sigma}$ and $\dot{\tau}$ = guttural "h", $\dot{\delta}$ and $\dot{\alpha}$ = "th" as in "this", $\dot{\gamma}$ and $\dot{\rho}$ = consonantal "y", $\dot{\eta}$ and $\dot{\eta}$ are silent, $\dot{\mu}$ = "b", $\dot{\mu}$ = "mb", $\dot{\nu}$ = "d", $\dot{\nu}$ = "nd", $\dot{\tau}$ and $\dot{\tau}$ = "j" while \bar{i} = "ē", \bar{o} = "ō", \bar{y} = "ē", \bar{a} = "ē", \bar{a} = "av", \bar{e} = "ē", \bar{e} = "ēv", \bar{o} = "ō" and \bar{o} = "ē". E and e are not distinguished in the transliterations as to quantity although the shorter quantity is more usual.
2. Ploutarchos, "On the Festival of Images at Plataiai," *Moralia* frg.157.7. Throughout the entire text and notes all translations (and adaptations) of the ancient Greek authors are those of the *Loeb Classical Library* unless otherwise noted.
3. *Idem.*
4. *Idem.*
5. *Idem.*
6. *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. Βουκεραΐς. Because of the corrupt state of the text there is much confusion as to whether Polyidos or Pólybos might be considered founder. H. Soulé, *The Cults of Plataea and the Daedala* (University of California 1941) 96-98, has preferred the former.
7. Strabo, 9.2.17.
8. Heródotos, 9.51.
9. Pausanías, 9.1.1f.
10. Ploutarchos, 157.7.
11. Ploutarchos, 157.2-3. Hera was also worshipped under the epithets of $\nu\upsilon\mu\phi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ and $\kappa\iota\theta\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\alpha$, for a discussion of which see Soulé, 43, where he also has hypothesized convincingly that Hera was adored in her four attributes in one and the same temple.
12. The variation of the tale is largely that of Ploutarchos

while the mention of Plataia is found in Pausanias, 9.3.1-2.

13. Ploutarchos, 157.6.
14. Pausanias, 9.3.3, records "every six years ... but really at a shorter interval." Soulé, 36, has inferred that the celebration may have been held when the "new-moon was visible in the zodiacal sign of Taurus" and has argued persuasively for an interval of four years between each of the lesser festivals.
15. Much may be conjectured regarding the meaning of the cult epithets and the cult of Hera itself but as Soulé, 23, has stated, Hera's "significance for most of her worshippers was that she was goddess of wedlock and protected the lives of women insofar as wedlock was concerned. In consequence, she was also goddess of childbirth and 'kourotróphos' and in general watched over the sex-life of woman."
16. Pausanias, 9.3.4.
17. Pausanias, 9.3.7-8.
18. Ploutarchos, "Advice to Bride and Groom," *Moralía* 141f.
19. Pausanias, 9.3.8: Μεγίστην δὲ ταύτην φλόγα καὶ ἐκ μακροτάτου σύνοπτον οἶδα ἀρθεῖσαν. The summit of Kithairon can be seen from Athenai. Since the festival was still celebrated in Pausanias' time (second century A.D.) it would seem to have endured most probably along with every other Plataian pagan festival until the recorded surge of Christianity in the region in the following century.
20. Hómeros, *Odyssey* 11.260. Antiope's parentage has alternately been given by Smith as Nykteús.
21. Euripídes, *Bacchae* 1043ff. and 1290f.
22. The best known version is that of Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* 3.193ff.
23. The allusion is perhaps to the Kithairon Lion for which see Smith s.v. Alcáthous.
24. Euripides, *Bacchae* 660ff. The tale is the origin of the cult and trieteric festival of Dionysos according to Diódoros of Sicily, 4.3.2, a festival which was also celebrated on Kithairon.
25. Pausanias, 10.5.3-4.
26. Homeros, *Iliad* 4.372ff.

27. Homeros, *Iliad* 2.494.
28. Pausanias, 9.4.3.
29. Athena has no prevalent position in Plataian religion until after the battle at Marathon (490 B.C.).
30. Soulé, 97, has also considered Erythras as the founder of Plataiai's ancient neighbour Erythrai.
31. F. Tarbell and J. Rolfe, "Discoveries at Plataia in 1889. Inscriptions from Plataia," *PASCSA* (= *AJA* 6 [1890] 109), have reported an inscription found at Byzantine Church I on the ancient city plateau and dedicated to this heroine.
32. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 11.4. The Aiantid tribe of Attika sacrificed regularly after the battle of Plataiai and Erythraí (479 B.C.) to the Sphragitic Nymphs, for which see also 19.4.
33. E. Kirsten in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* s.v. "Plataiai" in Band 22.2, column 2282 (Stuttgart, revised 1950). J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 95 (1971) 932, has also reported evidence of a pre-historic community on a low hill in the western extremity of the Plataian plain.
34. Pausanias, 9.1.2. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Oropos und die Graer," *Hermes* 21 (1886) 112, has contended that the Plataians were not originally Boiotians. R. Buck, "The Aeolic Dialect in Boeotia," *CP* 63 (1968) 280, also believed that "the inhabitants expelled by the Βοιωτοί also spoke a form of Ionic." The inhabitants who first settled the ancient city plateau at Plataiai would then seem to be Ionians, as well as their Erythraian neighbours who founded Ionian Erythrai after having first settled near Plataiai. Soulé, 55, has linked Boiotian (but Ionian speaking) Erythrai with Ionian Erythrai in noting that Hera Teleia was worshipped at the latter.
35. Thoukydides, 3.61.2.
36. *Idem*.
37. R. Buck, 278, has maintained that "there is no good ground for the presence of Βοιωτοί in Boiotia before the Trojan War."
38. Homeros, *Iliad* 2.504.
39. Cf. Kirsten, 2284.
40. The earliest temple remains in the region are of the

Doric order, though obviously that fact is hardly sufficient to consider the Plataians as Dorians rather than Ionians.

Nexus, submission and usuryNexus

By the end of the sixth century before Christ¹ Plataiai's autonomy was being so severely challenged by Thebai that its citizens found themselves ready to accept any force which would ward off the Theban interference. Under such circumstances they first applied to Sparta and King Kleomènes for relief and protection but their request was declined.² In consequence, they applied to Athenai. When the Athenians were sacrificing to the twelve gods Plataians came as suppliants rather than equals and seated themselves by the altar in the Athenian agora³ and begged Athenian aid in their struggle against Theban domination. The Athenians, most likely motivated by a selfish wish to expand their influence and their territory, and a desire to control the strategically vital western Kithaironian passes, accepted their petition. But when Thebai discovered the course of action which the Plataians had taken they sent out their army against Plataiai, whereupon the Athenians came to defend the small city and the alliance only just concluded. When battle was imminent it was only through the intermediary action of the Corinthians that a reconciliation was reached and a Thebo-Plataian boundary was drawn up with the condition that the Thebans should no longer coerce Boiotians into any involuntary Boiotian union. Nonetheless, it seems that Thebai had no intention of subjecting herself to such a unilateral decision, and when the Athenians withdrew their forces to-

wards Athenai the Thebans attacked them, though they suffered defeat in the fray. The Athenians then assigned a frontier beyond that which the Korinthians had set. For the Korinthians had arbitrated that the boundary should be somewhere south of the Asopos, whereas the Athenians after victory made the frontier the Asopos itself between Thebai and the two settlements of Plataiai and Hysiai.⁴ For the moment Plataiai had gained from her new alliance; and as far as Athenai was concerned, she had effectively separated Boiotia from Mégara and the Pelopónnesos. As far as the southern non-Attic states were concerned, Plataiai had geographically been the entrance to Boiotia and the northern states, and Athenai had closed the door.

The alliance continued during the next generation, but any designs that Athenai may have entertained on central Greece were temporarily delayed. Barbarian hordes were milling over parts of Hellas and for the eleven years⁵ that Greece was their reluctant intermittent host Athenai had to transform her schemes and dreams of power into mere survival. On the green and fertile plain of Marathón⁶ the Athenians joined with their allies, the Plataians, to be the first of all Greeks to oppose on Greek soil and ultimately defeat the greater numbers of the eastern forces. For the full levy of Plataian arms⁷ -- one thousand men⁸ -- in their turn came to the aid of the Athenians in the interest of their allies and of all Greece. The Plataians took position on the left wing⁹ and being victorious closed with the Athenian right to aid those who had allowed the centre to break, until total

victory followed and they pursued the barbarians, all the while cutting them down, until they had reached the sea where they laid hands on enemy ships and set them afire.¹⁰ And in thanks for the assistance which the Athenians received from the Plataians there, on the occasions of the Great Panathenaia,¹¹ the herald would thereafter pray that all blessings would be granted not only to Athenians but to Plataians as well.¹² And immediately after the struggle at Marathon the Athenians heaped up a tumulus to bury their fallen but allowed one other mound to be heaped up apart to receive together the corpses of slaves¹³ and the sacrificed Boiotian Plataians themselves.¹⁴ Such were the Athenian gestures of gratitude.

After the retreat of the surviving barbarians from Marathon, Plataiai during the next ten years saw a post-war period in which the sensation of victory must have been dampened by acute uneasiness. For not only must Plataiai have shared in the fear of a renewed incursion of barbarians, but, apart from the Thespians, only the Plataians among all other Boiotians had always refused to submit to the barbarian will;¹⁵ and that uniqueness on their part must have served to emphasize the growing division that already existed between Plataiai and neighbouring medizing Thebai.

When the barbarians did return, half of the available Plataians arrayed themselves together with Leonidas and the Lakedaimonians at Thermopylai¹⁶ and perished there with them,¹⁷ while the remaining half embarked upon Athenian ships in defence of Greece, for Plataiai herself had no ships of her

own.¹⁸ And at Artemision¹⁹ Plataians, Athenians and other Greeks engaged the barbarian fleet for some days though indecisively.

When the allied Greeks left Artemision the Plataians put ashore in Boiotia opposite Chalkis and hurried to their own city in order to save what they could of their possessions and convey their households away to safety²⁰ before the barbarians were well informed by the Thebans that Plataiai had not taken their part in the war²¹ but was rather allied with Athenai: but, though the Thebans must have been instrumental in urging the barbarians to a quick destruction of the Plataian city, the Plataians managed to evacuate their city before its actual burning.²² This was the first recorded annihilation of Plataiai at the hands and instigation of their Theban neighbours, and from this time the Plataian union with Athenai would appear not only tied but knotted.²³

Nexus: Notes

1. Herodotus, 6.108f. There is much debate over a date of either 519 B.C. (preferred by this author) or 509 B.C. At the outset, indebtedness is acknowledged to F. Mün- scher, *De Rebus Plataeensium* (Hanover 1841), who has in his work compiled most of the classical sources, and E. Kirsten, *RE* Band 22.2 s.v. "Plataiai", who has com- mented on these sources as well as much of the relevant modern literature before 1950. Consequently, the prac- tice has been adopted in this text of referring wherever possible to Kirsten rather than to the pre-1950 litera- ture cited in his work, unless the latter is of great relevance and importance to this historical introduction. Generally, therefore, for deeper insights into debated questions the reader is referred unless otherwise noted to Kirsten for relevant research before 1948 and to the bibliography which accompanies this work for research either omitted by Kirsten or later than his effort.
2. Herodotos, 6.108. Kleomenes and his Spartan force were probably present at Plataiai at this time. J. Ducat, "La confédération béotienne et l'expansion thébaine à l'époque archaïque" *BCH* 97 (1973) 67, n.38, has not agreed, in stating: "Il ne faut pas entendre par là une présence physique, que le récit d'Hérodote n'implique pas nécessairement, mais une présence politique de Sparte dans une région suffisamment proche de Platées pour que les Platéens songent à s'adresser à elle." What is of greater value, however, is Ducat's discussion (67) of the reasons which prompted Plataiai to seek aid from Sparta, a power no more democratic than was Thebai. He has sug- gested that Plataiai would have preferred submission to Sparta, since Lakedaimonia was further away than Thebai, in the hope that such a remote domination would be less harsh than a nearer one. As for the reason that Kleo- menes declined to offer such protection to Plataiai, J. Larsen, *Greek Federal States. Their Institutions and History* (Oxford 1968) 30-31, has suggested that since the Athenians and the Thessalians enjoyed a mutual friendship in 519 B.C. the Spartans may have declined out of some fear of the Thessalians.
3. Herodotos, 6.108 and *Loeb Classical Library* 262, n.1.
4. The mention of Hysiai at this point and in this context would affirm that Hysiai was a settlement closely asso- ciated with Plataiai and Athenai, at least from the very beginning of the Atheno-Plataian alliance. In point of fact, Hysiai was an Attic deme before 506 B.C. at which time the Boiotians recaptured the place (Herodotos, 5.74). M. Sordi, "Mitologia e propaganda nella Beozia arcaica," *Atene e Roma* 11 (1966) 19, n.11, has agreed that "... è probabile che fosse stata annessa ad Atene al tempo dell'

alleanza fra quest'ultima e Platea ...".

5. 490-479 B.C.
6. 490 B.C. W. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (Westport 1974) 206, has argued for a date of October 11, 490 B.C.
7. Herodotos, 6.108.
8. Nepos, *Miltiades* 5. S. Marinatos and M. Brooke, "New Light on Marathon," *Illustrated London News* 260, no.6887 (1972) 54, have reported a stone excavated from the tumulus of the Plataians at Marathon, which is inscribed with APXIA and is possibly the grave marker of a Plataian officer (see my note 13 for another point of view), whose bones suggested that he was about forty years of age at the time of death. The remains of a child, a boy of about ten years, perhaps a slave used as a messenger, were also found there buried in a jar.
9. Herodotos, 6.111.
10. Herodotos, 6.113.
11. Herodotos, 6.111 and *Loeb* 267, n.3.
12. Herodotos, 6.111.
13. There is much dispute over the actuality of combined burial of Plataians with slaves. N. Hammond, *Studies in Greek History* (Oxford 1973) 198 (note), tacitly has supported combined burial in pointing out with reference to the tumulus that the Greeks (ergo Plataians) were cremated whereas the slaves inhumed.
14. Pausanias, 1.32.3. S. Marinatos, "The tumulus of the Plataeans," *AAA* 3 (1970) 359, has reported evidence that Plataiai had by this time even adopted Athenian script rather than continuing with the Boiotian.
15. Herodotos, 7.132.
16. 480 B.C.
17. Demosth enes, *Against Neaira* 95. The historicity of this reference is here accepted inasmuch as it is contradicted neither by Herodotos nor Thoukydides, nor for that matter, as far as the present writer is aware, by any other ancient authority. It is not impossible that the Plataians could have so engaged in aid of the Lakedaimonians; Herodotos, 8.50 and Diodoros of Sicily, 11.14.5, demonstrate that in this epoch the Thespians as well had a close tie with the Lakedaimonians.

18. Demosthenes, *ibid.* 95.
19. Herodotos, 8.1ff.
20. Herodotos, 8.44. Herodotos does not record the destination of the Plataian removal but the assumption seems secure in view of the Atheno-Plataian alliance that the removal was to Attika or even (cf. Diodoros of Sicily, 11.14.5) to the Peloponnesos.
21. Herodotos, 8.50.
22. 480 B.C. Diodoros of Sicily, 11.14.5.
23. Herodotos, 8.44, records that the Plataians did not fight at Salamís inasmuch as they were occupied with the evacuation of their families and possessions. Demosthenes, 95-96, however, contradicts this claim, and while the Herodotean version is preferred, it does not seem impossible that while the majority were occupied in the rescue operation from their own city some Plataians may indeed have been at Salamís.

Submission

The Greek victory at Salamis only partially excised the barbarian tumour from Greece. While it lingered and threatened malignancy, the Spartans, true to the selfish and myopic spirit of the Greek city-state, hastened to secure their own position behind a wall that they were building across the Korinthian Isthmus.¹ The wall was near completion when Plataian, Athenian and Megarian envoys came to Lakedaimonia to chide the Spartans for their restrictive effort and to encourage Lakedaimonia's speedy support for the remainder of Greece. The envoys appeared before the Spartan ephors and spoke:

The Athenians bid us inform you that the king of Persia has offered the restoration of Athenai and an alliance with him on fair and equal terms with the benefit of adding to their territory any other part of Hellas they might wish. Such offer, however, the Athenians refused, though they feel that Lakedaimonia has betrayed them and that they might better gain from an alliance with Persia, for the Athenians say that they will never willingly make terms with the Persian king. The Athenians remind you of your agreement to join in opposing the barbarians in Boiotia and also remind you that Attika itself has been invaded. Athenai is angry; you should feel unworthy of such betrayal. Your immediate duty is to send out your army so that, with theirs, Greeks in union may meet the enemy in Attika. And the Athenians suggest that since Boiotia is lost, that the best place for engagement is now within their own territory on the Thriasian Plain.

The Spartans were persuaded and the Greeks gathered together on the Isthmus. But Mardónios, the Persian general, withdrew the barbarian force via Dekéleia and Sphendále to Tánagra where he camped for the night. On the next day he

turned to Skólos, at that time part of Theban territory, and made preparations for a mile-square stockade and the deployment of his forces on the north side of the Asopos. His first position extended from Erythraian territory to Hysiai.² An Athenian advance guard, captained by one Olympiódoros, was sent to Erythrai.³ While the city of Plataiai lay charred and in ruins the stage was being set for the final drama of the Persian Wars and the day of retribution.⁴

The allied Greeks came to Erythrai and arrayed themselves on the foothills of Kithairon.⁵ They did not at first descend into the plain, and Mardonios dispatched to the foothills all his cavalry under the command of Masístios against them, harassing them and attacking by squadrons (Plate 48). It was the Megarians who happened to be in the most open section of the Greek deployment where the horsemen found their easiest assault. Distressed by the repeated charges the Megarians stood their ground well but looked for succour from their fellow Greeks. It was the Athenians who took the challenge and their captain Olympiodoros who came to their aid with three hundred picked men, together with archers. The battle dragged on and the barbarian cavalry charges continued by squadrons until Masistios' horse received an arrow in its side and, rearing up in pain, threw its rider. As soon as he fell the Greeks set upon him, took his horse and tried to kill the man, but his armour was so complete that the successful kill was only by way of his eyeball. When the rest of the barbarian cavalry realized what had happened to their leader, it rallied and attacked *en masse* in an effort

to recover his body, and when the Megarians and Athenians were then faced by the whole barbarian cavalry force they summoned the rest of the Greeks to their aid, though before they were relieved they almost gave up the struggle to retain the corpse. But in face of greater numbers the alien cavalry could no longer hold its ground, and more Persians fell before the remainder withdrew for about two stades to consider strategy. They made no subsequent attack, however, and rode back leaderless to Mardonios. The foreigners mourned Masistios' loss, but the Greeks in their victory were elated in that they had kept possession of his body; they laid it in a cart and conveyed it thus along their ranks, and the soldiers left their stations to come and see.

The allied Greeks decided to march down towards Plataiai, because they found that in comparison with their station by Erythrai, the ground before Plataiai was in every way better suited to encampment and was especially better supplied with water.⁶ They moved then from Erythrai, alongside Hysiai and into Plataian territory keeping all the while to the foothills of Kithairon until they finally halted by Gargaphía Spring and the precinct of the hero, Androkrates. And there among low hills but on a stretch that was level (Alepotrýpi Road, Plate 40) they formed their stations nation by nation. After a dispute with the Tegeans, the Athenians were awarded the honour of holding the left wing⁷ and the Plataians were stationed immediately to their right.⁸ (The extent of the men-at-arms who formed the allied Greek line drawn up in its second position against the allied Persian line is seen on

Map Section 7a following the topographical sketch, whereas the proportions of the ethnic divisions in relationship to the whole array are seen in Map Section 7b.)⁹ The Plataians probably took their position near Hágios Ioáannes Church (Plate 45), flanked by the rest of the allied Greek line which extended along the hills of the Asopos Ridge. In counter array across the Asopos and in deeper ranks to accommodate the extent of the Greek line were Medes, Baktrians, Indians, Sakai, medizing Greeks including the Boiotians (with the exception of Plataians and Thespians), Lokrians, Malians, Makedonians, Thessalians and other northern Greeks and some of the Phokians. These joined the Persians to form the greatest part of that force, though Phrygians, Thrakians, Mysians, paionians, Egyptians¹⁰ and Ethiopians were also with them.¹¹

After taking position at the Asopos both sides stayed and looked at each other while Tisamenós on the part of the Greeks and Hegesístratos on behalf of the Persians lined their personal purses in plying their trade as diviners.¹² Nor were the medizing Greeks out-done in this regard and Hippómachos, their diviner, joined the action. The sacrifices were fittingly prodded, but gave no favourable omen for all out attack (safe divinations to be sure); and both sides, for eight days since deployment at the Asopos, stayed and looked at each other.

But on the eighth day a Theban, Timagenídes by name, seeing that more and more Greeks were arriving from the south to join their allies, advised Mardonios to guard the Kithairon outlets in an attempt to cut off the late-comers.¹³ Mardonios

accepted this counsel, and when night fell he sent his horsemen for that purpose; after they arrived at the outlets, the Oak's Heads as the Athenians named them but Three Heads according to the Boiotians, they intercepted wagons and five hundred pack animals with provisions just as the Greeks were bringing these out of the mountains and into the plain (Plate 47). The Persian cavalry spared neither beast nor man and after this glut of gore drove the sequestered provisions to Mardonios and his camp.

After the Persian success at the outlets of Kithairon, both armies for two more days sat and looked at each other. Neither army crossed the Asopos on foot, though the barbarians would come to its banks to harass the allied Greeks while Persian horse would beset and trouble them constantly.¹⁴

But the Greeks continued to grow in number, and Mardonios was the more vexed at the delay in engagement. A proposal was made on the next day by Artábazos, second in command after Mardonios, that their army should be withdrawn within the walls of Thebai from where he thought Mardonios might direct the war on another front. The Persians had brought with them gold and silver in abundance, and could direct a "fifth column" to employ that and probably the estates of Thebai, if need arose, to pay bribes and peddle influence among the leading men of Greece.¹⁵ It seemed that Artabazos understood Greek motivation only too well (Thebai had more than likely provided him with a good example of the feasibility of such tactics) and though Mardonios, it is recorded, countered this proposal through desire to fight forthwith,

such bribery at this time must have been the course of the day.¹⁶ Men of prominent Greek families, men who were now impoverished by the war, saw that their influence had disappeared with their wealth while other men had taken their positions of honour and office. In jealousy and treason they met secretly at a house (or the ruins of a house) in Plataiai and made conspiracy to regain their powers and, if that course were barred, to betray their fellow Greeks in abetting the cause of the barbarians. Persian gold more than likely gave impetus to their treachery, though possibilities of success must have been quickly stifled, for Aristeides, general of the Athenians, had some such conspirators detained while others, whom he suspected, deserted. In that Mardonios was first in command, Artabazos' intentions (fortunately for the cause of the allied Greeks) could not be further implemented. It was Mardonios' will to engage battle. In observance of the ill-boding omens he had yet reason to hesitate, but those interpretations he hastened to re-interpret in order to sustain his proposal for attack. He gave command that battle would be joined when the next day should dawn, being the twelfth day after they had deployed against each other at the Asopos.¹⁷

But during the night before the intended battle, Aléxandros, king and general of the Makedonians, left the Persian camp and crossed the Asopos to betray the Persian intention. He rode up to the Greek outposts and requested an audience with their generals to whom he revealed that Mardonios, his unrequested liege, now turned diviner, was pre-

paring to give battle at first light of dawn. The Greeks were thus forewarned, and Alexandros rode back to the Persian camp.¹⁸

At dawn a herald left the Persian camp and arrived at the Greek camp. Perhaps Mardonios had realized the possibilities of such defections amongst those Greeks that had come to his side, at least nominally, and in wariness sent his herald to propose that the Lakedaimonians engage with the Persians to the exclusion of the rest of the armies there gathered and that the result of such a selective engagement should serve as victory for the winning side.¹⁹ The Greeks made no reply to this proposal and the Persian herald returned to camp, but in answer to their silence Mardonios sent out his horsemen who renewed their assaults upon the Greeks with arrows and javelins and choked up their water supply at Gargaphia Spring. The archers caused much havoc, and not only were the Greeks almost wholly ineffective against them but now they had lost their main supply of water, for they were unable to draw from the Asopos because of the ever present enemy cavalry there.²⁰ However, it was not only the Greeks who were hard pressed. Persian provisions were dangerously diminished.²¹

The Greeks, in want of water and food, waited in the late summer heat for the attack which had been foretold. The Persians were in want of supplies and gave but little evidence of attack. The suspense of indecision unnerved the warriors as they waited on the plain. The day dragged along with one cavalry attack after another but neither foot crossed the

river.²²

That night, the Greeks in desperation began to execute the resolution they had made during the day. They made preparation to withdraw toward Kithairon²³ where they would be better supplied with water and from where they planned to dispatch half of their forces to enter the mountain roads held by the Persians, in order to secure their line of provisions.²⁴

But the plan saw only partial execution. That night most of the Greeks began the move but, now finally relieved of the day's incessant assaults from the enemy's horse, most of them withdrew to the security of the city of Plataiai and the temple of Hera there. They piled their arms before her temple as if in supplication and resignation.²⁵ Pausanias, regent and general of the Spartans, assumed from his position still on the right wing that they were heading for the destination agreed, and he proposed to move out his men, but much time was lost through altercation within his ranks. The Athenians on the left noted the inaction of the Lakedaimonians on the right and stood unmoved in their position but maintained contact by messenger between the wings.²⁶

Dawn broke and saw the two wings still on the ridges by the Asopos for the thirteenth day. At last Pausanias gave the word and led his wing away between the hills, while those who were still dissenting came later and behind. The Athenians at this time also set themselves to march but in a way contrary to that of the other wing which kept close to the rising ground and the lower slopes of Kithairon as a protection against possible Persian horse; for the Athenians marched

rather down into the plain. (These manoeuvres are conjectured on Map Section 7a of the topographical section.) The dissenters among Pausanias' ranks followed but at a slower pace. Pausanias had led his men already ten stades away from their former position but there halted to wait for the dissenting stragglers. It was by the River Molóeis and the place called Argiópion near a shrine to Eleusinian Demeter where Pausanias halted.²⁷

But the Persian cavalry attacked and the stragglers had but sufficient time to close with the rest of the Lakedaimonians before the assault began. And it was then that Mardonios led the Persians at speed across the river in pursuit of the Greeks. He could not see the retreat of the Athenians, and so headed for the Lakedaimonians who were already beset by horse. Seeing that the Persians had crossed, the other barbarians did likewise but in no order as they ran.²⁸ The allied Greeks found they were severally positioned as if to make a great funnel, Athenians forward and left, Spartans almost as forward and right, and the centre further back by Plataiai, and into this funnel ran the barbarians. The Lakedaimonians requested the aid of the Athenian archers. The Athenians tried to help but while on their march they too were set upon not by barbarians but medizing Greeks.²⁹

The Lakedaimonians and Tegeans with them, thus unrelieved, stood alone. Many of them were wounded or slain, for they first relied upon defence rather than overt action. The Tegeans were first to retaliate and the Spartans took their lead though not until Pausanias made sacrifice which some

Lydians seized and rudely hurled away.³⁰ The Persians then took the defensive and put up a fence of shields, but this the Lakedaimonians broke and the fighting turned to hand-to-hand. Mardonios, mounted on a white charger, spurred his men to bravery though they were much less armed than their enemy, and as long as he was present his men held their ground about the shrine and defended themselves. But Mardonios fell and the Greeks cut down his body-guard as well -- the strongest part of the Persian army -- and the rest of the foe began likewise to yield before the Greeks.³¹ The routed Persians began to flee across the river and back to the wooden stockade that they had made.³² The force under Artabazos not only did not come to Mardonios' aid but did not even engage the enemy, leaving Boiotia as best it could.³³

But while the Lakedaimonians were still in combat, the Korinthians and some others left Plataiai in aid of the Spartans. They proceeded along the foothills and headed for the road that led straight up to the shrine of Demeter. The Megarians and Phliasians and some others also left the city to proffer aid but took the most level course in that direction across the plain.³⁴ The Athenians the while were yet engaged with the medizing Greeks,³⁵ whose majority, because it too was Greek, fought with no heart. But the Thebans fought with vigour and the Athenians had already dispatched three hundred of them. The Plataians also joined the fighting and must have revelled as each Theban fell.³⁶ At last the Boiotian foot yielded and retreated, as the Persians had, to Thebai though not by the same route, and with all the

allied Persian force now in retreat only the remnants of its cavalry remained to block the Greek pursuit, and this, at least, the Theban cavalry did; for they intercepted the Megarians and Phliasians bringing aid and cut them down to the number of six hundred, and sent others among them scurrying for cover further up the foothills of Kithairon.³⁷

The battle over, the Plataians³⁸ joined in pursuit of the barbarians who had fled for the walled stockade,³⁹ and it was not long before that protection fell and with it those remaining Persians who had not fled elsewhere.⁴⁰ The spoils were then amassed and distributed and from them a tenth-part of the gathered bronze and gold was set apart as an offering to Apóllo at Delphoí. And from the bronze and gold was later fashioned the gold basin that sat upon the bronze tripod, fashioned in the form of three serpents entwined.⁴¹ The fallen Greeks were gathered and buried,⁴² to the east of and just outside the ancient city of Plataiai⁴³ where evidence is still to be seen today.⁴⁴ The body of Mardonios was removed anonymously and the location of the actual sepulchre, if it is at Plataiai at all, is unknown.⁴⁵

After the Greeks had buried their dead, they resolved to march against Thebai and so they did eleven days after the battle. For nine days the Plataians joined in laying siege to the city, assaulting its walls and laying waste the Theban fields. On the ninth day of the siege the Thebans sent a herald to Pausanias and the message that they would surrender to him those of the Thebans whom he wished to secure, especially Timagenides and Attagínos who were chief among the

foremost men at Thebai. Attaginos escaped but Pausanias took Timagenides and others as his prisoners. Thebai, much to the dismay of Plataiai, had saved her walls and city. Pausanias disbanded the Greek forces and left for Kórinthos, where his prisoners were put to death.⁴⁶

A Plataian, Arímnestos by name, reported of one Kallikrátes that he found grief not so much in death but rather in not having dealt a worthy blow.⁴⁷ Plataiai herself must have held sentiments not unlike those of Kallikrates, for she had suffered much loss of life throughout the barbarian wars, but her men, just like Kallikrates, had fallen without dealing the blow that was her due. Though she was awarded the prize of victory⁴⁸ and later found chests full of gold and silver⁴⁹ -- some consolation -- Thebai yet survived. The allied Greeks had before the battle sworn an oath⁵⁰ whereby should they be victorious in the barbarian war they would dedicate to Apollo at Delphoi the possessions of all Greeks who had by their own free will given themselves over to the side of the Persians. The oath later took form as the Oath of Plataiai:

I shall not hold life more dear than liberty, nor shall I desert the leader, living or dead, but I will bury all of those allies who have perished in battle, and should I overcome the barbarians in war, I shall not destroy those cities who shared in the struggle, and I will demand a tithe⁵¹ of all who have sided with the barbarian; nor will I rebuild any sanctuary which has been burnt or destroyed, but will leave them as a reminder to future generations of the impiety of the Persians.⁵²

The destruction of the Plataian city at Persian hands found vindication through the Spartan spear⁵³ and Persian dead,

but Thebai had not paid the penalty. The Thebans retained their city and their lands. The Plataians not only no longer had a city but had relinquished even their lands in total submission to Athenai.⁵⁴

Submission: Notes

1. 479 B.C. Herodotos, 9.7. The following speech is adapted.
2. Herodotos, 9.15. That Mardonios' deployment was not at Skolos becomes clear as one progresses through Herodotos' subsequent narrative. That it must, therefore, have been north of the Asopos is evident from 9.17, (Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῆι στρατοπεδευομένου) since territory south of this part of the Asopos belonged to Hysiai and Plataiai (cf. Herodotos 5.74 and 6.108) and consequently, through alliance to Athenai rather than to Boiotia.
3. Herodotos, 9.21-22. The problem of the advance guard is treated more fully in the topographical section.
4. Late August or early September, 479 B.C. Though an exact date has often been attempted, it must always be approximate since various dates appear even in the works of one ancient authority (cf. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 19.7 and *Kamillos* 19.3).
5. Herodotos, 9.19-25.
6. Herodotos, 9.25.
7. Herodotos, 9.27.
8. Herodotos, 9.28.
9. Both extent and proportions found within Map Sections 7a and b are based upon Polýbios, 18.29.2 and Herodotos, 9.28 and 31. G. Grundy, *The Great Persian War* (London 1901) 474, has also believed that the Greek line "extended along the curve of the Asopos ridge."
10. The presence of the Egyptians is of interest, especially since artifacts which appear either of Egyptian origin or influence have been reportedly found in the region. These items may have been brought by the Egyptian contingent mentioned here or as T. Spyropoulos, "Egyptian Colonization of Boeotia," *AAA* 1 (1972) 26-27, has inferred, may be the residua of actual Egyptian settlement in the area. It may be remembered that Kadmos, founder of Thebai, was reputedly of Egyptian origin.
11. The numbers of the soldiery present on either side of the Asopos in any position must always remain conjectural. In relating the second position Herodotos, 9.30, states that the full complement of light-armed and men-at-arms in the allied Greek line amounted to 110,000, but he later speaks of an infusion of late-comers in addition to that figure. Of the Persians and their allies

and satellites Herodotos, 9.32, presents us with a figure of 350,000 and states that the "cavalry were separately ordered."

12. Herodotos, 9.33 and 36-38.
13. Herodotos, 9.38.
14. Herodotos, 9.40.
15. Herodotos, 9.41.
16. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides*, 13.1-2. Herodotos also affirms the consideration of bribe-taking on the part of the allied Greeks.
17. Herodotos, 9.41-42.
18. Herodotos, 9.44-45.
19. Herodotos, 9.48.
20. Herodotos, 9.49.
21. Herodotos, 9.45 and 50.
22. Herodotos, 9.50-52.
23. Herodotos, 9.51. The destination was to the "Island", generally accepted to be Análepsis Ridge, despite a conflict with Herodotean measurements of distance.
24. Herodotos, 9.50-51.
25. Herodotos, 9.52.
26. Herodotos, 9.53-55.
27. Herodotos, 9.56-57.
28. Herodotos, 9.57 and 59-60.
29. Herodotos, 9.60-61.
30. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 17.8.
31. Herodotos, 9.61-63.
32. Herodotos, 9.65.
33. Herodotos, 9.66.
34. Herodotos, 9.69.
35. Herodotos, 9.67-68.

36. This conjecture on my part to include the Plataians here is at least supported by the fact that the prize of victory (to be discussed further in the text) was later awarded to the Plataians.
37. Herodotos, 9.67-69.
38. Again this is conjecture. Nevertheless, one can hardly imagine that the Plataians would have omitted themselves from any supported action against Thebans, Theban territories or Thebai herself.
39. Herodotos, 9.70.
40. W. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* 206, has suggested the date of September 26, 479 B.C., though again this must be (cf. my note 4) regarded as only approximate.
41. Herodotos, 9.81. It would be interesting to discuss at length this offering whose serpentine column yet stands in the Atmeidan (Hippodrome) at Istanbul, where it once served as a three-headed fountain and talisman to ward off snakes from that city, but it seems clear that it was not a dedication for victory at Plataiai alone but rather as a monument for the whole of the Persian Wars. Such a discussion is consequently beyond the scope of this work and the reader is referred especially to S. Casson, "Les fouilles de l'hippodrome de Constantinople," *Gazette des beaux arts* 6, 3 (1930) 213-242 wherein is compiled an interesting account of the vicissitudes the column has undergone and to P. Devambez, *Grands bronzes du Musée de Stamboul* (Paris 1937) 9-12, wherein is discussed and pictured the one surviving serpent head now in the Istanbul Museum.
42. Herodotos, 9.85.
43. Pausanias, 9.2.5.
44. Tombs which were in evidence as recently as the past century and portrayed in the plates of C. Wordsworth, *Greece: Pictorial, Descriptive and Historical* (London 1844) 176, are no longer apparent.
45. Herodotos, 9.84. Pausanias, 9.2.2-3, however, places the tomb of Mardonios on the right (north) of the ancient Megara-Plataiai road between Hysiai and Bergoutiáni Spring (Spring of Artemis). There is a mound in this area today about one hundred metres north of the most southern curve of the Erythrai-Bergoutiani road. One wonders if this mound equates with Pausanias' tomb of Mardonios.
46. Herodotos, 9.86-88.

47. Cf. Herodotos, 9.72.
48. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 20.1-3.
49. Herodotos, 9.83.
50. Herodotos, 7.132.
51. M. Amit, "Great and Small Poleis," *Latomus (Revue d'études latines)* 134 (1973) 85, n.85 has observed: The meaning of δεκατεύειν (to tithe) in this context is complete destruction of the city, and the sale of the inhabitants and all the movable property, of which one tenth was to be consecrated to the Gods."
52. Cf. Diodoros of Sicily, 11.29 and Lykoúrgos, *Against Leokrátes* 81. As to its date of origin and its authenticity the Oath of Plataiai is much in dispute. P. Siewert, *Der Eid von Plataiai* (Munich 1972) 109-110, has recently maintained that the oath of Plataiai was based upon an authentic document dating from the period of the Persian Wars. In commenting on Siewert's defence of the authenticity of such a document (an Attic inscription of the oath from Acharnaí), A. Dreizehnter, "Siewert, *Der Eid von Plataiai*," *Gnomon* (1975) 47, has written: "Ob diese Fassung auf einen echten Eid von Platää zurückgeht oder nur aus Herodotstellen und Amphiktioneiden zusammengestellt ist, lässt sich nicht entscheiden." It appears then that the original content of the oath or the date of its original form may never be known. The original oath (see my note 50) and its later development has also been treated at length by J. Larsen, "The Constitution and Original Purpose of the Delian League," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 51 (1940) and "The Constitution of the Peloponnesian League," *CP* 28 (1933). Nonetheless, further discussion of such arguments, though the oath bears the city's name, has little to do with the actual history of Plataiai, except for its occurrence here and with reference to the Thoukydidean Plataian speeches of 427 B.C. which follow. Beyond these instances, the oath has little connection with the city's history, in that it would seem a Greek document of the Persian Wars rather than of Plataian history.
53. Aischýlos, *The Persians* 817.
54. Cf. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 11.8. At the instigation of their general, Arimnestos, the Plataians voted to cede their territory to the Athenians so that in accordance with an oracle (11.2-4) the Athenians might fight on their own soil. The story as recorded by Ploutarchos is supported by a reference in Kleidemos, F. Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.* no.323, F22, which may represent a Plataian version of the event and oracle.

Usury

The half century following the destruction of Plataiai at Persian hands and Theban instigation was characterized by much rebuilding of the city. Though there is historical evidence for new temple construction in this period there is neither historical nor archaeological evidence for reconstruction of walls which then must have been largely left intact by the Persians though they burnt the city within. The city then was rebuilt and adorned and one may assume that the Plataians had been reinstated to their city and territory by the Athenians shortly after the battle of Plataiai and Erythrai, though this is not historically known. What is known, however, is that the Plataians maintained themselves in alliance with Athenai, or rather in subjection to her, while her relations with Sparta dipped to an historical low. The city consecrated for the first time a temple to Athena; the Spartans they brought to litigation.

To the memorial of Greek valour, the bronze serpent column and golden basin atop it, Pausanias had affixed his own. He had commissioned Simonides, the poet, to compose a distich as if the victory over the Persians were his own and not shared by the Greeks he commanded:¹

The commander of the Greeks, when he
destroyed the army of the Medes,
Pausanias erected this memorial to Apollo.

The Greeks were incensed and on behalf of the allies the Plataians appearing before the Amphiktyonic assembly brought suit against the Lakedaimonians for one thousand talents, a

huge sum considering that only eighty talents were allotted for the construction of the Plataian temple of Athena. The Plataians won their case against the Spartans and, in addition, the Spartans were compelled to have the lines erased, and inscribed rather the names of the Greek cities who were party to the Persian defeat.² In so doing the Plataians had ensured for the period of their post-war prosperity the enmity of the Lakedaimonians. The name of Plataiai was consequently inscribed on the coils of snake and stood not far from the statue of an ox, which, in thanks for victory over the Persians, Plataians alone had also dedicated at Delphoi³ as a symbol of a land again free to plough.⁴

To the satisfaction of the Athenians, on the other hand, work was begun and completed on the temple dedicated to Athena. Other temples still stood. The temple of Hera escaped the burning of the city.⁵ The regional temple to Eleusinian Demeter also remained.⁶ But for the further adornment of the city and the Atheno-Plataian alliance the funds which had been previously⁷ allocated to the erection of the Ionic⁸ sanctuary to Athena were put to use. For the Plataians had received as their share of spoils some eighty talents and it was with this allotment that the work of the temple and its images and adornments was financed. The image of Athena Areia contained by the temple was of gilded wood except for the face, hands and feet which were of Pentelic marble. The image was only a little smaller than the bronze Athena on the Athenian acropolis and was executed by the same artist, Pheidias, at about the same time.⁹ Paintings

were also commissioned for the interior walls, one by Polýgnotos representing Odysseús after having killed the suitors and another by Onasías showing the expedition of the seven against Thebai.¹⁰ The temple, image, and paintings survived for centuries after the birth of Christ.

Plataians found not only a sense of importance in the renewal and beautification of their city but a hitherto unexperienced measure of fame and importance beyond their borders. They were included in the paintings of the Stoá Poikíle at Athenai and in the sculpture of the exterior frieze which adorned and encircled the Temple of Níke on the Athenian acropolis. At the end of the first work they were depicted wearing their Boiotian caps¹¹ and at the side of Athenians in the struggle with the barbarians at Marathon, where they help push the invading force to the sea and burn their ships.¹² In the Nike frieze, while their inclusion seems clear, their precise position is not easily determined.¹³ Though the frieze survives today, the greater part of Plataiai's fame from the Persian wars and the "golden age" that followed is confined to the abstractions of history, but for one tenacious exception, the Games of Freedom, the Eleuthéria which continue to be celebrated even to the present day.

After the battle and after the meed of valour was assigned to the Plataians rather than to the Lakedaimonians or Athenians, the allied Greeks while still at Plataiai consulted the oracle at Delphoi and asked what sacrifice they should make.¹⁴ Apollo's reply was that they should erect an altar to Zeus of Freedom (Plate 24) but that they should

not offer sacrifice upon it until they had extinguished the fire throughout the land. For even fire had been polluted by the barbarian presence and had to be rekindled afresh from Delphoi. The fires throughout the Plataian region were extinguished while Euchiidas was selected to bring back pure fire. He left Plataiai and ran the way to Delphoi, where he purified himself with holy water and was crowned with laurel. Returning then to Plataiai at all conceivable speed, he greeted his fellow Plataians, handed them the sacred fire, fell down and died. He had run from Plataiai to Delphoi and back again on the same day, and in admiration the Plataians gave him burial in the sanctuary of Artemis Eukleía and inscribed on his tomb: "Euchidas to Apollo ran and returned the same day." The altar was built and with pure fire sacrifice was made. The precinct about one hundred metres east of the central area of the ancient city was only recently excavated.¹⁵ The permanent altar and image were of white marble.¹⁶ A memorial was inscribed and dedicated:¹⁷

The Greeks who once, in the strength of victory, Ares' work, drove out the Persians, erected here an altar of Zeus of Freedom, common property for a free Greece.

After the sacrifice the allied Greeks met in general assembly and it was proposed that deputies and ambassadors should meet at Plataiai each year and that the Games of Freedom should be also held there every fourth year.¹⁸ It was further proposed that a confederated force be levied to continue the war against the Persians¹⁹ and finally that the Plataians as sacrificers to Zeus of Freedom on behalf of

Greece be permitted sacrosanct status, and safety from violation of their lands. These proposals were accepted and the Plataians undertook to make funeral offerings each year for the Greeks who had fallen and were buried there. Each year²⁰ the sacrifice to Zeus began with a procession commencing at dawn and led by a torch-bearer²¹ and trumpeter sounding the call of battle. Wagons followed filled with myrtle and wreaths and behind these a black bull. Then came free-born adolescents who carried libations of wine and milk in amphorae, pitchers of olive-oil, and myrrh, and following these the chief magistrate at Plataiai, and after him the crowds to the exclusion of slaves, in that this was a festival of freedom. The chief magistrate who at all other times was not allowed to touch iron or wear any other colour of robe but white, was this time clad in a purple-red chiton and he carried high a water-pitcher from the city archives, where the procession began, all through the city centre and out to the graves nearby, all the while his sword in hand. There with water taken from the sacred spring²² he cleansed the *stélai* of the fallen Greeks and anointed them with myrrh and next slaughtered the black bull upon its pyre, and, with prayers to Hérmes Chthónios and Zeus Eleuthérios, called forth the good men who died for Greece to the flesh and blood of the sacrifice; and finally he would mix wine with water and drink from it and pour a libation, saying: "I drink to the men who died for the freedom of the Greeks."

The games which were associated with the procession of freedom²³ also focused upon Zeus' altar, for in the main event

competitors in armour ran before the altar and great prizes were offered for the running.²⁴ Inscriptions abound²⁵ to confirm the long history of the games. They were ranked time after time with the importance of the Olympics; likewise they continue today.²⁶ And in these agonal inscriptions one sees time after time the honorific *áristos*, "the best of men". For so the winner of the armed hoplite race was named, not only because of the length of the course²⁷ which was considerable or because of the weight of the armour carried which covered the competitor from head to toe, but because any contestant who had on previous occasion been crowned winner of the race was in fact in a struggle for life as well as renewed victory. For if he failed to gain the wreath again his prize was death.²⁸ Under those circumstances the victor deserved his title; the Plataian custom²⁹ of quality control at their games hardly encouraged the return of the amateur.

Though the armed hoplite race was the main event, there was a men's horserace,³⁰ a boys' long-distance race³¹ and plenty of other opportunities for the populace and spectators to heighten their senses and grovel in the gore, especially in the Roman period when the Plataian theatre saw the combat and slaughter of gladiators and even bears.³² The games would have included all the usual competitions, the jumps, the discus, wrestling, the javelin and in the earliest years of the festival boxing as well. It seems that during one particular bout the agonist Andróleos was separated from his eyelid.³³ One can only imagine what others may have lost.

For almost fifty years following the battle at her doorstep, Plataiai had prospered, all the while maintaining the alliance with Athenai, an aloofness from Sparta³⁴ and her eternal hatred for Thebai. As long as Thebai remained the humbled state to which she was reduced immediately after the battle of Plataiai and Erythrai, good fortune fell to the Plataians. For perhaps the first decade after the great battle they were relieved of the fear of Theban resurgence. The next decades renewed anxieties³⁵ but even these were allayed by Athenian action close to home. For the Athenian success over Thebai at the battle of Oinóphyta³⁶ guaranteed Plataiai's continued survival and a secure position in the Boiotian Confederacy. She now had the privilege of sending two of the eleven boiotarchs to that council, as well as one hundred and twenty of six hundred and sixty counsellors;³⁷ but her new prominence endured only a decade: after the Thebans regained a measure of dominance through their success over the Athenians at the battle of Koróneia³⁸ and during the Thirty Years' Peace,³⁹ Plataiai lost much of her territory and reverted to her pre-Persian War status both in terms of territory and confederate representation.⁴⁰ For Plataiai, Koroneia was a dark day in her history; the next generation was to see days yet darker.

Shortly after dark one rainy night in early spring⁴¹ it was the Thebans who dramatically reaffirmed the hatred that divided the two cities. Under the command of boiotarchs, Pythágelos and Diémporos, three hundred⁴² Thebans entered the city of Plataiai, through the treachery of a group of

Plataians, headed by one Naukleídes -- the blackest name in all Plataian history -- who in collusion with the Theban Eurýmachos, a powerful man at Thebai, offered that city a chance to take over Plataiai with the intention that Naukleídes and his aristocratic followers would be able to destroy the democratic party and consequently assume power over a Plataiai whose affairs would ultimately be directed from Thebai.⁴³ The traitors opened the gates and since it was peace-time and Plataiai was therefore not prepared for any such incursion, especially since it was a day of festival,⁴⁴ the Thebans had little difficulty in gaining admission. No watch had even been set to guard the city. The surprised Plataians could only dispatch a messenger to Athenai to tell that the Thebans had already entered.

Naukleídes had tried to persuade the Thebans to begin entering the houses, but once inside the gates, Eurýmachos⁴⁵ and his gang proceeded rather to employ diplomacy to win over the Plataians to a reconciliation, and with this in mind the intruders deposited their arms in the market-place and proclaimed by herald that any who wished should come over to the side of the Boiotians.

Such a bloodless coup to win over the Plataians quickly through the initial fear and confusion of the night seemed to the Thebans to guarantee success and, indeed, it seemed at first that the city would accede peaceably to the enemy intent, for, because of the darkness the Plataians could gauge neither the strength nor the numbers of their opponents. Therefore, thinking that more Thebans had entered the city than actually

was the case, they ostensibly proceeded to accept the enemy's proposals and in fear offered no resistance but came to terms, since up to this point no violence had yet been perpetrated on either side. It was only when negotiations were initiated, however, that the Plataians understood that the Thebans had fewer numbers to support the coup than was previously thought, and in light of this and the fact that the majority of Plataians were anti-Theban but pro-Athenian, they began to feel that a counter-attack would prove successful over the Theban force. Resistance was decided and the counter-action begun.

In order not to be seen in the streets and place their plan in suspicion the Plataians quickly developed a rather unique line of communication. Wherever necessary, partition walls which connected their houses were breached.⁴⁶ Wagons were also placed in the streets as barricades in preparation for the rush. The Thebans had utilized the darkness of night to throw the Plataians into confusion; the Plataians in their turn were about to employ the same factor to confuse the enemy. For the cover of night had aided the Theban entry into the city but once they were within, the darkness was no longer advantageous but on the contrary disadvantageous, for they did not have, of course, the same familiarity with the city as its inhabitants, and once in rout and confusion would find themselves seeking exits from a maze of unknown and hostile alleys.

The counter-attack was launched shortly before dawn. The Thebans drew together and a few times were successful in driving off their assailants. The moonless night, the heavy

rain and impaired visibility were already working against the intruders as they assumed defence rather than attack, but now the Thebans had to suffer the Plataian women as well. For the women with their slaves had mounted the roof-tops of the houses nearby and while their men raised the cries of battle and made their final charge, they joined with screams and yells and tore off the tiles from the roofs where they stood, throwing these and stones against their cowering enemy. Rain, stones, tiles and Plataians fell upon them until in panic they separated and fled throughout the city sliding in mud, stumbling in darkness and pursued by the people of Plataiai. Some of those in flight made for the gate whereby they had entered, but the gate had not only been closed but pinned so that exit was impossible. Many were killed; many still ran up and down the city streets in search of an exit; some in desperation even mounted the walls and of these most jumped to the safety of death. But others found safety through treacherous Plataians, representatives of Naukleides and the party who had invited them into the city. For a woman gave one small group of fugitives an axe with which it cut through the bar of an unguarded gate and gained safe exit. Though many were killed and some few escaped the majority which had kept together rushed into a large building whose doors were open, thinking that doors so large were city gates.⁴⁷ The Plataians immediately considered burning the building along with its occupants within, but the Thebans sued for peace and surrendered themselves along with their stragglers who were yet wandering about the city, and agreed to whatever terms the

Plataians wished to enforce.

Meanwhile, those who had escaped met the main body of the Thebans who were on the march in support of the first flush. With the news of the Theban reversal they hastened to the rescue, but the rain and the concomitant higher level of the Asopos impeded their way. Some of these while yet on the march were either killed or taken captive by those Plataians who were outside the city. Consequently, the main body of the Thebans, because it had arrived too late to assist the coup, but, nonetheless, found itself in Plataian territory, proceeded to gather up outside the walls those Plataians it could in order to secure hostages to exchange for the Thebans who were prisoners inside the city. But before any hostage was taken,⁴⁸ a Plataian herald came up to the Thebans, upbraided their breach of the peace and warned them that if such actions were continued, the Plataians would put to death any Thebans they then held, but if the Thebans withdrew from their territory and caused no more harm, the Theban hostages would be returned. The Thebans yielded. Thereupon, the Plataians hastily went about bringing into the city the movable property from the countryside, in case the Thebans might reconsider their decision. Another messenger was sent to Athenai.

The first Plataian messenger had arrived at Athenai and reported that the city was under attack; the second related the city's success. The Athenians answered with a request that the Plataians take no rash action regarding the Thebans they held. One hundred and eighty had been taken and among

these was Eurymachos, their commander, the son of Leontiádes who bore the laurels for the medizing of Thebai⁴⁹ during the period of the Persian Wars. His presence can have done nothing for the Thebans' cause. The Athenian messenger arrived too late, indeed, on the aftermath of a bloodbath. The hundred and eighty had been slaughtered.⁵⁰

After this an Athenian contingent marched to Plataiai, brought in food, took out the women and children and those not able to defend the city, and left a garrison in expectation of further hostilities. The Peloponnesian War had begun.⁵¹

During the next two years the Athenian garrison stayed on at Plataiai, effectively isolated from Athenai, for almost immediately after the Theban incursion, the Peloponnesians launched their forces against nearby Oinóe.⁵² In the summer of the second year⁵³ the Peloponnesians and their allies under Lakedaimonian King Archídamos invaded the lands of Plataiai.⁵⁴ After the army had made camp before the city, plans were made to ravage the territory, when representatives came out from Plataiai in an effort to appeal to the king and to dissuade him:⁵⁵

Archidamos and Lakedaimonians, you are acting unjustly, and in a manner unworthy either of yourselves or of the fathers from whom you are sprung, when you invade the territory of the Plataians. For Pausanias, son of Kleómbrotos, the Lakedaimonian, when he had freed Hellas from the Persians, together with such of the Hellenes as chose to share the danger of the battle that took place in our territory, offered sacrifice in the market-place of the Plataians to Zeus Eleutherios, and calling together all the allies restored to the Plataians their land

and city to hold and inhabit in independence, and no one was ever to march against them unjustly or for their enslavement; but in that case the allies then present were to defend them with all their might. These privileges your fathers granted to us on account of the valour and zeal we displayed amid those dangers, but you do the very contrary; for with the Thebans, our bitterest enemies, you are come to enslave us. But calling to witness the gods in whose names we then swore and the gods of your fathers and of our country, we say to you, wrong not the land of Plataiai nor violate your oaths, but suffer us to live independent, according as Pausanias granted that to us as our right.

To the Plataian envoys Archidamos replied:

What you say is just, men of Plataiai, if what you do is consistent with your words. For according as Pausanias bestowed that privilege upon you, so do you assert your own independence and help us to set free the others also who, having shared in the dangers of that time, swore the same oaths with you, and are now in subjection to the Athenians; for it is to recover their freedom and that of the rest that these great preparations for war have been made. Therein you should take part, if possible, and yourselves abide by the oaths; otherwise keep quiet, as we have already proposed, continuing to enjoy your own possessions; take part with neither side, receive both sides as friends but for hostile purposes neither. And this will be satisfactory to us.

The Plataian ambassadors heard him out and then returned to their city. After reporting to the Plataians they went back to Archidamos' camp and advised him that it was impossible for Plataiai to do what he had proposed without first securing Athenian consent. They also made it clear that in such a predicament they feared for their very lives and state, since their wives and children were then in Athenai. They could not afford to rouse the ire of Athenai by acting without consulting her. Further they feared that if they were

to remain neutral and receive both sides equally the Thebans likewise would have to be admitted and would again have an opportunity to seize their city.

Archidamos attempted to reassure them:

You need only consign the city and your homes to us, the Lakedaimonians, pointing out to us the boundaries of your land and telling us the number of your trees and whatever else can be numbered; then as for yourselves migrate to whatever place you please, remaining there while the war lasts; but as soon as the war is over we will give back to you whatever we have received; until then we will hold it all in trust, working the land and paying you whatever rent will satisfy you.

The Plataian envoys went back once more to the city, related what had been said and then replied to Archidamos that it was the desire of their city to be allowed to consult with the Athenians regarding his proposals and that if Athenian consent were attained Plataia would do as he requested. Archidamos accepted the Plataian request and a truce was granted while the Plataian envoys were in transit. Upon their return they addressed themselves to their fellow citizens:

The Athenians assure you, Plataians, that as in times past, since you became their allies, they have never on any occasion deserted you when you were being wronged, so now they will not suffer you to be wronged, but will assist you with all their might. They therefore adjure you, by the oaths which your fathers swore, not to break off the alliance.

With this assurance the Plataians decided to honour their alliance with Athenai and to suffer the consequences at hand.⁵⁶ The city gates were secured and to Archidamos answer was made from within the walls. Archidamos then prepared for the attack but before the assault, justified his action in prayer:

Gods and heroes who protect the land of Plataiai, be our witnesses that we did no wrong in the beginning, but only after the Plataians first abandoned the oath we all swore did we come against this land, where our fathers, invoking you in their prayers, conquered the Persians, and which you made auspicious for the Hellenes to fight in, and that now also, if we take any measures, we shall be guilty of no wrong; for though we have made them many reasonable proposals we have failed. Grant therefore your consent, that those be punished for the wrong who first began it, and that those obtain their revenge who are seeking to exact it lawfully.

Hostilities began. The enemy first cut down the available trees to use in building a stockade around the besieged so that none could escape.⁵⁷ Then a mound was raised against the wall for the purpose of scaling it. Timber cut on Kithairon was used to build a frame-like structure on the sides of the mound to gird it and prevent its spreading as it grew. Into the framed space, wood, stones, earth and available debris was thrown for seventy days and nights as the Lakedaimonians and their allies worked in shifts to build up the mound. But where it rose, the Plataians set atop their wall an auxiliary structure to counter the mound's growing height. A wooden framework was erected and inside the frame, bricks taken from nearby houses were laid while both workers and the additional wall were protected by coverings of skins and hides placed on the structure's exterior. The wall extension kept apace of the growing mound but only until new measures were introduced.

The Plataians made a breach in their wall where the mound came in contact, and through it they began to bring the earth and fill from the mound into their city. When the Peloponne-

sians became aware of the new expedient they began to throw into the opening to their mound clay packed in reed containers large enough to retard easy retrieval through the breach. To counter that action, the Plataians then dug an underground channel and guessing when they had reached beneath the mound began again to draw away the fill through the channel and into their city, which process continued unnoticed by the Peloponnesians for a long time. Work was stopped on the brick wall extension and another wall was begun inside the city in the event that the wall and extension at the mound might fall to the enemy. This latest wall was built in the shape of a half-moon to extend from the original wall at points on either side of the breached wall and mound in making a pocket between the city and that part of the wall under assault. Consequently, if the enemy forces proved successful in taking the original wall and its brick extension by scaling this by way of the mound, they would be confronted with another wall which would minimize the chances of any further success against the city. And if the enemy proceeded against the newest wall it would, moreover, find itself in the pocket so formed exposed to attack from both sides of the crescent.

The Peloponnesians, meanwhile, brought up siege-engines, battering rams amongst them, against various sections of the wall. One was brought up over the mound and a large part of the brick extension gave way. But against the other rams the Plataians were able to hold their own. Sometimes nooses were thrown over them and the rams themselves were brought

up over the walls and into the city. At other times great beams suspended by long iron chains attached to the ends of two poles resting on the wall and extending outside it were let drop onto the battering ram, breaking the head and its effect.

The Plataian resistance was so effective that the enemy in consequence resorted to fire. Brushwood was brought up the mound and thrown into the pocket between it and the crescent wall and when the pocket was filled and the wood even overflowed into the city, pitch and sulphur was thrown over the brush and then set fire. With the right winds⁵⁸ the conflagration would have spread to buildings within the walls but as luck would have it, a heavy thunder-shower extinguished the flames.⁵⁹

With this added failure the Peloponnesians began to settle in for a long siege. The larger part of the army was dismissed and the remnant proceeded to build a siege-wall more permanent than the stockade. Parallel ditches were dug around the Plataian wall at some distance away from it. The siege-wall⁶⁰ within these two ditches was actually two walls joined together by one roof. The inner wall kept the Plataians in, and the outer, possible Athenian auxiliaries out. These two walls, sixteen feet apart, were both furnished with battlements, and at every tenth there were high roofed towers which extended from one wall to the other filling the interval. Each tower was intersected by a passageway which connected the spaces between the towers within the outer walls, and these spaces were divided into rooms to house the guards.

The walls were constructed of bricks made from the clay excavated from the two ditches⁶¹ and when completed were coated with whitewash.⁶² With the wall finished,⁶³ the main force which was left to build it withdrew, leaving half of the wall to be guarded by the Peloponnesians and the other half by the Thebans. None but eighty Athenians and five hundred and ten Plataians, one hundred and ten being women to prepare their food, waited out their time within the walls -- anticipating relief or death.

It was not long before provisions within the walls neared point of depletion;⁶⁴ throughout autumn no aid had arrived from Athenai. In face of starvation and already in the cold of winter the Plataians abandoned within the city and the Athenians with them planned in desperation to force or scale the enemy wall. First they counted the layers of bricks in a part of the siege-wall which was without whitewash and in this way were able to estimate the height of the walls and built ladders which approximated the height.

After the ladders were ready the Plataians waited for a moonless night that they might not be easily seen scaling the whitened walls, and one accompanied with rain and wind when the soldiers were accustomed to leave the battlements of their siege-wall to keep watch from the protection of the towers. On such a night one group struck out,⁶⁵ only lightly armed and with only one foot (the left) shod.⁶⁶ The other group remained within the walls to create a diversion when necessary on the side of the city and siege-walls opposite the area where the first group tried its escape.

The escapers left the city,⁶⁷ crossed the first ditch and reached a section of the siege-wall between towers without alarming the guards stationed in them. The ladders were set against the wall and twelve men climbed up to the battlements and then divided into two groups left and right and scurried for the towers on either side. More men carrying short spears mounted the wall and behind these still more carrying shields for their companions who went ahead. Many were already up on the battlements when one man while climbing dislodged a tile. It fell with a thud. The alarm was sounded and the enemy rushed from the nearby towers to man the battlements. But most of the enemy force did not yet know against which part of the siege-wall the assault had been lodged and with good timing those yet within the Plataian walls sallied out and began to make their sham attack against the opposite portion of the enemy's wall. In the confusion as to where the attack actually was, the Peloponnesians and Thebans remained at their stations and declined to reinforce one another, until some three hundred of them circled outside their wall as they headed in the direction of the diversion. In the meantime beacon fires were lit by the enemy to flash towards Thebai the signal for aid, but immediately the Plataians also lit fires atop their own walls in an attempt to confuse the message.

While the diversions were implemented, those Plataians already on the battlements slew the enemy guards and gained control of two towers while the rest of the escapers climbed up to the battlements in between, knocking them down as they

passed. Some of the Plataians had climbed onto the tower roofs as well, and from above and below a rain of arrows and javelins kept the enemy at bay, while most of the group streamed over the siege-wall, and prepared to ford the outer ditch.

The east wind was driving cold and sleet, and a thin layer of ice had formed on the surface of the water within the ditch. The water in the second ditch was also much deeper than in the inner⁶⁸ and the ice was not thick enough to hold a man -- only thin enough to sting as he waded through icy water chin-deep. The last Plataians were managing the outer ditch, when the three hundred who had been distracted to the diversion came upon them *en masse* and carrying torches. But with these torches the enemy created their own spotlight, as it were, and into the light the Plataians hurled still more javelins and arrows while they themselves remained an uncertain target in the dark. The Plataian and Athenian survivors then rallied and hurried away from their pursuers and into the darkness, but not directly by the road to Athenai as would have been expected by the enemy, but by way of the road to Thebai; and as they made their way, the shrine of Androkates on their right, they saw behind them enemy torches leading towards Kithairon and the Oak's Heads and proceeding almost in the opposite direction. For six or seven stades the Plataian fugitives proceeded on the road towards Thebai but when they came to the road that led to Erythrai they turned and followed that, until reaching Kithairon they were able to escape to Athenai. Some of their group had turned

back before attempting to cross the siege-wall and one of the archers who was last to attempt the outer ditch was taken in the depths of the channel, but two hundred and twelve had escaped.

The enemy abandoned its fruitless search and returned to the siege-wall. Those Plataians and Athenians who had turned back had returned to their walls as well, but as they were not certain of the outcome of the fugitives, it was assumed that none had survived. At daybreak the following day it was pessimism and ultimate desperation that sent a herald from the Plataian walls to ask the Peloponnesians for a truce so that they could at least retrieve their dead. Ironically, it was the enemy who vouchsafed a reply of its own defeat and the partial Plataian victory. Plataiai withstood the siege for the remainder of the winter and all the following spring.

The following summer the besieged could endure no longer.⁶⁹ Weak from starvation, they could not repel a final assault from the enemy. The Peloponnesians had the Plataians at their mercy, but did not wish ultimately to take either Plataiai or Plataians in the final event by force. For the enemy considered that if the city were taken by storm, it would later have to be released by the probable terms of settlement at the end of the war, but if the city were to come over to its side of its own accord, at least nominally, it would not have to be released. For such reason a herald was sent to the Plataians to announce that if they would of their own deliver up their city to the Lakedaimonians and submit to Spartan judgment, the guilty among them would be

punished but none contrary to justice. The Plataians were at this point too debilitated to consider the nuances and ambiguities of the Lakedaimonian proposal and surrendered the city -- voluntarily. The Peloponnesians did feed the Plataians and their Athenian cohorts but only for the amount of days that was required for judges, five in number, to come from the Peloponnesos.

The trial began. No accusation was brought against the defendants either singly or in a body. One question was asked: Have you rendered any advantage to the Lakedaimonians and their allies in this war? The Plataians naturally requested to be heard more fully in their defence and chose Astýmachos, the son of Asopólaos, and Lákon, son of Arímnestos,⁷⁰ two Plataians who spoke on their behalf:

When we surrendered our city, Lakedaimonians, trusting in your good faith, we had no thought that we should have to undergo a trial like this, but supposed it would be a more regular procedure; and when we consented to be on trial before you and you alone as judges, as we now are, we believed that we should be most likely to obtain fair treatment. But now we fear that we have been disappointed in both expectations; for we have good reason to suspect, not only that the issues involved in the trial are of the gravest nature but also that you will not prove to be impartial judges. These inferences we draw from the fact that no accusation was first brought against us requiring a plea in defence, but we have had to ask leave to speak, and that the question which is put to us is so curt that a truthful answer to it is against our interests, while a false one can be exposed at once. But beset as we are with perplexities on every hand, we are forced, as indeed seems to be the safer course, to say something and take the risk; for to men in our condition not to have spoken would cause us afterwards to reproach ourselves with the thought that, had the word been spoken, it would have saved us. A further difficulty in our position

is the task of convincing you. For if we were strangers to each other, we might find it to our advantage to introduce evidence on matters with which you were unacquainted; but as it is, anything that we shall say is already known to you, and what we fear is, not that you have already judged our virtues to be inferior to your own and now make that a charge against us, but that in order to gratify others, (those others being the Thebans), we are to appear before a court that has already decided against us.

Nevertheless, we shall present whatever just claims we have, both as regards our quarrel with the Thebans and as touching you and the rest of the Hellenes, and thus, by reminding you of our public services, shall try to persuade you. In reply to the curt inquiry of yours, whether we have rendered any good service to the Lakedaimonians and their allies in this war, if you ask us as enemies, we say that you are not wronged if you did not receive benefit at our hands; but if in asking it you regard us as friends, we reply that you yourselves rather than we are at fault, in that you made war upon us. But in the war against the Persians and during the peace which followed we have proved ourselves good and true men; we have not now been the first to break the peace, and then we were the only Boiotians who rallied to defend the freedom of Hellas. For though we are an inland people, we took part in the sea-fight at Artemision; in the battle that was fought here in our own land we stood side by side with you and Pausanias; and whatever perils arose to threaten the Hellenes in those days, we bore our part in them all beyond our strength. And to you in particular, Lakedaimonians, at that critical moment when after the earthquake Sparta was encompassed by a mighty terror owing to the revolt of the Helots and their occupation of Ithóme, we sent a third part of our citizens to bring aid. These are things you ought not to forget.

Such was the part we were proud to play in the great actions of the past. It was not until later that we became your enemies, and for this you yourselves were to blame; for when the Thebans oppressed us and we sought alliance with you, you rebuffed us and bade us apply to the Athenians, because they were near, whereas you lived far away. In the course of this war, however, you have neither suffered, nor were ever in danger of suffering, any extraordinary harm at our hands. And if we refused to revolt from

the Athenians at your bidding, we were not in the wrong; for they helped us against the Thebans when you held back. After that it would not have been honourable for us to desert them, above all when we were their debtors and when at our own request we had been admitted to their alliance and shared our cities with one another.⁷¹ On the contrary, there was every reason why we should heartily obey their commands. And whatever measures either you or they have initiated for your allies, it is not the followers who are to blame for any wrong that has been done, but those who have led them into evil courses.

As for the Thebans, they have done us many wrongs in the past, and you yourselves are well aware of this crowning outrage, which has brought us into our present plight. They attempted to seize our city in time of peace, and furthermore on a day of festival; therefore we were justified in punishing them in accordance with the law which has universal sanction, that it is right to repel him who comes against you as an enemy; and now we cannot reasonably be made to suffer on their account. For if you shall decide the question of justice by such considerations as your immediate advantage and their hostility, you will show yourselves to be, not true judges of what is right, but rather to be mere slaves of expediency. And yet if the Thebans seem serviceable to you now, we and the rest of the Hellenes were of far greater service to you when you were in greater danger. For now you are attacking others and are a menace to them, but in that crisis, when the barbarian was threatening us all with slavery, these men were on his side. And it is only fair that you should set our present error, if error there has been, over against the zeal we showed then; if you do, you will find, not only that the zeal outweighs the offence, but also that it was shown at a time when it was a rare thing for Hellenes to oppose their courage to the power of Xérxes. At that time the greater praise was given to those who, instead of intriguing in security for their own advantage with reference to the invasion, were ready to hazard the noblest course though fraught with danger. With these we took our stand and were honoured among the foremost; but now, for the same conduct, we fear lest we are to be destroyed, in that we have chosen the Athenians from regard to right rather than you for profit. And yet you ought to show yourselves consistent, giving the same judgment concerning the same

things, and to consider your true advantage to be only this--to cherish an ever-enduring gratitude toward the best of your allies for their valour, while also securing what may be to your advantage at the present moment.

Consider, too, that you are now regarded by most of the Hellenes as an example of uprightness; but if the verdict you give concerning us shall be inequitable, beware (since the case you are deciding here is not obscure, but you the judges are the object of men's praise and we the defendants are of no mean repute), beware, I say, lest men repudiate an unseemly sentence passed upon good men by men still better and resent the dedication in the common temples of spoils taken from us, the benefactors of Hellas. Monstrous will it seem that the Lakedaimonians should sack Plataiai, and that you, whose fathers inscribed the name of our city on the tripod at Delphoi in commemoration of her valour, should blot her out, house and home, from the map of Hellas--to please the Thebans! For to this depth of misfortune have we come, we who, when the Persians prevailed, were on the verge of ruin, and now when we plead before you, formerly our closest friends, we are beaten by Thebans; and we have had to face two supreme dangers, at that time of perishing by starvation if we had not surrendered our city, and now of standing trial for our lives. And we have been thrust aside by all, we men of Plataiai, who were zealous toward the Hellenes beyond our strength, and are now desolate and undefended. No one of our former allies now aids us, and as for you, Lakedaimonians, our only hope, we fear that you are not steadfast.

And yet we adjure you, for the sake of the gods who of old sanctioned our alliance and for our good service in the cause of the Hellenes, to relent and change your minds, if you have been in any way won over by the Thebans, and in your turn to ask of them the boon not to put to death those whom it ill becomes you to slay, that you may thus receive an honest instead of a shameful gratitude, and may not in giving pleasure to others get in return ignominy for yourselves. It is a simple matter to take our lives, but a grievous task to blot out the infamy of it; for we are not enemies whom you would have a right to punish, but good friends who were forced into war with you. You would, therefore, render a righteous judgment if you guaranteed us security of life and if you bore in mind, before it is too late, that it was in

voluntary surrender and with outstretched hands that you received us (and the usage of the Hellenes forbids the slaying of suppliants); and, moreover, that we have always been your benefactors. Turn your eyes upon the sepulchres of your fathers, slain by the Persians and buried in our land, whom we have honoured year by year with a public offering of raiment and other customary gifts; the first fruits too, of all that the earth each year has produced have been brought them, the tribute of kindly hands from a friendly land and of allies to those who were once their companions in arms. All this you would reverse by an unjust verdict. Reflect: when Pausanias buried them he thought he was laying them in a friendly land and among friends; but you, if you put us to death and make the territory of Plataiai a Theban province, will you not be leaving them in a hostile land and among their (Theban) murderers -- these your fathers and kinsmen -- and dispossessed of the honours they now enjoy? Nay more, you will be enslaving the very land in which the Hellenes gained their liberty; you will be bringing desolation upon the temples of the gods to whom they prayed when they conquered the Persians; and you will be robbing of their hereditary sacrifices the people who founded and established them.

These things are not consistent with your honour, Lakedaimonians, nor can it be so to offend against the common usage of the Hellenes and against your ancestors, or to put us, your benefactors, to death because of the enmity of others, when you have not been wronged yourselves. Nay, your good name demands that you should spare us and be softened in heart, regarding us with a dispassionate pity and bearing in mind, not only how terrible will be our fate, but who we are that must suffer, and how uncertain is fortune, whose strokes sometimes fall even upon the innocent. And we, as befits our condition and as our sore need demands, entreat you in the name of the common gods of the Hellenic race whom we invoke, gods worshipped by us all at the same altars, to listen to our prayers; and at the same time, appealing to the oaths wherein your fathers swore that they would never forget us, we become suppliants before your ancestral tombs and call upon the departed not to suffer us to come into the power of Thebans or permit us, who were their dearest friends, to be delivered into the hands of their bitterest foes. We also remind you of that day on which we shared with them in the most brilliant deeds, we who now on this day are on

the brink of the most awful fate. And now, bringing our plea to an end -- and this must be, howbeit for men in our condition it is the hardest thing of all, seeing that with its ending our mortal peril also draws near -- we say that we did not surrender our city to the Thebans -- in preference to that our choice would have been to die of starvation, the most horrible of deaths -- but capitulated to you because we trusted you. And it is but right, if we fail in our plea, that you should restore us to our former position and let us choose for ourselves the danger that shall confront us. And we likewise adjure you, Plataians that we are, people who were most zealous for the cause of Hellas, and are now your suppliants, O Lakedaimonians, not to deliver us out of your hands and your good faith to the Thebans, our bitterest foes, but to become our saviours, and not, while liberating the rest of the Hellenes, to bring utter destruction upon us.

So the Plataians concluded, but the Thebans, who feared that the Lakedaimonians might be moved by their plea, also asked leave to speak. Their representatives came forward:

We should not have asked permission to make this speech, if the Plataians had briefly answered the question, and had not turned upon us and accused us, at the same time setting up a long defence of themselves on matters foreign to the issue and on which no charge whatever had been made against them, and praising themselves where nobody had blamed them. But as it is, we must answer their charges and expose their self-praise, in order that neither our baseness nor their good repute may help them, but that you may hear the truth about us both before you decide.

The quarrel we had with them began in this way: after we had settled the rest of Boiotia and had occupied Plataiai and other places of which we got possession by driving out a mixed population, these Plataians disdained to submit to our leadership, as had been agreed upon at first, and separating themselves from the rest of the Boiotians and breaking away from the traditions of our fathers went over to the Athenians as soon as an attempt was made to force them into obedience, and in conjunction with the Athenians did us much harm, for which they also suffered in return. Again, they say that when the barbarians came against Hellas

they were the only Boiotians who did not medize, and for this especially they plume themselves and abuse us. We say, however, that the only reason they did not medize was because the Athenians also did not, and that, moreover, on the same principle, when the Athenians afterwards assailed all Hellas, they were the only Boiotians who atticized. And yet consider the circumstances under which we each acted as we did. For the constitution of our city at that time was, as it happened, neither an oligarchy under equal laws nor yet a democracy; but its affairs were in the hands of a small group of powerful men -- the form which is most opposed to law and the best regulated polity, and most allied to a tyranny. These men, hoping to win still greater power for themselves if the fortunes of the Persian should prevail, forcibly kept the people down and brought him in. The city as a whole was not in control of its own actions when Thebai took the course it did, nor is it fair to reproach it for the mistakes it made when not under the rule of law. At any rate, after the Persian departed and Thebai obtained its lawful government, and when subsequently the Athenians became aggressive and were trying to bring not only the rest of Hellas but also our country under their own sway (Battle of Oinophyta) and, owing to factions amongst us, were already in possession of most of it, pray observe whether we fought and defeated them at Koroneia and thus liberated Boiotia, and whether we are now zealously helping to liberate the other peoples, furnishing more cavalry and munitions of war than any of the other allies. Such is our defence against the charge of medism.

We will now try to show that you Plataians have wronged the Hellenes more than we and are more deserving of any punishment, however severe. You became allies and citizens of Athenai that you might, as you claim, obtain protection against us. In that case you ought only to have invoked their aid against us, instead of assisting them in their aggressions against others; such a course was certainly open to you, in case you were ever being led on by the Athenians against your will, since the alliance of the Lakedaimonians here had already been organized against the Persians -- the alliance of which you are always reminding us. That would have been enough to keep us from interfering with you, and, what is more important, to enable you to take your own counsel without fear. Nay, it was willingly

and not now under compulsion that you embraced the Athenian cause. You say, however, that it would have been dishonourable to betray your benefactors; but it was far more dishonourable and wicked to betray to their destruction all the Hellenes, with whom you had sworn alliance, than merely the Athenians, when they were endeavouring to enslave Hellas, the others to liberate her. And the recompense you made them is not equal, nor indeed free from dishonour. For you were being wronged, as you claim, when you invoked their aid, but they were wronging others when you became their helpers. And yet, surely, not to repay favours with like favours is dishonourable; but it is not so when, though the debt was incurred in a just matter, it can only be repaid by wrong-doing.

You have, therefore, made it clear that even then it was not for the sake of the Hellenes that you alone of the Boiotians refused to medize, but merely because the Athenians also refused while we did not, and you preferred to act with the one party and against the other. And now you expect to be rewarded for the virtuous conduct that was due to the inspiration of others! But that is unreasonable; as you chose the Athenians, continue to fight on their side. And do not keep reminding us of the alliance you made then, and claim that it ought to save you now. For you have abandoned it and in violation of its principles have constantly aided, instead of trying to prevent, the enslavement of the Aiginetans and other members of the alliance; and that, too, not against your will, since you then enjoyed the laws under which you have lived till now and were not, like us, under compulsion by another. Moreover, you refused to accept the last proposal we made you before Plataiai was invested -- to leave you unmolested if you would aid neither side. Who, then, would more justly be hated by all the Hellenes than you, who displayed your virtue in order to compass their injury? Furthermore, those noble qualities which, as you claim, you once displayed you have now made plain were not properly yours, but your natural longings have been put to the proof and shown in their reality; for you have followed the Athenians when they walked in the way of iniquity. Such, then, is our affirmation regarding our unwilling medism and your willing atticism.

As to your last charge of wrong-doing on

our part -- that we unlawfully attacked your city in time of peace and on a day of festival -- we do not think that in this matter, either, we are more at fault than you. If it was of our own motion that we went to your city, fought you, and ravaged your land as enemies, we are in the wrong; but if some of your countrymen, the leading men in both wealth and family, wishing to put an end to your alliance with an outsider and to restore you to the traditions of our fathers which are common to all the Boiotians, of their own free will invoked our aid, of what wrong are we guilty? For it is those who lead that break the laws rather than those who follow. But in my judgment neither they nor we did wrong. They, who are just as much citizens as you and had more at stake, opened their gates and conducted into their own city friends, not enemies, because they wished that the baser sort among you should not become still worse, and that the better sort should have their deserts, being the censors of your political principles and not seeking to deprive the state of your persons, but rather bringing you back into a natural union with your kindred, and that without making you an enemy of anyone but restoring you to peace with all alike.

The proof that we acted in no hostile spirit is that we wronged nobody, and made a proclamation that anyone who wished to be a citizen according to the hereditary ways of all the Boiotians should come over to us. And you came gladly, and entering into an agreement with us you kept quiet at first; but afterwards, when you became aware that we were few in number -- even supposing we might seem to have acted somewhat inconsiderately in entering your town without the consent of the popular party -- you did not repay us in kind, resorting to no act of violence but endeavouring by arguments to induce us to withdraw, but you assailed us in violation of your agreement. Now as to those whom you killed in hand-to-hand conflict we are not so much grieved -- for they suffered, we grant you, by a kind of law -- but as regards those whom you spared when they stretched out their hands to you, and then, though you afterwards promised us that you would not kill them, lawlessly butchered -- was not that an abominable deed? And after committing these three wrongs within a short space of time -- the violation of your agreement, the subsequent murder of our men, and the

breaking of your promise to us not to kill them if we spared your property in the fields -- you nevertheless assert that we were the transgressors, and claim exemption from punishment for yourselves! No, not if these judges decide aright; but for all these crimes you must be chastised.

We have discussed these matters at length, Lakedaimonians, both for your sakes and our own, in order that you, for your part, may know that you will justly condemn them, and we that we have still more righteously exacted vengeance. And let not your hearts be softened when you hear them speak of their ancient virtues, if indeed they ever had any; for virtues might well be a succour to the victims of wrong, but should bring a two-fold penalty upon the authors of a shameful deed, because their offence is out of keeping with their character. And let not their lamentation and pitiful wailing avail them, nor their appeals to the sepulchres of your fathers and their own desolate state. For in answer we too would point out that a far more dreadful fate befell our young men who were butchered by them, of whose fathers some died at Koroneia trying to win Boiotia to your cause, while others, left desolate at home in their old age, with far greater justice make supplication to you to take vengeance upon these men. Pity is more worthily bestowed upon those who suffer an unseemly fate, but those who, like these Plataians, deserve their fate afford on the contrary a subject for rejoicing. As for their present desolation, that also is their own fault; for of their own free will they rejected the better alliance. They acted unlawfully without having received provocation at our hands, but through hatred rather than according to a just judgment, and they could not possibly pay now a penalty equal to their guilt for they will suffer a lawful sentence; and they are not, as they claim, stretching out suppliant hands on the field of battle, but have delivered themselves up to justice under formal agreement. Vindicate, therefore, Lakedaimonians, the law of the Hellenes which has been transgressed by these men, and render to us who have suffered by their lawlessness a just recompense for the services we have zealously given, and let us not because of their words be thrust aside when we plead before you, but make it plain to the Hellenes by an example that the trials you institute will be of deeds, not words, and that, if the deeds are good, a brief recital

of them suffices, but if they are wrong, speeches decked out with phrases are but veils to hide the truth. Nay, if all leaders, like you in the present instance, should first state the facts briefly for all concerned, and then pass sentence, there will be less seeking of fair words after foul deeds.

The Lakedaimonian judges listened to both sides, though not impartially, and decided to uphold their previous decision that their laconic question was valid, namely, whether or not the Lakedaimonians had received any advantage from the Plataians during the war. For the Lakedaimonians also considered that they had urged the Plataians to maintain neutrality, and that when the Plataians refused such a proposal it was the Plataians themselves who committed the first wrong. In consequence, the Lakedaimonians had them come forward again, this time one by one, and to each repeated the same question. The answer almost to a man was negative -- none had rendered service to the enemy.⁷²

One by one more than two hundred Plataian men and twenty-five Athenians were both tried and slain in almost the same moment. The women were sold into slavery and the city was lent out for most of the following year to the Megarians and those few noble Plataians who deemed it worthy to save their skins, until it was again destroyed by the Thebans,⁷³ who leased the Plataian lands from the Lakedaimonians for a ten-year period and who also built near the sanctuary of Hera a two-hundred foot square inn with rooms all around and on both floors, in which they incorporated doors and roofs for the structure and articles of iron and copper for furniture,

these materials being salvaged from the rest of the city. They also built to Hera a new stone temple two hundred feet long on the sanctuary's former site.⁷⁴ Ironically, the new inn would have accommodated visitors and contestants at the still celebrated Games of Freedom. The festival remained more important than the ideal for which it was founded. The Thebans occupied the land.

During the four-year siege many Plataians were killed in defence of their walls;⁷⁵ many more were slain through Spartan justice; a few survived ignominiously. After the city was burned by the Persians, the Plataians were able to return as a body to their city. With the latest destruction of their city and the Theban occupation of their lands, such a return was precluded. Athenai had done nothing to keep her promise of assistance to her smaller ally. Even when given the chance she refused.⁷⁶

Those Plataians who had escaped and their fellows they had joined in Athenai were granted Athenian citizenship and for the following six years resided at Athenai, no longer as allies but as Plataian-Athenians.⁷⁷

On motion of Hippokrátēs it is decreed that the Plataians shall be Athenians from this day, and shall have full rights as citizens, and that they shall share in all the privileges in which the Athenians share, both civil and religious, save any priesthood or religious office which belongs to a particular family, and that they shall not be eligible to the office of the nine archons; but their descendants shall be. And the Plataians shall be distributed among the demes and the tribes; and after they have been so distributed, it shall no longer be lawful for any Plataian to become an Athenian, unless he wins the gift from the people of Athenai.

Each Plataian, in order to gain this gift, submitted to the scrutiny of the Athenian court. The successful applicant had his name inscribed on a marble pillar which stood near the Parthenón, but he could entertain no illusions of entering into true citizenship. Even his Athenian-born offspring would be denied that favour unless born of an Athenian mother.⁷⁸ Athenian magnanimity rewarded the loyalty of the Plataian people by a grant of second-class citizenship. At Marathon the Plataian dead had been buried with the slaves of battle; at Athenai they were to live in much the same category as manumitted slaves.⁷⁹

The Plataians, basically an inland people, had taken to the sea when they joined the Athenian navy during and after the manoeuvres at Artemision. This new skill they continued in the service of Athenai and no more than three years had passed since being granted pseudo-citizenship, when they joined the Athenians in an expedition against the city of Megara.⁸⁰

Under cover of darkness Athenian ships set sail one summer night for the small island of Minóa which lies outside the city of Megara. A bridge connected the island to the city⁸¹ and the bridge and island formed the western limit of Nísaia, the harbour of Megara. While the Athenians held at Minoa, the Plataians stationed themselves somewhat closer at the town of Enyálion. In the darkness before dawn, a device was effected whereby the gates were opened from within to admit a cart. With the gates opened, Megarian accomplices swiftly killed the guards there while the Plataians rushed in

to secure the passage for the Athenians. Once inside, the light-armed Plataians engaged successfully with the Peloponnesians who at that time were nominally in control of Megara, while the Athenian hoplites from their greater distance ran towards the gates. In the confusion of night the city was taken.⁸²

Plataians, while they resided at Athenai, continued to be used in strength for the defence and aggrandization of Athenai, until in summer three years later⁸³ Kléon of Athenai took the city of Skióne in northern Greece. The male inhabitants were slain, the women enslaved and their lands and city given to the Plataians,⁸⁴ for peace was imminent and Athenai would soon no longer need the services they provided in time of war.⁸⁵ The new Plataiai survived for seventeen years. Although their families made their homes there and worked their newly acquired lands remote from the main theatre of the Peloponnesian War, many Plataians continued in the service of Athenai. They accompanied the Athenian expedition against Sicilian Syrakoúsai⁸⁶ and gave up their lives in that service. But at the close of the war and under the terms to which Athenai submitted, Skione was taken from the Plataians, who again took refuge in the city of their "benefactors".⁸⁷ For the next ten years that coalescence brought historical oblivion until one Plataian youth, Theódotos by name, found himself the object of a suit brought before the Athenian court of the Areiopágos.⁸⁸

Lysías, one of the most prominent orators at Athenai, had secured for himself the affections of the young Plataian.

The amorous affair seemed harmless enough, but that another Athenian by the name of Simon was similarly affected. Simon, in defence of his claim on the young man's attentions, saw fit to make a raid on Lysias' house and even attack him in the street. Under pressures of such amorous rivalry, Lysias decided that it would be best to leave Athenai for a time and along with him he took Theodotos. Simon then temporarily refrained from further antagonism, until Lysias returned to Attika. It was then that Simon and some of his friends attempted to seize the boy but not without a fight from his lover Lysias.

The lovers' quarrel might never have appeared before the court if money had not changed hands. It seemed of little matter that a Plataian had prostituted himself in Athenian hands; the problem was that his services were terminated, and Simon, feeling that he had no other recourse, brought the suit against Lysias.

Lysias opened his defence with flattery for the judges' ears, and after a short apology that a man of his years should have any such connection with a boy so young, he concentrated forthwith on the evils of his adversary. While he himself had tried ways more kind with the boy, Simon, he declared, had taken another course in forcing the young man to do what he wished. The defendant then related the seizure and chase which followed when he had returned from abroad to Peiraieús, bringing the boy with him. Next he attempted to dispute the allegation that Simon had paid Theodotos three hundred *drachmaí* and to show that the boy could not have

taken the money since the young man allegedly hated him. We cannot be certain that Lysias won his case, but can assume, since his defence has been preserved, that he successfully cleared himself and continued to enjoy the young Plataian's affections in the end.

Nor was this the only occasion in which Lysias involved himself in Plataian affairs before an Athenian court. In another case⁸⁹ he acted against one Pankléon, an alleged Plataian. Pankleon's offence is not known, but what is clear is that it was of importance to Lysias to disprove the fellow's claim to Plataian-Athenian citizenship in order to support the accusation. Lysias informed the court that he had asked Euthýkritos, the oldest member of the Plataians at that time, whether Hipparmódoros had a son by the name of Pankleon. Euthykritos could not confirm Pankleon's Plataian status, and therefore Lysias took it upon himself to visit the cheese market in Athenai where on the last day of the month the Plataians were wont to congregate. Lysias reported to the judges that neither confirmation nor denial was to be had at the cheese market, but rather that first one, then another, laid claim to ownership of Pankleon as his slave. The verdict is not recorded for us, but what remains more important is that Plataian status was an avenue to Athenian citizenship and that even after acceptance into the Athenian state, Plataians must have been summoned to reaffirm their claims to even second-class citizenship.

But the recorded abuse of any one Plataian was merely indicative of the abuse that every Plataian-Athenian must

have suffered during the decades of residence at Athenai after the close of the Peloponnesian War. At first, under the thirty tyrants, puppets whose strings reached as far as Sparta, the Plataian democrats must have been highly suspect. The Athenians had to court the favour of not only Sparta but Thebai as well, and any debasement of her resident Plataians would have been appreciated warmly in Thebai.⁹⁰ As a final insult a defeated Athenai, in opposition to the continuing supremacy of the Spartan victors, flew in the face of Plataian loyalty by allying themselves with the hated Thebans with whom they joined in battle against the Spartans at Koroneia, though only to suffer crushing defeat. And it was the Spartans ultimately who seven years after Koroneia were instrumental in resettling the Plataians in their lands and city. During the forty years⁹² that the Plataians were forced to live away from home the Athenians had done nothing to reinstate them.

Usury: Notes

1. Thoukydides, 1.132.2.
2. Demosthenes, *Against Neaira* 97-98.
3. Pausanias, 10.15.1.
4. Pausanias, 10.16.6.
5. Herodotos, 9.52. H. Washington and C. Waldstein, "Excavations by the American School at Plataia in 1891: Discovery of a Temple of Archaic Plan," *PASCSA* 7 (1891) 390-405 have also concluded that the destruction of the Heraion occurred at a date later than 479 B.C.
6. Herodotos, 9.65.
7. As to the date(s) of the funding and construction there seems to be disagreement even among ancient authorities. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 20.3, inclines to the erection (there is a textual problem) and *funding after the Battle of Plataiai and Erythrai (479 B.C.)*, whereas Pausanias, 9.4.1, considers the *funding to have been from the spoils of the Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.)*. The present writer is of the opinion that these two references do not necessarily oppose each other, and, consequently that funding was originally from Marathon, confirmed at Plataiai and utilized after 479 B.C.
8. In view of the Atheno-Plataian alliance and a suggested Ionic *éthnos* of the Plataians, it would be fitting that the temple to Athena be of the Ionic order. Near the location I have hesitatingly suggested for this temple (Map: Plataiai-Ancient City), which location was arrived at through process of elimination of possibilities for which archaeological evidence is either known or apparent, there were found architectural fragments of Ionic order (I. Hunt, "Discoveries at Plataia in 1890: Notes on the Battlefield of Plataia," *PASCSA* 6 [1890] 470). The size of the temple, which was probably quite small, as well as the content of the paintings which adorned it, have been conjectured plausibly by A. de Ridder, "Le temple d'Athéna Areia à Platées," *BCH* 44 (1920) 160-169.
9. Pausanias, 9.4.1, 7.27.2 and Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 20.3. B. Schweitzer, "Pheidias der Parthenonmeister," *Archäologisches Jahrbuch* 55 (1940) 194 has suggested a date of c. 460 B.C.
10. Pausanias, 9.4.1. According to Soulé, 63, Polygnotos may have completed the work c. 455 B.C. A textual problem clouds the conjecture that Adrastos was the

subject of Onasias' painting.

11. Demosthenes, *Against Neaera* 95.
12. Pausanias, 1.15.3. The date of the painting is about 460 B.C.
13. Large sections of the frieze are badly defaced while other sections are but fragmentary. The most recent theories of the frieze's content have been advanced by E. Harrison, "A New Fragment from the North Frieze of the Nike Temple," *AJA* 76 (1972) 194-197, "The South Frieze of the Nike Temple and the Marathon Painting in the Painted Stoa," *AJA* 76 (1972) 353-378 (wherein has been postulated a date of c. 425 B.C. and inclusion of the Plataians on the south frieze) and E. Pemberton, "The East and West Friezes of the Temple of Athena Nike," *AJA* 76 (1972) 303-310.
14. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 20.4.
15. In the report of his recent excavations, T. Spyropoulos, "Εἰδήσεις ἐκ Βοιωτίας· Πλαταιαί," *AAA* 6 (1973) 375-379, has reported neither the inscription nor image having been found.
16. Pausanias, 9.2.5-6.
17. Ploutarchos, "On the Malice of Herodotos," *Moralia* 873B and *Aristeides* 19.6.
18. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 21.1-5. Though the games took form at this time they were probably vowed before the Battle of Plataiai and Erythrai (479 B.C.) as Diodoros of Sicily, 11.29.1, suggests.
19. The Delian League and the Athenian empire thus trace their roots to the assembly at Plataiai.
20. The exact date, again cannot be ascertained. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 19.7 and 20.2, gives conflicting evidence. J. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece* 5, chap.2 (New York 1965) 16, has noted on evidence of *CIGGS* 1, no.1667 that the Plataians dated their public documents after this time by the year of the priest of Zeus Eleutherios.
21. P. Foucart, "Inscriptions de Béotie," *BCH* 9 (1885) 423.
22. The source is most likely the western Kontita Spring since this is closer to the precinct of Zeus Eleutherios than is Moúlki Spring.
23. Whether, when the year of the sacrifice for freedom and the year of the games coincided, the two were held con-

jointly is not known. It would, however, seem reasonable to assume so in consideration of the relevance of the one to the other. It also would seem reasonable that both the annual sacrifice and the quadrennial games were celebrated on the anniversary of the Battle of Plataiai and Erythrai. This assumption finds some support from Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 19.7, although Soulé, 76, has divided the observances so that the assembly and games would occur in late August (the time of the battle) whereas the funeral celebration would fall in November or December.

24. Pausanias, 9.2.5-6.
25. *IG* 7, 49 intermittently through 3200.
26. It is interesting to note that even during the past games in the present decade Theban dignitaries were not made welcome to the extent that officials from other cities were, despite the fact that modern Plataiai now lies in Boiotia.
27. In considering the extraordinary length of course involved in the armed hoplite race at Plataiai compared to the length of foot-race courses elsewhere in ancient Greece, E. Gardiner, "Notes on the Greek Foot Race," *JHS* 23 (1903) 282 has written: "The ordinary distance appears to have been a *dioulos* (i.e. one stade to a turning point and one stade return). The term ἵππιος (used by Philóstratos, *On Gymnastics*) may denote a double *dioulos*." The course, then, according to Gardiner may have been as long as four stades (about six hundred metres) but according to L. Robert, "Recherches épigraphiques," *REA* 31 (1929) 15, as great as fifteen stades, being the distance from the trophy (erected after the Battle of Plataiai and Erythrai) and the altar of Zeus Eleutherios.
28. Philostratos, *On Gymnastics* 264.
29. Philostratos, *On Gymnastics* 273.
30. W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* 3 (Hildesheim 1960) 1064.
31. *IG* 1711.
32. L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec* (Amsterdam 1971) 245, and *IG* 3.1128, 1131 and 1135.
33. Loukíllios, "On Prizefighters," *Greek Anthology* 11.81.
34. The Plataians, in honouring the alliance of Greeks present at the Battle of Plataiai and Erythrai, did send aid to the Spartans during the Messenian revolt

at Ithome (of uncertain date but between 464 and 455 B.C.). From references in Thoukydides (3.54.5), Herodotos (9.64) and Pausanias (9.4.2), G. Huxley, "Aeimnestos the Plataian" in "Two Notes on Herodotos," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 4 (1963) 5-7, in a brilliant piece of scholarship, has most convincingly shown that Aeimnestos and the Plataian general of the Persian War period, Arimnestos, are one and the same person. To summarize his research, Arimnestos led three hundred Plataians to Messenia in aid of the Spartans against the revolting helots at the time of the great earthquake. At Stenýkleros, Plataian casualties were heavy and Arimnestos was among the fallen. On the basis of Huxley's work, it can then be conjectured that the monument which according to Pausanias was dedicated to Arimnestos at Plataiai would have been erected very shortly after the general's death (c. 455 B.C.).

35. In 457 B.C. the Spartans were active in central Greece and proceeded to reinstate Thebai in her position as dominant power in Boiotia (J. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* 32).
36. 456 B.C.
37. *Hellenika Oxyrhynchia* 11.3. Plataiai from 456-447 B.C. was probably in control of the whole of Southern Upper Parasopía.
38. 447 B.C.
39. 445 B.C.
40. J. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* 133, n.1, has noted that "M. Sordi, *Atene e Roma*, 1965, 14f., is positive that Plataea was not a member (of the Boiotian Confederacy) between 447 and 427 (B.C.)." Further, I. Bruce, "Plataea and the Fifth-century Boeotian Confederacy," *Phoenix* 22 (1968) 190 has felt that Plataiai was not a member in 431 B.C. Nevertheless the possibility that Larsen has expressed (133), namely, that Plataiai could have at the same time been both a member (at least nominally) of the Boiotian council and an ally of Athenai, seems most attractive. We know that Plataiai was caught between conflicting alliances during the opening years of the Peloponnesian Wars -- the one alliance with Athenai (c. 519 B.C.) and the other with the Greek states (including Sparta) which fought together at Plataiai (479 B.C.). It seems quite possible, then, that Plataiai was a member of the Boiotian Confederacy in 431 B.C. (until the Theban attack) while yet allied with Athenai and further that her Athenian leaning and the duplicity which it may have involved invited corrective action from Thebai, the administrative head of the confederacy, perhaps even

- with the sanction of the majority of the confederate members.
41. 431 B.C. Thoukydides, 2.1ff. W. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (Amsterdam 1966) 332, has argued for a date of March 5, 431 B.C.
 42. Herodotos, 7.233, states rather *four* hundred Thebans.
 43. Demosthenes, *Against Neaira* 99, considers that Archidamos, king of Sparta, was the instigator of the Theban attack and that Naukleides had been bribed into treachery. Demosthenes' tenet is quite creditable in view of the Thebo-Spartan friendship of the time, but whether it was Spartan or Theban or combined action which nurtured the betrayal, the real source must be seen to have been within the city itself. The oligarchic element at Plataiai must have considered that the propitious and pressing moment had arrived for their bid to ascendancy and domination of the democratic majority. In a climate of imminent war the oligarchs, who owned the largest share of lands outside the walls, would have realized that a democratic Plataiai would have its properties ravaged, but that a pro-Theban Plataiai's lands would be left to prosper. And in view of such a realization, the oligarchic faction would have gained increasing support from those who had lesser landed interests and even from those who tilled for hire. As L. Losada, *The Fifth Column in the Peloponnesian War* (Leiden, 1972) 62, has seen: "The fact that an alliance with Thebes would provide greater protection for their interests than the Athenian alliance may well have played a role in the motivation of the fifth columnists."
 44. Thoukydides, 3.56.2.
 45. That Eurymachos was leader is verified by Herodotos, 7.233, although he is named not necessarily to the exclusion of the boiotarchs.
 46. The thick stone walls of the older houses today render the structures all but sound-proof.
 47. There is a parallel today with the large, often double-doored, warehouses (used to store produce, livestock and large farm machinery) which throughout the region, especially in Erythrai, are located within the town.
 48. Diodoros of Sicily, 12.41.7, states that many rural Plataians were slain and that not a few were taken as prisoners.
 49. Herodotos, 7.233.
 50. Obviously, Athenai would have benefited much by secu-

- ring the Thebans as hostages. To a certain degree, she would have been able to hold Thebai at bay while dealing with Sparta. Further analysis of the value of the Theban hostages has been presented by H. Stahl, *Thukydides* (Munich 1966) 65-74.
51. At this time the inhabitants of Erythrai, Skárphe, and Skolos, all once parts of the Plataian *sympoliteía*, gathered at Thebai (*Hellenika Oxyrhynchia* 12.3). There is no mention of Hysiai, and consequently it may be assumed that Hysiai was considered part of the Athenian *bloc* at this time, if, indeed, the town still existed as an autonomous deme.
 52. Thukydides, 2.18. N. Hammond, *Studies in Greek History* (Oxford 1973) 432 and 444ff., (= "The Main Road from Boeotia to the Peloponnese," *ABSA* 49 [1954] 103-122), is quite persuasive in his suggestion that the modern town of Billia is to be equated with the ancient Oinói.
 53. 429 B.C.
 54. D. Kagan, *The Archidamian War* (Ithaca, New York 1974) 102, has demonstrated that the Peloponnesians attacked Plataiai at this time rather than Attika not only in deference to the wishes of their Theban allies but also in an attempt to avoid the risk of contracting the plague which was then rampant at Athenai.
 55. Thukydides, 2.71-78. The speeches are quoted at length (in C.F. Smith's translation, Loeb Classical Library) since they are the highlight of all Plataian history and, as Dionýsios of Halikarnassós, *Thukydides* 42, has considered them, the hallmark of historical oratory.
 56. The predicament, of course, in which the Plataians found themselves, stemmed from the fact that the alliance with Athenai preceded their alliance with Sparta (cf. note 40). The arguments of Archidamos are valid but do not take into account the prior Atheno-Plataian alliance and Plataian commitment.
 57. A. Ferrabino, *L'impero ateniense* (Torino 1927) 101, n.1, has suggested that Archidamos himself departed from the Plataian region soon after the palisade was completed, leaving the Thebans and Peloponnesians in lesser force to attempt the capture of the city. This early partial withdrawal would explain the lengthy period of attack procedures. "Secondo (*Thukydides* II) 75, 3 e 78, 2 i Peloponnesiacci sarebbero rimasti sul luogo ... per oltre 70 giorni. Ciò contraddice a II, 57, 2 dove è detto che la più lunga invasione dei Peloponnesiacci fu di 40 giorni. Il rimedio più semplice è di supporre che Archidamo partisse col grosso prima di quei 70-80 giorni che durarono

le operazioni di approccio, ossia subito *dopo* la costruzione della solita palizzata (75, 1)."

58. The prevailing summer winds in the region are from the south, shifting from the drier southwest. Also, cf. Theophrastos, *On the Winds* 5.32.
59. Today such a shower, though a rarity in summer, does happen, especially if the wind is southwest from the Korinthian Gulf.
60. Thoukydides, 3.21.
61. Thoukydides, 2.78.
62. Thoukydides, 3.20.3. Material for whitewash is readily available locally. The coating would have served not only as a preservative seal against erosion of the clay bricks but also as a light reflector, particularly valuable at night for the defence of the wall. In two articles, A. von Gerkan, "Die Belagerungsmauer von Plataiai," *Rheinisches Museum* 93 (1950) 379-382 and "Zur Belagerungsmauer von Plataiai," *Rheinisches Museum* 95 (1952) 377-378, has hypothesized the various dimensions of the siege-wall. Of particular interest is his suggestion in the latter article (378) that the distance between that wall and the city wall would have been, at most, seventy-five metres.
63. Thoukydides, 2.78. About mid-September -- the time of the rising of Arcturus.
64. Thoukydides, 3.20-24.
65. If today's weather patterns can be seen as indicative of those of the classical period, such an excursion must have taken place in November or early December since October is a mostly dry month and late December is snowy rather than rainy. Early December in 428 B.C. seems most likely, since the besieged remained as long as possible always in hope of Athenian succour.
66. Any footwear, inasmuch as it would stick in the mud, would impede progress, although it would stabilize its wearer. Thoukydides, 3.22.2, states that only the left foot was shod (by reason of safety against the mud) and from this it may be inferred that the left foot afforded stability while the right gave unimpeded strength to the pace. Such an expedient then seems practical rather than, as J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* 3 (New York 1935) 5.311, has seen, merely religious.
67. The attempt was probably made on the northern section of the city while the diversion was restricted to the southern wall where an attempt would have seemed more

likely.

68. E. Harrison, "The Escape from Plataea: Thucydides 3.23," *CQ* 9 (1959) 30, n.1, has suggested that the outer ditch was at a greater depth than the inner, the better to serve as a moat against the possibility of Athenian attack.
69. 427 B.C. Thucydides, 3.52-68.
70. Thucydides, 3.52.5, recorded "Aeimnestos" (cf. n.34). Arimnestos was the general of the Plataians at Marathon and Plataiai. Lakon, his son, was the representative of Lakedaimonian affairs (πρόξενος) at Plataiai.
71. Thucydides at this point has been accused of committing an anachronism for which see A. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* 2 (Oxford 1966) 340. The accusation, however, depends upon the translation and with this observation, this writer has defended Thucydides by rendering πολιτείας as "cities" rather than "citizenships".
72. As P. Huart, "L'idée de justice chez Thucydide," *Réseaux* 18-19 (1972) 32 has observed "... au moment où ils venaient assiéger Platées, les Spartiates pouvaient bien invoquer leur 'intérêt', mais cet intérêt n'était en aucun cas conciliable avec le moindre sentiment de 'justice': il lui était même complètement opposé."
73. That the Thebans razed the city and built the inn and later temple to Hera is assumed from Thucydides, 3.68.3. The bases for the assumption are well discussed by Gomme, 2.357. H. Washington, "Excavations by the American School at Plataia in 1891: Discovery of a Temple of Archaic Plan," *PASCSA* 7 (1891) 399 and 403, has also demonstrated evidence that the stone Heraion, whose foundation still remains, was built about 425 B.C. on the site of a former temple which had been burned, probably in 480 B.C.
74. 426-425 B.C. according to Soulé, 46. The statues of Hera (by Kallimachos and Praxitéles) within the temple (Soulé, 49ff.) are discussed at a later point in the topographical section.
75. Diodoros of Sicily, 12.56.1.
76. Thucydides, 3.36.1, records that when an important Spartan, held hostage by the Athenians, bargained for his life by a promise of persuading the Peloponnesians to abandon the siege of Plataiai, the Athenians preferred to kill him rather than to consider the possible deliverance of the Plataian city.

77. The "Decree Regarding the Plataians" is here adapted from Demosthenes, *Against Neaira* 104.
78. Demosthenes, *Against Neaira* 105-106.
79. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 694, also makes reference to Plataians and freed slaves -- both in the same line.
80. 424 B.C. Thoukydides, 4.67ff.
81. Thoukydides, 3.51.3.
82. The operation in its final stages is complex and involves the Plataians but little in way of direct reference. The reader is referred to D. Kagan, *The Archidamian War* (Ithaca, New York 1974) 273-277 for a clear account.
83. 421 B.C. Thoukydides, 5.32.1.
84. Since Plataiai is not explicitly mentioned in the terms of the Peace of Nikias (Thoukydides, 5.18) of 421 B.C. (cf. Thoukydides, 5.17.2 and 5.30.2), it is assumed that Plataian territory remained in Spartan hands, in theory, but in Theban hands, in fact. A Diller, "Race Mixture among the Greeks," *Illinois Studies in Languages and Literatures* 20-12, 148 with support from references in Aristophanes, *Frogs* 33, 191 and 694, Xenophon, *Hellenika* 1.6.24, et al., has maintained that Athenian slaves settled at Skione with the Plataians.
85. The observation has been made by G. Mathieu, "La réorganisation du corps civique athénien à la fin du V^e siècle," *Revue des études grecques* 40 (1927) 70.
86. 413 B.C. Thoukydides, 7.57.5 and Pausanias, 1.29.12.
87. 405/404 B.C.
88. Lysias, *Against Simon* 1-48. Since the battles at Korinthos and Koroneia (394 B.C.) are mentioned within the defence, the scandal must have taken place after 394 B.C. and possibly after 390 B.C. considering the evidence in section 19. It is possible that Lysias was not the defendant but wrote the defence for a client.
89. Lysias, *Against Pankleon* 1-16. The court appearance must have occurred shortly before 387 B.C. since it is mentioned that the defendant (who lost the case) took refuge at Thebai, which until 387 B.C. was still hostile to the Plataians.
90. As G. Mathieu, "La réorganisation du corps civique athénien à la fin du V^e siècle," *REG* 40 (1927) 75, has

observed: "maintenir les Platéens à un rang inférieur était un moyen de ménager l'amitié thébaine."

91. 387 B.C. By the terms of the Spartan Peace of Antalkidas the Plataians were restored to their own city (Pausanias, 9.1.4) which the Spartans themselves helped to rebuild (Isokrates, *Plataikos*).
92. 427 B.C.-387 B.C.

Metastases

By the terms of the Peace of Antalkidas most of the city-states of Greece regained their independence.¹ With Spartan help, Plataiai was rebuilt² and considerable numbers of its citizens left Athenai to return to their lands and home. Their obligation to Sparta, however, was short-lived; in less than a decade after the restoration of their city Plataians were embroiled in the Spartan-Theban clash for supremacy which ultimately saw Theban victory and yet another destruction of the Plataian city at the hands of the victors.³

Eight years after the peace and with the Spartans in power at Thebai, the Plataians were summoned one winter's night⁴ by the Lakedaimonian governor there to bring aid.⁵ The Thebans had staged a night-revolt and when they realized that the Plataians were rallying to succour the Spartan garrison, they sent out their horsemen to meet them before they arrived. More than twenty Plataians were killed. The Lakedaimonian governor fled, only to be put to death for his desertion by the Spartans, who then sent out Kleombrotos to march against Thebai.

He could not enter Boiotia by the main road inasmuch as the Athenians at Eleutheraí were guarding the pass. In consequence, he ascended Mount Kithairon by way of Karýdi Road (Map Sections 7, 7a, 7b and 8); in that part of the pass where Fichthi Road intersects it he was intercepted by the Thebans, about one hundred and fifty, who fell to his superior

numbers almost to a man. Kleombrotos then descended to Plataiai, where his troops were received in friendship and then proceeded via Thespiái to Kynoskephalaí, a hill between Thespiái and Thebai, but in Theban territory. There he encamped for the better part of a month, then returned to Thespiái, whereupon he decided to return south, having engaged not at all with the Thebans on their territory and having caused as little damage to their lands as possible.

The retreat was ordered via Kreúsis (Liḃaðóstro), the port of Thespiái, and along the coastal road to Aigósthena, but a violent wind came up and as his men were skirting Mount Kithairon south of Hagios Basíleios Harbour the force of the storm caught up his baggage-laden donkeys and hurled them over the cliffs, and into the sea. Shields were likewise torn away and those that were not were turned over on the ground and filled with stones to secure them. The men made their way to Aigosthena, returned to gather their shields the following day and then proceeded home.

The following year⁶ in preparation for a renewed attack against Thebai, the Spartans took into their employ mercenaries who guarded the passes through Kithairon. This was effected and Agesílaos was sent out from Sparta, crossed Kithairon unimpeded and arrived at Thespiái, where he based his headquarters for the coming operation. He ravaged the Theban fields somewhat but then left via Megara for home,⁷ only to return once more the following spring.⁸ Again he caused Karydi Road to be secured at its Kithaironian summit before he led his troops into Boiotia and arrived again at

Plataiai. This time, however, rather than proceeding to Thespiiai and then on to Thebai from which direction the Thebans anticipated and guarded against his approach, he marched from Plataiai by way of the road to Erythrai and Skolos. As he neared Skolos by forced march, the Thebans were still concentrating their defence on the side of Thespiiai, and thus Agesilaos being on the east of Thebai, while the Thebans were on the west of their city, was able to ravage the area east of the city as far as Tanagra, which was at that time friendly to the Spartans. Leaving Tanagra he then headed west and south until he came upon the Thebans who had arranged themselves for battle on a narrow hill.⁹ Agesilaos initially, however, did not engage but rather turned towards Thebai, and the Thebans, poised for battle but now in fear for their city, likewise retreated to protect it, though not by the same way as Agesilaos. But almost as soon as both forces had turned, Agesilaos attacked with some success. That night he encamped on that same hill and next day arrived back at Thespiiai from where he turned again to cross Kithairon and head for home.

The following spring¹⁰ it devolved upon Kleombrotos to enter Boiotia again. When he had arrived at the southern foot of Kithairon he sent his peltasts ahead to the summit of Karydi Road to secure the pass. These had not reached the highest point of the road before Athenians and Thebans together emerged from their ambush and killed about forty of them, with the result that Kleombrotos withdrew his force without having crossed Kithairon. But with the repulsion

of Kleombrotos and the absence of any Spartan campaign against Thebai in the following year, the Thebans, in no imminent danger, proceeded to confront the neighbouring Boiotian cities in an effort to bring them once more under her subjection.¹¹ Plataiai was forced once again to join the Boiotian Confederacy.

During the campaigns of Kleombrotos and Agesilaos, though there is no record of actual combat between Plataians and Athenians at that time, the Plataians and the Athenians were on opposing sides for the first time. With the Spartan ineffectiveness to control their Theban neighbours, the Plataians soon had second thoughts. Any other subjection was better than prostration before the will of Thebai. When Plataiai tried to rekindle their relationship with Athenai and asked for soldiers for protection against Thebai, the Boiotians launched a considerable army to counter the gesture.¹² Neoklés, the Theban boiotarch, led his army not by the direct road from Thebai to Plataiai but along the road to Hysiai in the direction of Eleutherai (Karydi Road or possibly the main Thebai-Athenai road). He had opted for this circuitous route in order to take the Plataians unaware, for though the Plataians were careful to tend their fields in safety only when the Theban assembly was in session, they had not taken the precaution of posting a sentry on their eastern borders. Neokles, therefore, aware that the Plataians scheduled themselves according to the sessions of the Theban assembly, ordered his men to come to assembly one morning fully armed, whence they struck out against their

small neighbour with the intention of arriving at the Plataian walls by midday.¹³ The Plataians were not prepared for the attack, and when the Boiotian cavalry had entered her territory it carried off many from the fields while others escaped the city. But with some of their fellows already captured and with no certainty of aid from Athenai, the Plataians were forced to come to terms and the Thebans "magnanimously" allowed them to leave their city and Boiotia forever, taking with them their movable possessions and their lives.¹⁴ The Plataians were received at Athenai and resumed their "special" status.¹⁵ Except for the sanctuaries, the city was destroyed for the third time.

Again resident at Athenai, the Plataians presented their appeal before the Athenian assembly for aid in the restoration of their city.¹⁶ One Plataian rose to speak, aware that Athenai and Thebai had only recently joined forces in a united front against the campaigns of Kleombrotos and Agesilaos of Sparta. He pointed out that it was under compulsion that the Plataians had recently been subservient to the Lakedaimonians to the point of having accepted the Spartan governor and garrison that held their city. He appealed to the Athenians as brothers, for, in fact, many Plataians were born of Athenian mothers. His plea was powerful but could not move the Athenians to act.

For more than a generation,¹⁷ the Plataians were to remain at Athenai. At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War they were the first of Greeks to be forced into exile; now again they were the only people of all the Greeks to endure

the same misfortune. Their aged parents suffered in want. Their children, without hope of education or amelioration of their situation, were faced with the prospect of working under Athenian masters for hire, should they be so fortunate, or of making a livelihood as best they could or of accruing debts in order merely to survive -- debts which could ultimately lead to their enslavement.¹⁸

The following year Thebans overwhelmed Spartans at Leúktra, a town but a few kilometers northwest of the destroyed Plataiai.¹⁹ With the rise of Thebai to a position of leadership in Greece, Plataians could no longer entertain any hope of return to their homeland. By the battle of Leuktra, Thebai assumed the hegemony of Greece; by the battle of Mantíneia²⁰ she lost it. Later, at Boiotian Chairóneia,²¹ Philippos II, king of Makedonía, and his son Alexandros dealt yet a further blow to the Thebans and came to a position of strength which not even Athenai could defy. Athenians were dismayed at the Makedonian rise to power; from that power Plataians gained new hope, for Philippos decreed that the Plataians should be restored to their own city.²² He left a Makedonian garrison at Thebai, and in safety the Plataians removed their families from Athenai and returned home to begin anew.²³

The city had not seen the completion of its reconstruction when two years had passed and the Thebans attempted to rebel from their Makedonian masters.²⁴ Alexandros re-entered Boiotia and crushed the Thebans and their city. For the Plataians, the long awaited day of revenge was at

hand -- revenge for the Theban defection during the Persian Wars, revenge for the Theban seizure of their city during the time of peace which preceded the Peloponnesian War, revenge for the Theban enslavement of Plataian citizens at the end of that war, revenge for the many devastations of their lands and massacres of their people at Theban hands, and revenge for every harm that was so long harboured and nurtured in every Plataian heart. For when Alexandros and his army entered Thebai, it was not so much his own men as the Plataians and her neighbour-cities who took to the joyful slaughter of the Thebans as they stood unresisting.²⁵ The Plataians broke into the houses, even into the temples and spared neither woman nor child. After the initial blood-bath, it was to the Plataians and the other allies who had joined them against Thebai, that Alexandros entrusted the final fate of the fallen city.²⁶ It was decided that the acropolis would be garrisoned, but that the rest of the city, save the house of the poet Píndaros, be utterly razed to the ground²⁷ and that any Theban survivor, save those in friendship with Alexandros, be sold into slavery. Plataiai had not only wreaked her vengeance and had thereby brought down the walls of hated Thebai, but also secured a decision in favour of rebuilding her own fortifications. Her new city now aggrandized by the lands once Theban²⁸ sprung to prosperity once more behind the walls which are those most evident today. For the second time in her history she even minted her own coins.²⁹ The Plataians were favoured by Alexandros,³⁰ and at his instigation a herald proclaimed at

the Olympian Games that Alexandros had bestowed upon the Plataians the rebuilding of their walls in return for their own bravery during the Persian Wars and their magnanimity in having of their own accord bestowed their territory upon the Athenians in that war for the hope of all Greece.³¹ The Athenians fared not so well.

After the death of Philippos, father of Alexandros, it was not only Thebans who tried their hand at revolt, but Athenians as well. But the Athenians, as soon as they had witnessed the example of Thebai and were of the opinion that nothing else was to be done other than to try to appease Alexandros, sent Demosthenes, their leading orator to attempt a peace between Makedonia and Athenai.³² But Alexandros had called for the arrest of Demosthenes, aware that this orator had been a spokesman of anti-Makedonian influence. Demosthenes had left Athenai to meet with Alexandros while his army was yet before Thebai, but aware that he would be taken under arrest, the orator never crossed Kithairon. After he had returned to Athenai, Aischínes, a rival orator who early saw the advantage of a pro-Makedonian policy, railed at him before the Athenian assembly to show the Athenians how Demosthenes had not only failed to sue for peace with Alexandros on behalf of Athenai, but also had secured his own safety through the influence of one Plataian.

Aristíon, a Plataian,³³ resident at Athenai, a young man, moreover, of exceptional beauty, had lived for quite some time with Demosthenes. Aischines informed the assembly that it would not be appropriate at that point to enter into

a discussion of what the young man had been doing there or what had been done to him, but that it was important to consider that this same young man had sought out the favours of Alexandros and through this access had secured for Demosthenes a degree of immunity and reconciliation. If we can accept, then, the evidence of Aischines it would appear that Demosthenes had well ordered his affairs.

But while Aristion found favour at the hands of Alexandros, Stasagóras, the Plataian general at that time, did not. While the Athenians were haranguing about submission to the Makedonians, Alexandros, when he arrived at Athenai, saw fit to visit the sanctuary of Kóre there.³⁴ When he entered the precinct of the goddess the priestess welcomed him, and the young king, pleased with her revelations, gave her gold. Some days later, however, when Stasagoras came to the same sanctuary he was not at all pleased with the priestess' prophecy. "Stasagoras," she said, "you will be overthrown." An enraged Stasagoras then ordered that the priestess be removed from her office, but Alexandros intervened and restored her to her position while removing Stasagoras from his. The Plataian general, in consequence, applied to the Athenians who re-appointed him. But Alexandros, who was in Plataiai when he learned of the Athenian reaction to his command, wrote to the Athenians that they must pay him a yearly tribute of one thousand talents because they attempted to reverse his orders. The Athenians then quickly sent ambassadors to Plataiai in an effort to assuage the young king; there they presented him with a

victor's crown and congratulations on his military successes. Alexandros accepted the congratulations but wrote back to the Athenians that they should not blame him but rather the Plataian general who had deposed an Athenian priestess and who had disgraced the Athenians in doing so. But Alexandros had passed judgment on one Plataian, not the whole of its citizenry. For the Plataians at the time were hosting his army, and if the relationship between himself and the young Aristion can serve as any indication, Alexandros had already considered the Plataians as his own.

Throughout his reign, the Plataians continued to prosper while enjoying the special status which Alexandros allowed them. Much of Greece, on the other hand, waited for their opportunity to slough the Makedonian yoke. When news reached Greece that Alexandros had died³⁵ while on campaign in Asia, many of the Greeks allied themselves with Athenai in a bid to overthrow the Makedonian Antipatros, whom Alexandros had appointed as regent. But the Plataians and other Boiotians nearby who had benefited from the Theban lands which they still held, were unsympathetic to the allied cause and remained loyal to the Makedonians, knowing that if the Athenians were successful in their confrontation with Antipatros, they would restore the Thebans to their lands.³⁶ Not only would the Plataians lose the Theban lands they had enjoyed under Alexandros but would again be in fear for the very existence of their state.

The Athenians and their allies entered Boiotia that same year on their way to meet the forces of Antipatros,

but arrived only to find that the Plataians and other Boiotians were arrayed near the city of Plataiai and stood ready for battle. Only part of the Athenian-commanded force engaged with the Plataians and other Boiotians, but the Plataians, nonetheless outnumbered, gave way. The Plataians had pitted themselves against Athenians in actual combat for the first time. Pro-Athenian sentiments, which had been flagging since the Peace of Antalkidas,³⁷ were finally dead and buried.

The Athenians and their allies continued their fight in the Lamian War but could not defeat the strength of Antipatros, which failure was much to the satisfaction of the Plataians. For the next seven years the Plataians worked their farms in the absence of any Theban threat, until Kásandros, son of Antipatros, restored the Thebans to their city.³⁸ Fortunately, however, the Thebans, humbler folk now, entertained no pretensions of antagonizing their Plataian neighbours, but rather wished to be reconciled to them, to share with them in the common assembly of the Boiotians and even to resume their part in the Plataian celebration of the Daidala.³⁹

Plataiai and Thebai had finally joined hands in friendship. The association, and with it the re-entry of the Plataian city into the Boiotian fold, marked the beginning of a new era in Plataiai's history -- a time of renewed prosperity, a prosperity which was for the first time linked to that of Thebai instead of being threatened by it. While pro-Athenian sentiments may be at times apparent throughout

the remainder of her history -- sentiments which are felt to the present day -- her existence and her prosperity were henceforth nurtured by her new union with a closer friend, a union which became so complete that the subsequent history of Plataiai is hardly to be distinguished from that of Thebai.⁴⁰

That Plataiai did in fact flourish to some degree during the period of Makedonian-enforced peaceful Thebo-Plataian co-existence may be inferred from the very existence of known Plataian literary products of this era. Daímachos, a Plataian, wrote a work (no longer extant) on India, after his arrival⁴¹ there as ambassador of Séleukos, one of the successors to the empire of Alexandros. Psáon,⁴² another Plataian man of letters, compiled a general history⁴³ in thirty books.⁴⁴

For twelve years⁴⁵ following the reconstruction of Thebai, Kassandros' Makedonian garrison guarded the peace which had been imposed. For another fifteen years⁴⁶ the Thebo-Plataian peace continued while Thebai vacillated in the affections and designs of yet another Makedonian conqueror, Demétrios Poliorketés. As long as Boiotia was concerned with the expulsion of Makedonian influence, Plataiai and Thebai were united by the external threat which Makedonia posed. And even when Demetrios Poliorketes had released his hold, there was little time for the externally imposed Thebo-Plataian co-operation to disintegrate. Ten years afterwards⁴⁷ the Gauls attacked Greece and a united Boiotia took an active part in the efforts which brought about their expulsion.

After about thirty years,⁴⁸ Boiotia entered into an alliance with the Achaians, but in the year after the alliance⁴⁹ the Aitolians invaded Boiotia, with the result that Boiotia turned to Makedonia and its king, Antígonos Gonatas, for protection. The Boiotian re-entry into Makedonian protectorate was more easily achieved than abandoned. For almost the next half-century,⁵⁰ in which Thebai was held in Makedonian subjection under Antigonos Gonatas,⁵¹ Demetrios II,⁵² Antigonos Dóson,⁵³ and Philippos V⁵⁴ Boiotia again had greater concerns than inter-city rivalry. Successive waves of Makedonian influence, beginning with Philippos II, father of Alexandros, and extending to Philippos V, had united Boiotia by force and imposed a peace which, though at times it was jeopardized externally, continued between Thebai and Plataiai until the advent of Roman legions in Boiotia, a presence which strengthened Thebo-Plataian peace and co-operation even further.

During the wars which ensued between Philippos V and the Romans,⁵⁵ the Boiotians allied themselves with the Makedonians, at least nominally, until it was seen that Roman strength could serve to overthrow the Makedonian presence in Boiotia. One day in early spring⁵⁶ the Roman general, Titus Quintius Flamininus and his forces, having been joined at Eláteia in Phokís by those under the command of Áttalos, king of Pérgamon, left that town and proceeded to a point five miles west of Thebai where the combined forces encamped. The following day Flamininus and Attalos entered the city without a struggle and proclaimed that a meeting of the

Boiotian Confederacy would take place the next day. In that council, first Attalos and later Flamininus called upon the Boiotians to welcome the liberation which the Romans offered from the Makedonian yoke. It was Dikaíarchos⁵⁷ of Plataiai who first among the Boiotians proposed the alliance with their liberators. The motion received the unanimous consent of the Boiotian cities.

The initial *pax Romana* was not, however, without thorns. Flamininus allowed the Boiotian cities to retain their freedom, but only five years⁵⁸ after his entry into Thebai, the Boiotians joined in coalition with Antíochos, king of Syria, against their Roman liberators. Antiochos crossed into Greece but was defeated by the Romans in the following year. With the knowledge that Roman authority could be challenged and the realization that the hope placed in Antiochos was shattered, Boiotia fell to internal dissensions, while concomitantly the Boiotian Confederacy began to disintegrate.

A further effort was made⁵⁹ to slough Roman rule when some of the Boiotians again looked to Makedonia as its leader. Perseús, son of Philippos V and king of Makedonia, opened hostilities⁶⁰ but was ultimately defeated by the Romans, and in recompense for Boiotian defection the Boiotian Confederacy was thereupon *de facto* disbanded,⁶¹ later to be legally abolished when all Greece became a Roman province.⁶²

Soon, however, the Romans restored the Boiotian confederate council,⁶³ at least nominally, and for the remainder of the Roman republican period⁶⁴ the cities of Boiotia

retained an autonomy that, while not effective, was at least recognized. Towards the beginning of the Christian era and throughout much of the Roman imperial period many of the cities of Boiotia lost even that token of independence that had been afforded them, whereas Plataiai, in memory of her valour when Greeks fought against Persians, was granted and maintained the status of *civitas libera*.⁶⁵ But Plataiai flourished not only because of her former importance, but also again because of her geographical situation. Thespiiai and Tanagra became the important towns of Roman Boiotia, and Plataiai not only flanked the Thespiiai-Athenai road but marked the convenient half-way point. Thebai, on the other hand, had lost her walls and that destruction harbingered the gradual decline of the size of the city, and, with it, her importance, until ultimately the Roman dictator, Lucius Cornelius Sulla during his campaign against Mithridátes VI of Pontus, entered Greece⁶⁶ from the west (Dyrrháchion), proceeded to Athenai (via Plataiai) which had become the centre of the Mithridatic cause, took that city after a protracted siege, returned to Boiotia⁶⁷ where he defeated other Mithridatic forces,⁶⁸ and ultimately departed from Greece, but not without first conferring upon the Delphians half of the territory of the Thebans.

The rise of Makedonia to a position of power in Boiotia had initiated a series of events, which led to the decline of Thebai. That decline assured Plataiai a better hope of reaching for the prosperity of her own city -- a prosperity upheld by both Makedonians and Romans, who conferred upon her

a special status amongst Greek cities, and made possible by a commercial renaissance inasmuch as she straddled the main road through Roman Greece. It is almost ironic that, after such an extended trial (most often in defiance of her neighbour Thebai) to gain that security, one of the last documents of her history before the Christian era tells again of her destruction.

This is that Plataiai which a sudden earthquake tumbled down utterly: only a little remnant was left, and we, the dead, lie here with our beloved city laid on us for a monument.⁶⁹

Metastases: Notes

1. 387 B.C. Pausanias, 9.1.4.
2. 386 B.C. M. Amit, "Great and Small Poleis," *Latomus* 134 (1973) 109 has contended that a Spartan garrison was installed at Plataiai as early as 384/383 B.C.
3. That real independence for Plataiai was brief is reflected in its surviving coinage which appeared only in two periods, 387-374 B.C. and for a few years after 335 B.C. M. Amit, "La date d l'alliance entre Athènes et Platées," *Antiquité classique* 39 (1970) 421, in writing of the relationship between Plataiai's autonomy and her coinage, has stated: "... elle renonça à cet attribut d'indépendance pendant toute la durée de son alliance avec Athènes." This rare coinage (showing Hera accompanied by the letters ΠΑΑ on the face and according to the period either a cow or Boiotian shield on the obverse) marks the first real historical independence from both Thebai and Athenai. The coins have been catalogued with illustrations by B. Head, *Historia Numorum* (London 1963) 347 and by F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art* (Chicago 1964) 111.
4. 379 B.C. Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.4.10 and 14.
5. Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.4.10-18.
6. 378 B.C. Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.4.36-38.
7. Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.4.41.
8. 377 B.C. Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.4.47-55.
9. No satisfactory location has yet been proposed for this hill, called Old Woman's Breast. There are, however, hills on the Dáphne-Tanagra track just north of the Asopos which fit the suggestion inherent in the name. In this area there is reportedly an intersection of tracks, two of which lead off to Thebai, the more northerly available to Agesilaos and the more southerly available to the Thebans. It is clear, nonetheless, that the hill was in Theban territory, for the Thebans there deployed had their own make-shift border stockade and trench at their rear as Agesilaos approached them.
10. 376 B.C. Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.4.59.
11. 375 B.C. Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.4.63-64.
12. 373 B.C. Diodoros of Sicily, 15.46.4-6.

13. Pausanias, 9.1.4-7.
14. The gesture was likely based upon possible Athenian retaliation which would have been encouraged by those Plataians who after intermarriage with Athenians had remained in Athenai (cf. Isokrates, *Plataikos* 51).
15. It does not seem likely that a second grant of Athenian citizenship was conferred at this time, but rather that it was renewed; for some Plataians must have remained at Athenai instead of returning to Plataiai, and by continuing Athenian residence, retained Athenian citizenship.
16. 372 B.C. Isokrates, *Plataikos* 1-63.
17. 373-338 B.C.
18. Isokrates, *Plataikos* 48.
19. 371 B.C.
20. 362 B.C.
21. 338 B.C.
22. Pausanias, 4.27.10.
23. Pausanias, 9.1.8.
24. 336 B.C.
25. Arrianós, *Anabasis of Alexandros* 1.8.8.
26. Arrianos, *Anabasis of Alexandros* 1.9.9-10.
27. N. Koumanoudis, "Une ville béotienne dans Strabon," *Revue Philologique* (1960) 99-105 suggested that Skarphe still existed and that its people left the town about this time to take up residence at Eleusís.
28. Diodorus of Sicily, 18.11.3-4. It is not known just how much of the Theban lands the Plataians secured for themselves, but it seems likely that at least some area north of the Asopos came under her sway and probably (cf. Strabo, 9.2.24) the lower eastern Upper Parasopian region including Skolos.
29. After 336 B.C. Cf. B. Head, in W. Roberts and B. Head, *The Ancient Boeotians and the Coinage of Boeotia* (Chicago 1974) 2.73-79.
30. Ploutarchos, *Alexandros* 34.1 (and also *Aristeides* 11.9) would not have the Plataian walls rebuilt until after Alexandros' success at Gaugámela (331 B.C.). It seems

unlikely, however, since Philippos had restored the Plataians to their lands in 338 B.C., that the Plataians would have waited seven years before raising new walls. H. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* (New York 1964) 485 has maintained with support from Pausanias, 9.3.5, that Plataiai was not built until after 315 B.C. under the instigation of Kassandros. Such a supposition satisfies the reference in Ploutarchos (who is as often as not historically unreliable) and recognizes to some degree the confusion in Pausanias (9.3.3-5), but is not totally convincing.

31. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 11.9.
32. Aischines, *Against Ktesiphón* 161-162.
33. Aischines gives the young man's status as Πλαταιῆκος rather than Πλαταιεύς. The usage may suggest that he was an Athenian of Plataian descent who had remained at Athenai after the restoration of Plataia in 338 B.C.
34. Pseudo-Kallisthénés, *Life of Alexandros* 2.1-6.
35. 323 B.C. (the beginning of the Lamian War).
36. Diodoros of Sicily, 18.11.3-5.
37. 387 B.C.
38. 316 B.C.
39. Pausanias, 9.3.6.
40. Since specific references to Plataiai within the corpus of ancient literature are sparse for the period falling between 315 B.C. and the first century of the Christian era, the history of Boiotia and more particularly that of Thebai must serve to bridge this gap. (One can imagine that events at Thebai must have had some degree of impact on Plataiai, if only by reason of geographical proximity.) The historical material relative to the city of Thebai and appearing subsequently for the period here in question is compiled from the relevant outlines of B. Head, "On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Boeotia," (Chicago 1881) 81-99, published in W. Roberts and B. Head, *The Ancient Boeotians and the Coinage of Boeotia*, (Chicago 1974) second section 81-89, and is verified in W. Smith, *A New Classical Dictionary*.
41. 312 B.C. F. Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.* no.65.
42. *Floruit* c. 240 B.C. F. Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.* no.78.
43. The work probably surveyed the period of 296-220 B.C.

44. Diodoros of Sicily, 21.4.5.
45. 316-304 B.C.: the Makedonian Demetrios Poliorketes expelled from Thebai in 303 B.C. the garrison of Kassandros.
46. 303-288 B.C. In 288 B.C. Demetrios granted Thebai her freedom.
47. 278 B.C.
48. C. 246 B.C. From an inscription recently found by T. Spyropoulos, "Εἰδησεὺς ἐκ Βοιωτίας· Πλαταιαί," *AAA* 6 (1973) 375-379 and discussed in depth by R. Étienne and M. Piérart, "Un décret du koinon des Hellènes à Platées en l'honneur de Glaukon, fils d'Étéoclés d'Athènes," *BCH* 99 (1975) 51-75, we have confirmation that the Games of Freedom were still celebrated at this time. The inscription discloses that Nikokleídas, son of Chairéas, was priest of Zeus Eleutherios (about 250 B.C. according to Étienne and Piérart) while Archélaos, son of Athenaíos, was director of the games. The inscription honours one Glaúkon, son of the Athenian Eteoklés, as benefactor of the games.
49. 245 B.C.
50. 244-197 B.C.
51. Antigonos Gonatas, son of Demetrios Poliorketes, dominated Boiotia from 244 B.C. to 239 B.C.
52. Demetrios II, son of Antigonos Gonatas, dominated Boiotia from 239 B.C. to 229 B.C. In this period the territory of Aigosthena was annexed to Boiotia and according to P. Roesch, *Thespies et la confédération béotienne* (Paris 1965) 50, the port of Aigosthena served at the time (236 B.C.) as the port of Plataiai.
53. Antigonos Doston, grandson of Demetrios Poliorketes, dominated Boiotia from 229 B.C. to 220 B.C.
54. Philippos V, son of Demetrios II, dominated Boiotia from 220 B.C. until 197 B.C. though with a great deal more clemency than was shown by the preceding Makedonian kings. He implemented a policy of interfering as little as possible with the internal concerns of Boiotia as long as her actions were not contrary to Makedonian interests.
55. 214-197 B.C.
56. 197 B.C. Livius, 33.1-2.
57. One wonders if this, rather than merely a homonymous

coeval, is the Dikaiarchos who composed the Βιός τῆς Ἑλλάδος of which fragments survive, compiled by C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (Paris 1848) 2.254-261 and F. Jacoby *F. Gr. Hist.* no.66. The connection has been proposed by Jacoby (see commentary) with reservation but more recently rejected by I. Bruce, *An Historical Commentary on the 'Hellenica Oxyrhynchia'* (Cambridge 1967) 22-27.

58. 192 B.C.
59. 173 B.C.
60. 171 B.C.-168 B.C.
61. Polýbios, 27.2.
62. 146 B.C. Some of the Boiotians under Pythéas, the boiotarch, joined the Achaians in the final struggle at Korinthos against Roman domination. Thebai's complicity in the effort was rewarded by the demolition of her walls.
63. The assumption is guided by Pausanias, 7.16.10, who states that the ἀρχαῖα συνέδρια (confederacies) were restored in Greece.
64. 146-27 B.C.
65. Plataiai's status as a free city under Augustus, Nero, Traianus and Hadrianus is traced by A. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford 1940) 135.
66. 87 B.C.
67. 86 B.C.
68. At Chaironeia in 86 B.C. and at Orchómenos in 85 B.C.
69. Nikómachos, in *Greek Anthology* 7.299. Since the epigram is early enough to be included in the Garland of Meléagros (compiled c. 100-75 B.C.), it may be suggested that the earthquake dates near the beginning of the first century B.C.

Christ, another two thousand years

On the south wall of Erythraian Hagios Konstantinos Church is immured above the door one of the few inscriptions in the region which have survived repeated removal and instalment from church to church and have somehow avoided the protection of the Greek museum. The inscription was removed from Hagía Anna Church, and prior to that, was taken from the ruins of Analepsis Church (perhaps on the present site of Hagia Anna). While so many inscribed fragments in the region have been incorporated into later structures with no regard for the inscription itself, some inscriptions being turned sideways or upside-down, the Hagios Konstantinos inscription has survived almost intact in its travels from structure to structure. It is obvious that the inscription has been preserved and re-incorporated into the region's Christian structures out of reverence. The people may no longer understand the reasons for its survival, but they know that it is to be preserved.¹

ΩΝΕΙΔΙΩΝΤΩΑΓΙΩΤΥΧΙΚ

([Ἐκ τῶν εἰδίων τῶ ἀγίω Τυχικῶ])

The inscription honours one Tyčnikós who has been credited with the founding of the Christian Church at Plataiai,² and Tychikos is quite possibly the same saint who accompanied Saint Paul on his journeys.³ The provenience of Tychikos cannot be ascribed with unassailable certainty to the city of Plataiai, but it seems admissible that he was in fact a Plataian, especially in consideration of other epigraphi-

cal evidence of local provenance which mentions the saint.⁴

If it can be accepted that the Tychikos of the Plataian inscription was the contemporary of Saint Paul,⁵ it is seen that the Christian Church at Plataiai was one of the earliest ecclesiastical bodies in all of Greece. That distinction is supported by the subsequent documented importance of Plataiai in the early centuries of Christianity. Of twenty-one bishoprics in Greece before the third century of the Christian era, small Plataiai held the seat of one, whereas all of Attika also held but one.⁶ Some of the early Plataian bishops are known -- Athenódoros,⁷ Dionysódoros,⁸ Domínos⁹ and Ploutarchos¹⁰ -- sufficient to verify that Plataiai was an important early Christian city.

Nevertheless, it is to be wondered why the city was able to hold such status so early in the spread of Christianity. Certainly some of the Roman emperors whose reigns coincided with the fledgling religion were not well disposed to the sect.¹¹ The reason may be seen in the special status which the Romans accorded the Plataian city rather than, specifically, Plataian Christianity. From the time of the first Roman emperors Plataiai had been upheld by the Romans as a free city.¹² No tribute was exacted, and as long as Plataian internal policies were not in contradiction to the efficient workings of the Roman administration, the city was probably free to develop as she wished. In comparison, then, to other Greek cities, Plataiai enjoyed a spiritual climate where the seeds of early Christianity could take root and grow.

In the early centuries of our era Plataiai, it would then seem, thrived as a Christian city. Her population may quite possibly have been greater than in the classical period. The neighbouring towns of Hysiai and Erythrai lay in ruins,¹³ while Plataiai's situation on the main Athenai-Thespiai road must have rendered her a busy mercantile concern, especially with the eclipse of Thebai. The money¹⁴ that Roman legions brought with them was eagerly sought by the Plataian merchant, so much so that as in other busy mercantile cities of the Roman empire Diocletianus had had erected his edict of maximum prices¹⁵ (Plate 22) in an effort to restrain the price-gouging that must have been prevalent.

For the first four centuries, Plataian Christianity co-existed with the pagan Roman administration until in the fifth century the sect had gained sufficient strength to throw off the remnants of pagan worship.¹⁶ Religious observances had been changed, but there was little or no alteration in the prosperity which Plataiai continued to enjoy. Under the emperor Iustinianus her walls were rebuilt.¹⁷ In the period of previous Roman strength in Greece there was little need to retreat behind defences, but with the decay of that strength, Plataiai's own strength and importance naturally began to decline. Nonetheless, between the fifth and tenth centuries Plataiai maintained a position which was out of proportion with her size, continuing to be the seat of one of the bishops of Greece, while the city itself remained a noteworthy Byzantine centre and one of the most

significant.¹⁸

By the beginning of the eleventh century the Plataian region had witnessed an unprecedented economic upsurge. The silkworm had been introduced,¹⁹ and the combination of a demand for finished fabric, the culture of local mulberry trees and a long history of textile experience²⁰ guaranteed the prosperity of Plataiai's citizenry. Unfortunately, however, the guarantee was short-lived. She had to compete for survival in the silk and purple dye industry with a now resurgent Thebai, but even that competition was less disastrous than the subsequent turn of events. Towards the middle of the twelfth century the Norman Roger II had attacked Greece and carried from the region the majority of its skilled silk and dye workers to Palermo.²¹ For centuries Plataiai had surpassed the heights of her neighbour Thebai. The blow that Roger had dealt crushed the economic base of both cities; but whereas Thebai soon reached for renewed distinction, especially under Frankish rulers, Plataiai evermore was in the shadow of her old neighbour.²² The districts which had belonged to the bishopric of Plataiai subsequently fell into Theban control.²³ Paradoxically, while the city was in economic decline in a period when even the ethnic base of her population was being undermined,²⁴ two of her surviving landmarks were built -- the Medieval Tower²⁵ (Plates 42 and 43), and the Hagia Triáda Monastery, the latter possibly built under the direction of Saint John Kaloktènes, when archbishop of Thebai.²⁶

In the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.,²⁷ the

Burgundian Otto de la Roche entered Boiotia. For the next century the Plataian region was under Frankish rule from Thebai, which was chosen as the capital of Frankish mainland Greece.²⁸ Merely because of its proximity to the new capital, the Plataian land regained a measure of importance and the city was restored and re-fortified.²⁹

For more than a century³⁰ the lives of her loyal Plataian subjects were regulated from the splendor of the royal castle³¹ at Estives (Thebai), until early in the fourteenth century, the company of Catalans who had been operating in Greece as hired mercenaries of the Frankish court, took exception at the refusal of their employers to pay their earned wages.³²

Gautier de Brienne, as Duke of Athenai, and successor to the De la Roche dynasty, had renewed his power by the help of the Catalan mercenaries. When he felt secure in the time of peace which followed the renewal he attempted to dismiss the Catalans without paying their wages. The Catalans, consequently, informed the good duke of their decision to resist such dismissal and arbitrary action and thereupon began to take, in lieu of wages owed, certain castles which had belonged to De Brienne. In preparation for armed confrontation, De Brienne enlisted to his service the Greek inhabitants of Plataiai, Thebai, Megara, Athenai and Lokris along with eight hundred Frankish knights of the realm. The total force he ultimately set on the field neared six thousand, four hundred horsemen and eight thousand infantry, whereas the Catalan and Aragonese complement reached about

three thousand, five hundred horse and near four thousand foot, which included some Greeks and Turks as well.

On an early spring day³³ on the south bank of the River Kephissós near the Boiotian village of Kápraina (Chaironeia) the opposing Frankish and Catalan forces came together for battle. Unfortunately, however, for the Franks (and Plataians) few actually engaged with the enemy, for the Catalans had previously taken position on pasturage through which crossed a wide irrigation channel and by means of this waterway had flooded in advance the nearby fields where they judged the Frankish cavalry would first attack. The Catalans, however, were careful not to flood the fields to a level higher than the top of the grass and consequently from a distance the grass still peaking above the water gave the usual appearance of a meadow rather than the paddy into which it had been transformed.

The Frankish cavalry rushed to the attack but wallowed in mud and slime until cut down as they tried to extricate themselves from the trap. The infantry, Plataians among them, rushed to aid the floundering horse, but fared no better. The duke was among the first to die. The Catalan victors took revenge upon the cities who had fought against them, easily overcoming Athenai and Thebai without a struggle, and thereby began the period of Catalan domination in central Greece. Plataiai and Thebai were ransacked and for the first time in their history both cities fell to the same fate -- together.

For the next three quarters³⁴ of a century the Catalans

retained power in the Plataian region until supplanted by the Florentine family Acciágioli, who dominated the region for a period of almost equal duration.³⁵ But in the early years of the Catalan supremacy,³⁶ movements were taking place in northern Greece which ultimately had greater impact upon Plataiai than the domination either of Catalans or Florentines, or for that matter, even of the Turks.

The Albanians, to whom the present inhabitants of the Plataian region can trace in part their descent, migrated into central Greece.³⁷ Nearly three centuries had passed since a branch of Christian Orthodox Albanians, the Tóskades, had been expelled by Bulgarians from their homeland south of Dyrrhachion. Fortunately for the Greeks with whom they settled, the Albanian Toskades shared in the rites of a common church and a somewhat related language,³⁸ and it was these elements which endeared them and provided the bond which was so necessary for the union of the two peoples in the struggle against the dreaded Turk.

Seven years³⁹ after the fall of Konstantinópolis,⁴⁰ and with it the Byzantine empire, the Turkish were masters of the Plataian region. Plataiai itself saw such unprecedented upheaval that as a city it ceased to exist.⁴¹ During the Turkish occupation of three hundred and sixty-one long years, other than the one tower (near Pañtánassa Church) and a few bridges (Plate 49), nothing was accomplished that bore any tangible significance for posterity. In a period historically darker than the middle ages, all record of the region's history became lost. Indeed, the city of Plataiai virtually

died, in a destruction which was more total than any she had experienced. The administrative seat of the region shifted to the vicinity of Hagios Ġeórgios, and the inhabitants of a once great city were parcelled out into small hamlets which closely surrounded the Pasha's palace and pleasure -- Μπούμπουκα, Katsoúla, Ġarimári, and KalýĠia.⁴² Only little Platáni near Hagios Ioannes survived as a vital remembrance of the Plataiai that was, and the Hagia Triada monastery that for centuries held Albanians and Greeks together through the instrument of common faith⁴³ and language.⁴⁴

In the Greek War of Independence,⁴⁵ Thebans and Plataians, Albanians among them,⁴⁶ joined forces in expelling the Turks from the region. The Plataians (the people of Kókla) in particular served under Athanásios Skourtaniótes, a general from the Pástra-Kithairon area called ĠerĠenoĠhória,⁴⁷ but the manoeuvres which took place in the region itself were under the command of generals Ġypseláñtes, who held the mountainous region and the passes of Kithairon,⁴⁸ and MauromiĠháles. Ilías Mauromichales drew up his men at Káza (Map Section 10), but with no decisive action there, crossed Kithairon and took position at Kalybia (modern Erythrai). About the village Greeks and Albanians clashed with outnumbered but better-armed Turks. When the fray turned easily in favour of the Greeks, the Turks with their leader MeĠĠmét Passás retreated north via Thebai. Seventeen Greeks and about forty Turks had been killed.⁴⁹ With the region cleared of the Turkish presence, a local Albanian-Greek, Anastásios Pagónes, a servant of the regional pasha,

Spachés, hastened to the pasha's residence (near the present Hagios Georgios), informed him of his intentions and swiftly lopped off his head.

Following the war for independence, Plataiai (Kokla) regained a dominance in the region, extending over an area greater than ever before, even in the classical and hellenistic eras. Shortly after the war she was made the capital of a region which spanned the Asopos to include within her jurisdiction all of the villages between Kaparélli, Parapoungia, Mpaltsa (Melissochóron), Loutouphi, Darimari and Kalybia.⁴⁹ With the civil re-organization of Greece,⁵⁰ though the town of Kokla retained that name, the region she controlled was officially called the deme of Plataiai.⁵¹

By the middle of the nineteenth century the region had seen the influx of most of the Albanian-Greek families who still inhabit the land. After the war for independence many of these families began a series of migrations from Palaio-kouñtoura to Kouñtoura, to Billia and finally to Erythrai and Plataiai. An initial surge in building replaced the common reed structures with houses of stone. Few of the structures, however, survive today; most fell only a few years after erection in an earthquake of devastating intensity.⁵³ The villages were built again, but most of these, including the small museum at Kokla,⁵⁴ were razed by yet another quake.⁵⁵

The Plataian region was untouched by events of the first world war,⁵⁶ but was not so fortunate in the second. The entire region from Plataiai to Daphne was bombed⁵⁷ by Germans

and subsequently occupied by waves first of Germans, then of Italians. English and New Zealanders soon arrived in the region and mustered southwest of modern Erythrai; but having decided that confrontation would be useless, they retreated south to Kaza, employing all the private vehicles they could summon to effect the retreat. The people of the region, left to the will of German invaders, were, however, generally well treated, until Greek guerrillas (ańtártēs), based especially at Mazaréka in the Daphne area, offered successful resistance. In retaliation the Germans began burning the local houses. Revenge upon the inhabitants was soon seen as a fruitless move, however, for the guerrilla raids, rather than ceasing, escalated.⁵⁸

With the termination of the German occupation, the Plataian region resumed its rural way of life. One wonders if anything has significantly changed the land in three milenia. One part of her looks to a better future and the hope of increased wealth from the land; the other still looks back with pride.

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΠ ΑΙΩΝΩΝ
 ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΑ ΚΑΙ
 ΠΛΑΤΑΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ
 ΜΕΤΕΠΕΙΤΑ ΧΡΟΝΟΥΣ
 ΕΩΣ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΥΠΕΡ
 ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ
 ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ
 ΑΙΩΝΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ
 ΠΕΣΟΝΤΑΣ ΠΛΑΤΑΙΕΙΣ
 Η ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ
 ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ ΔΟΞΑΝ ΚΑΙ
 ΤΙΜΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΗΡΩΪΚΩΝ
 ΑΥΤΗΣ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΤΟ
 ΠΑΡΟΝ ΗΡΩΟΝ ΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ
 ΤΗ 25Η ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1970
 ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΟΣ
 ΔΗΜ Ν. ΤΟΥΛΟΥΜΗ

Christ, another two thousand years: Notes

1. *IG* 7, 1682 and J. Schmidt, "Reisefrüchte," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 5 (1880) 119.
2. N. Bees (Βέης), "Kirkliches und Profanes vom nachchristlichen Plataä," *Janus* 1 (1921) 215-216.
3. *NT*, Acts 20, 4; Ephesians 6, 21; Colossians 4, 7; second Timothy 4, 12 and Titus 3, 12.
4. *IG* 7, 3561. Acts 20,4, however, deems Tychikos an Asian.
5. Died c. 67 A.D.
6. A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig 1965) 786, n.2.
7. Bishop in 347 A.D., cf. A. Basileios, 'Η ἑρα μονὴ Ἁγίας Τριάδος Πλαταιῶν καὶ ἱστορήματα τῆς περιοχῆς (Thebai 1970) 44.
8. Bishop c. 350 A.D., cf. Bees, 217 and H. Washington, "Excavations by the American School at Plataia," *PASCSA* 7 (1891) 404, who had originally ascribed a second century A.D. date to the inscription which treats of this bishop.
9. Bishop from 449 to 451 A.D., cf. Bees, 217.
10. Bishop from 458 to 459 A.D., cf. Bees, 217.
11. Diocletianus, whose marble edict on prices stood at Plataiai, persecuted the Christians.
12. Plataiai was a free city (in recognition of her contribution to freedom during the Persian Wars) under Augustus, Nero, Traianus and Hadrianus (cf. A. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* [Oxford 1940] 135, and H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* [Berlin, 3rd ed., 1962] no.1067). Hadrianus even concerned himself with the survival of the Plataian Games of Freedom (cf. W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* [Hildesheim 1973] 195).
13. Pausanias, 9.2.1 (*floruit* c. 170 A.D.).
14. Roman coins have been found in the Plataian region. One, a small copper coin of Licinius (307 A.D.) has been reported by H. Washington (see my note 8), 395.

15. The edict in Latin and Greek, reported by J. Rolfe and F. Tarbell, "A New Fragment of the Preamble to Diocletian's Edict, 'De Pretiis Rerum Venalium'," *PASCOSA* 5 (1889) 428-439, and by C. Waldstein, "Discoveries at Plataia in 1890," *PASCOSA* 6 (1890) 447 and "The Plataian Fragment of the Edict of Diocletian," *PASCOSA* 7 (1891) 54-64, has been ascribed a date of 301 A.D. by A. Keramopoulos "Σύμμεικτα ἀρχαιολογικά," 'Αρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς (1931) 163.
16. Those classical shrines which still existed seem to have undergone intentional destruction at this time, even the altar of Zeus Eleutherios, the symbol of Plataiai's status as a free city. Cf. T. Spyropoulos, "Εἰδήσεις ἐκ Βοιωτίας. Πλαταιαί," *AAA* (1973) 379.
17. Shortly after 527 A.D. Prokópios, *Buildings* 4.2.23-25, informs us that there was fear of possible barbarian attack from the north.
18. Cf. Basileios, 46 and Bees, 218. No less than seven Byzantine Church foundations were found during the American excavations within the ancient circuit walls. One of these (Church I in F. Tarbell and J. Rolfe, "Discoveries at Plataia in 1889," *PASCOSA* 6 [1890] 109), was built as late as the ninth or tenth century on the northwestern acropolis.
19. Bees, 220.
20. The trade in silk textiles at Plataiai is first mentioned in the Edict of Diocletianus of c. 301 A.D.
21. Bees, 220.
22. The last record of a bishop in the region was about 1175 A.D. (cf. Bees, 219).
23. Bees, 222.
24. An influx of about 2,000 Jews reached the Thebo-Plataian area, according to Bees, 221, in 1170 A.D., but according to A. Bon, "Forteresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale," *BCH* 61 (1937) 187, somewhat earlier.
25. One would expect that the tower was built during the early Frankish years of construction (1204-1240 A.D.) in the region. Nevertheless, the regional Byzantine land registry records the name of the tower (Pyrgos) as well as the town of Pýle (cf. N. Svoronos, "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI^e et XII^e siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes," *BCH* 83 [1959] 1-46 with map on 46).

26. Later twelfth century A.D. Many of the frescoes which survive in the monastery also date from the late twelfth and early thirteenth century A.D. (cf. Basileios, 54).
27. 1204 A.D.
28. Various regions of Greece were shared by Frankish and Venetian overlords, who were first nominally responsible to the Flemish Byzantine emperor, Baldwin (cf. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* [Oxford 1956] 375-377). Either out of the complexities of the geographically scattered and interwoven divisions of Frankish and Venetian rule at this time or out of a second Venetian predominance in the region (1387-1460 A.D.), the Venetian castle at Pýle finds its origin.
29. Bees, 221. That the Frankish crusaders supported the monastery of Hagia Triada, at least nominally, is evidenced by the stone relief, which bears the heraldic lions of the De la Roche family and is set in the wall near the precinct gate.
30. 1204-1311 A.D.
31. Built in 1204 A.D. and now part of the museum at Thebai.
32. The account of the Catalan rise to supremacy is found in F. de Moncada, *The Catalan Chronicle* translated by F. Hernández and edited by J. Sharp (Texas 1975) 212ff.
33. March 15, 1311 A.D.
34. 1311-1387 A.D. (cf. Bees, 221).
35. 1387-1460 A.D. (cf. Bees, 221).
36. C. 1318 A.D.
37. Ostrogorsky, 443. According to A. Tsalíke, 'Η περίπτωση τοῦ δήμου Ἐρυθραίων τὸ 1964 (Athenai 1965) 11, the Albanians may have entered parts of Thessaly as early as 1268 A.D.
38. Tsalike, 11. The Albanians, before their arrival, spoke a blend of ancient Illyrian and Doric Greek.
39. 1460 A.D. (cf. Bees, 221 and 223).
40. 1453 A.D.
41. Few Turkish sherds are found within the ancient city walls.
42. Mpoumpouka and Katsoula no longer exist. Kalybia (reed

- shacks) became the later Erythrai, while Kokla is not mentioned until the early eighteenth century in the *Geographia* (page 344) of Melétios, Bishop of Athenai (Venice 1728), noted by Bees, 223.
43. The monks of Hagia Triada were allowed to retain their monastery. A plaque on the west wall of the church proclaims that the structure even underwent renovation in the year 1647 (Byzantine year Z.P.N.E.).
 44. Instruction was provided the region's people by the monks (probably clandestinely) not only in religion but in Greek language study (cf. Basileios, 48).
 45. 1821 A.D.
 46. Tsalike, 12.
 47. Basileios, 49. Skourtaniotes means a citizen of Skourta, a village a few kilometers east of Pyle, while Derbenochoria means "pass-regions". Through the Derbenochoria passes the ancient Athenai-Phyle-Thebai road over Pastra-Kithairon.
 48. Basileios, 31.
 49. Basileios, 49.
 50. 1833-1834 A.D.
 51. The distinction, however, for Kokla as administrative head of the deme, continued only until 1836 A.D. when Kaparelli assumed the leadership of the deme.
 52. Tsalike, 12.
 53. The earthquake of 1853 A.D. One of the few surviving Albanian structures is the Analepsis Church.
 54. H. Washington has reported that the museum was standing in 1891 (cf. *PASCSA* 7 [1891] 404).
 55. The earthquake of 1893 A.D. Two of the structures which survived the second quake are the western Kontita Spring (last re-blocked 1873 A.D.) and Hagios Georgios Church by the medieval tower (built 1875 A.D.). Most of the churches seen in the region today (including Hagia Triada Church built within the ancient circuit walls in 1895 A.D.) are from the time after the second earthquake.
 56. In the period between the first and second world wars, the only items of interest are that Thebai succeeded Kaparelli as administrative head of Kokla, Kokla was officially renamed Plataiai (cf. Kirsten, 2317) in 1920

A.D., Kriekoúki (Kalybia) was officially renamed Erythrai, and a typhoid epidemic in the same year decimated the regional population.

57. April 6, 1941.
58. Captive Germans and Italians, after being tortured, were thrown to their death down the precipice of Haunted Cliff (Plate 36). The resistance of the antartes was continued with allied support and a life-line by submarine to Hagios Basileios Harbour.
59. The recently commissioned plaque executed by the sculptor, Euángelos Markañtónes, stands before the central square at Plataiai (Plates 8 and 9):

To the immortal Plataians, fallen for the cause of Greece and Freedom throughout the ages -- at Marathon, at Plataiai -- and in later times to this day, their city, to the eternal glory and honour of her heroic children, erected this shrine, the 25th of March, 1970, Demetrios N. Touloume being demarch.

Voices from the hills

"Pentheus, ruler of Thebes! I come from Cithaeron, where the ground is never free from dazzling shafts of snow ... I have seen the holy Bacchae, who in madness went streaming bare-limbed out of the city gates. I have come with the intention of telling you ... of their strange and terrible doings - things past all wonder

Just when the sun's rays first beamed out to warm the earth, I was pasturing my cattle and working up towards the high ground; when I saw three groups of women who had been dancing together ... They were all sleeping, stretched out and quiet. Some rested on beds of pine-needles, some had pillows of oak-leaves; they lay just as they had thrown themselves down on the ground, -but with modesty in their posture; they were not drunk with wine ... or with music of flutes; nor was there any love-making there in the loveliness of the woods

When the set time came, the women began brandishing their wands and preparing to dance, calling in unison on the son of Zeus, 'Iacchus! Bromius!' And the whole mountain and the wild beasts too, became a part of their joyful dance - there was nothing that was not roused to leap and run

So we fled, and escaped being torn in pieces by these possessed women. But our cattle were feeding there on the fresh grass; and the Bacchae attacked them, with their bare hands. You could see Agave take up a bellowing young heifer with full udders, and hold it by the legs with her two arms stretched wide. Others were tearing our cows limb from limb, and you could see perhaps some ribs or a cleft hoof being tossed high and low; and pieces of bloody flesh hung dripping on the pine-branches. And bulls, which one moment were savagely looking along their horns, the next were thrown bodily to the ground, dragged down by the soft hands of girls - thousands of them; and they stripped the flesh off their bodies faster than you could wink

Then, like birds, skimming the ground as they ran, they scoured the plain which stretches by the river Asopos and produces a rich harvest for Thebes; and like an enemy army they bore down on the villages of Hysiae and Erythrae, which lie on the low slopes of Cithaeron, and

ransacked them. They snatched up children out of the houses; all the plunder they laid on their shoulders stayed safely there without any fastening; nothing fell to the dark earth, not bronze or iron even; they carried fire on their heads, and their hair was not burnt.

The villagers, of course, were furious at being plundered by the Bacchae, and they resisted with weapons; and then ... was an astonishing sight to behold. The spears cast by the villagers drew no blood; but the women, hurling the thyrsus like a spear, dealt wounds; those women turned the men to flight. There was the power of a god in that."

So speaks the herdsman of Euripides.¹ In hurried speech, he portrays the picture of a region far from hospitable -- a land that would invite a visitor's departure rather than his stay. This is the image of an unwelcoming land. It is not in isolation within the survivals of ancient literature which describe the Plataian region and Kithairon; it is a constant.

Spencer-Stanhope reported of his Plataian sojourn in 1814:

"I began with the Plataian plain, and after a week's stay in the village of Kokla (Plataiai), which is on one side of the plain, I was attacked by violent fever. Both my architect and servant succumbed to the same condition. It would not be easy for me to depict for you the horrors of our situation; the shack in which we took our lodging served at the same time as a stable; the insects which swarmed about rarely allowed us sleep, that rest which we so needed. During the day the heat was stifling and during the night the cold excessive. My servant lay stretched upon his bed. The Albanians who inhabit this village stood aloof to the point of withholding from us the least offer of assistance. We were in need and all but waited death which seemed inevitable Seven days without food -- without succour of any sort -- brought me to such a condition that the doctor declared

that I would die, should I pass but two more days in such a place so unwholesome."²

No more than a historical investigation can a topographical one be realistically divorced from the people who inhabit the land. It is the people as custodians of the land who change and form it as much as the land forms the people themselves. No more than those who have written before will this writer be able to separate the two in offering another point of view.

Two millennia separate the reports of Euripides' herdsman and of Spencer-Stanhope, yet they represent an image of the Plataian region that seems constant with those who have deemed Plataiai a subject worthy enough of recording an impression of its land and people. It is difficult to find any authoritative description that does not corroborate this image of a rugged, backward, independent and unfriendly people inhabiting a land conducive to those same characteristics. Nonetheless, there is another Plataiai which is hidden from the eye of the casual observer and even those who have come before in search of her fame, her history and her beauty.

From the height of Kithairon the tiny Plataian village and its mother ruins peek out between fir and pine and the scent of *sfáka* (Plate 2). Mount Helikón looms to the northwest. Thessalian Mount Oíte peaks on the north, Ptóon a little further to the east and over its lower ridges the cliffs of Mekistós on Euboia. Finally a touch of Euboian Dírphys' cone breaks the eastern horizon, while hemmed between these heights the Boiotian lakes join in one colour with the sky;

and the peaks behind seem to float upon this water-sky. And all between stretches a web of roads and trails to link green vines, yellow corn and black-burnt fields all upon the wine-red earth that is the Plataian plain. Turn left and the Gulf of Korinth shines with the sands and white-washed houses of Psátha. The massive green of Mount Karydi lies southwest, sectioned up and down by the slow gradient of the ancient Megara road that passes on to Plataian farms but is lost below from sight. The eastern range of Kithairon, now Pastra, no longer looms large from this height -- low hills they now appear -- a foreground to Euboia. Here close within the range and scarred by quarries on either side passes the ancient Athenai-Thebai road. Trace its way; straight it leads on to Theban hills. Even from here, Thebai does not appear. The ear detects the hum of tractors on the land below; the eye sees nothing. Men and widows man the fields; the other women keep the village.

Voices from the hills: Notes

1. Euripides, *Bacchae* 660-764, translated by P. Vellacott, Euripides, *The Bacchae and other Plays* (Tonbridge 1954).
2. J. Barbié du Bocage, *Rapport lu à la 3^{me} Classe de l'Institut de France* (Paris 1815) 48-49, (my translation).

Tracks

Tracks for the timid

The whole of the Plataian region is laced with roads, many of which are passable to a vehicle with a high axle, but for the visitor with limited time and tires this present guide will prove almost indispensable, as there are almost no signs to show his way. Because of the changes from age to age of the boundaries that circumscribe the Plataian region, the area with which this study is concerned lies between the Asopos and Liḃadóstras Rivers on the north, the harbour at Hagios Basileios on the west and the heights and northern valleys of the Kithairon-Pastra range to the south, from the harbour to the village of Pyle completing the circuit at the Asopos.¹

Plataiai has for more than two thousand years tied itself to Athenai rather than its closer neighbour Thebai; for, although the easiest approach is now from Thebai, after a departure from Athenai on the National Road, communications with the outer world still follow the line of the ancient road to Athenai. We begin then, from the highway at the summit of Kiáfa Pass, at a point just south of and before the quarries. Here, for the sake of brevity, individual descriptions of various points of topography are largely restricted to a later time. The kilometeric readings appear on the left. The accompanying maps are found at the end of the topographical section.

1. *From Kiafa south and west to modern Erythrai (5 kilo-*

meters) (Map Sections 7, 8, 9 and 10)

- Start: - Summit of Kiafa Pass (Plate 3).
- 00.1 km. - Several shrines huddle on the right at the entrance to the eastern quarry.
- 00.2 - A shrine (*eikonostâsion*) appears on the right.
- 00.6 - A shrine on the right faces the most commanding view of Parasopia from the highway. On the left the eastern part of the modern town of Erythrai (Kriekouki) appears. On the right a spine of Pastra (Pantanassa Ridge) protrudes into the plain to contain on its northern reaches the ancient Erythrai now identified by two hydro-electric towers (Plate 31). Slightly to the left of this ridge, a line of cypress traces the ancient Athenai-Thebai road, used and discernible from that point to its later northern union with the highway but scarcely seen from the cypress line south until it makes its winding ascent up the ridge on the immediate right (Plate 48). The ancient road climbs from the valley intersecting another road which ascends eastward as far as the Profétes Iliás Monastery. Standing in the distance and crossing the panorama of the plain, an intermittent line of willows marks the Asopos course and behind the river the hills of Thebai hide that city.
- 01.1 - At the first great bend of the highway a shrine on the left as well as a ravine are seen. By following this *remma*² one crosses on foot the ancient

road which led from Gyphtókastro (Eleutherai) by leaving the main Kiafa Pass road to ascend to a pass within the first ravine to the west of Kiafa Pass and ultimately to descend to the plain at a point now occupied by the lower restricted military area. The walk takes approximately twenty minutes along the ravine to the ancient road described, and having crossed the ancient road, which admittedly is difficult to find, one ascends after another twenty minutes to a plateau just below, in front of, and east of the summit of Karoúmpalo.³ Here on this plateau stand the ruins of two ancient towers now called Palaioi Anemómyloi (Plates 4 and 5).

- 01.2 km. - On the left Karoumpalo Road enters the main highway. A description of this road, which leads to the western side of the village of Billia, will follow.
- 01.6 - On the right of the second great bend of the highway a kilometer stone marks the fifty-eighth kilometer from Athenai. On the left appears another shrine.
- 02.5 - Yet another shrine appears. The proximity and frequency of these wayside stations for prayer indicate the dangers of the descent.
- 02.7 - On the right at the fifty-ninth kilometer stone, an old lime-kiln clutches the slope of the mountain and buttresses the departure of the road to Pro-

fetes Ilias Monastery, which road once served as the loop road to Thebai via modern Erythrai having left the ancient Athenai-Thebai road south of Kiafa Pass at a junction no longer apparent.

03.0 km. - On the right a road leads to Trápi Ridge. The houses of modern Erythrai appear. The highway continues to its third great bend at Hagios Athanasios Church, where a road departs left to the lower restricted area, whereas the highway turns right to enter modern Erythrai (Plate 7).

05.0 - The town hall of Erythrai.

2. *From modern Erythrai south and west to Plataiai (5.3 kilometers) (Map Sections 5, 6, 7 and 8)*

Start: - The town hall of Erythrai.

00.4 km. - A road on the right leads to the village of Daphne (Darimari). At this junction the old wells near the pumping station have only recently given way to the bulldozer. The main highway here crosses a bridge over the most westerly arm of the Moloeis stream and a road-sign indicates a left turn to Plataiai (Kokla).

00.5 - After the left turn on to Plataiôn Street a road on the right appears, branching immediately in two directions, right to Hagios Demétrios Church (Plate 44), and left to Alepotrypi Spring (Plate 40). One continues straight on Plataion Street. Almost immediately on the left the continuation of Palamá Street leads to Bergoutiani Spring, ancient scene

of Bacchic revelry and Aktaion's demise.

- 01.2 km. - Karydi Road intersects, leading south on the left to the western side of the lower restricted area to ascend within the pass to Billia, and leading north on the right into the plain to exit eventually near Thebai. This is the ancient Megara-Thebai road.
- 01.5 - A growth of willows on the left marks Bergoutiani *Remma*, one of the few in the region with water all year long.
- 01.6 - A road on the left leads to Hagios Phanoúrios Church.
- 02.3 - Hagia Analepsis Church rises high on the right.
- 02.5 - At another *remma*, Hagia Anna Church in the distant foothills to the left, appears surrounded by its grove of holm-oak and nestling in the northern face of a cliff of Kithairon, Bergoutiani Cave and its flat roof-stone, the Bed of Aktaion.
- 03.7 - The road to the left leads to Hagioi Anágyroi Church and on back towards Bergoutiani Spring and modern Erythrai.
- 04.2 - The eastern walls of ancient Plataiai rise on both sides of the road.
- 04.7 - The western walls of the ancient city here enclose the new Museum of Plataiai, near some of the best preserved towers in the Plataian region.
- 05.3 - Hagios Nikólaos Church looks into the central square of modern Plataiai. From here Hágiou Niko-láou Street, though scarcely recommended for

travel, leads through the village and ascends after five kilometers to Hagia Triada Monastery situated on a high plateau above the plain.

Panaġias Eleoúses Street, likewise not recommended, branches right from Hagiou Nikolaou Street to lead to Panaġía Eleoúsa Church and Plataian Hagios Athanasios Church. It later descends into the Libadostro Plain where it meets the road leading to the harbour at Hagios Basileios.

3. *From modern Erythrai north to Thebai (12.8 kilometers)*
(Map Sections 7 and 9)

Start: - The town hall of Erythrai. The roads to Daphne and the branching roads to Hagios Demetrios Church and Alepotrypi Spring come into the highway respectively at 00.4 and 00.5 kilometers.

02.3 km. - Departing for one minute on foot from the highway, one reaches, in the depths of the Moloeis *Remma*, which the highway follows, a spring and trough built with ancient cut blocks of stone. The spring now known as T̄zabáras Spring was only recently cleared (Plate 34).

02.9 - On the left the ancient Athenai-Thebai road meets the highway. Turkish Bridge seen from this point carries the ancient road here over the Moloeis *Remma*. The highway soon changes from its winding course along the gorge to follow the straight line of the ancient road north.

05.6 - Megále Bridge holds the highway over the Asopos

River, the boundary, present and past, between Attika and Boiotia (Plate 35).

- 08.5 km. - A highway on the right leaves off for Neoĉhorákion, formerly Neoĉhórion (6 km.); Kallithéa, formerly Moustaphádes (13 km.); Asopía (20 km.) formerly Ćhlemĉotsárion; and Tanagra (26 km.).
- 11.2 - A highway on the left crosses the Theban plain to reach Táĉhi, now a suburb of Thebai (1 km.); Loutouphí (6 km.); Melissochorion (10 km.) formerly Mpaltsa; Leuktra (17 km.); and Kaparelli (16 km.). On the right a road-sign announces the entrance to Thebai at its present southern limit.
- 12.6 - Parts of the excavated Mykenaian Palace cower in sections in the bowels of the modern town.
- 12.8 - The medieval tower and Museum of Thebai.
4. *From modern Erythrai east to Daphne (9.1 kilometers)*
(Map Sections 7, 9 and 11)
- Start: - The town hall of Erythrai.
- 00.4 km. - One turns left onto the Erythrai-Daphne high road.
- 01.0 - On the left stretches the new cemetery site and on the right a road lined with cypress, the hallmark of the Greek necropolis, winds back along a branch of the Moloeis towards the old cemetery and Hagios Konstantinos Church in the eastern section of the town. Despite the lugubriousness of the surroundings, it is perhaps the most pleasant walk in the entire region.
- 01.4 - The ancient Athenai-Thebai road intersects.

- 01.7 km. - Pantanassa Church on the right holds the northern edge of Pantanassa Ridge, an extension of Pastra-Kithairon (Plate 31). By ascending south up this ridge for about ten minutes one comes on to a plateau, the traditional site of ancient Erythrai. Here one can easily pick up handfuls of classical sherds unearthed by hydro installations and years of illicit excavations. Returning to the church below, one finds a path immediately to the east which ascends to Profetes Ilias Monastery, and continuing but a little along the high road one approaches on the right Roñtoskláβα (Orñtoskláβi) Well.
- 01.9 - A farm road turns off left for fields and later branches to the Turkish Tower in another area of much surreptitious digging.
- 02.4 - The tower remains appear left at a right angle to the high road.
- 02.6 - On the right a crescent road ascends to Hagia Marina Church and eventually continues on to Hagia Triada Church. On the left a road rides the plain to Zoodoçhós Peğé Church.
- 03.5 - A shrine and Hagia Marina Well on the right designate Hagia Marina Church high in the foothills of Kithairon-Pastra at a right angle to the high road.
- 03.9 - Mpoumpouka Well, which here once served a village, now but fields, marks the eastern exit of the crescent road to Hagia Marina and Hagia Triada.

- 04.2 km. - To the right of Hagia Triada Ridge and at a right angle to the high road Hagia Triada Church is couched high upon the foothills as the most prominent landmark in the region east of Hagia Triada Monastery (above the Plataian village). At this point, however, the ridge rises so abruptly that the church does not appear from the high road.
- 04.3 - The road winds left of the precipice face of Hagia Triada Ridge and the Profetes Ilias *Remma* which is here at a considerable elevation above the road. In winter this abrupt elevation becomes a slender cataract which falls into the road below.
- 04.4 - The high road now forks to climb the eastern ridge which forms that ravine. Looking back one now sees the cells of Hagia Triada Church on the opposite ridge behind. The fields of this area are quite noticeably strewn with post-Byzantine sherds, becoming mixed with classical further back on the Hagia Triada side of the ravine.
- 04.5 - The dividing roads have completed their ascent and again become one, and at last from here if one looks back, Hagia Triada Church appears.
- 04.8 - On the right, scant Turkish ruins remain to designate the domicile of the region's last pasha.
- 05.2 - The high road from here on to Daphne is not asphalted, but largely cobbled and sided with well-placed stones, said to be work of the Turkish period. A road goes right to pass a well and ter-

minate at Hagios Georgios Church, and to leave for farms. Straight ahead one can make out a path hugging the side of Darimari Ridge up to its summit and a crown of white rocks, the circuit of Kástro Darimaríou.

06.3 km. - The high road curves around an abandoned quarry on the right.

06.5 - A road to the left departs for fields.

07.1 - Darimari Cave opens up on the right, followed to the east by a series of smaller caverns.

07.9 - The ruins of Metóche (formerly a dependency of Hósios Meletios Monastery high in the range to the south) and its well preserved threshing-floor appear on the left (Plate 33). Daphne now appears (Plate 32).

08.0 - The ruins of Daphnean Hagios Athanasios Church encircle a fig tree on the left.

08.1 - Darimari Spring on the left waits for the bulldozer's approach, as the village water supply is now taken from the right of the high road.

09.1 - Ton Taxiarchón Church crowds the high road at the centre of Daphne.

5. *Continuing from Daphne east and south to Pyle (11.9 kilometers) (Map Sections 11, 13 and 14)*

Start: - Ton Taxiarchon Church. The course of the high road from modern Erythrai has been fairly straight and level except in the region of the Hagia Triada Ridge. The road now begins a series of winding

rises and falls over the Kithairon-Pastra foothills, passing on the left, soon after the village, Daphnean Profetes Ilias Church and the present Daphnean Hagios Athanasios Church, on up to the heights of Pyle (Dērbēnosalési), having followed generally a few kilometers east of the ancient Thebai-Phyle-Athenai road.

- 02.7 km. - The ancient Thebai-Phyle-Athenai road intersects.
- 02.9 - The regional fuel duct passes beneath the road.
- 03.3 - The high road crosses the new Lake Ilíke-Athenai aqueduct to fork north to fields and southeast to the village of Daphnoúla (Rapeñtósá). The laurel which lends its name to both Daphne and Daphnoula here abounds. The high road now follows the aqueduct.
- 04.3 - Leaving the aqueduct construction road one turns left.
- 04.8 - At another junction one turns right. The track left leads to Neochorakion.
- 04.9 - The high road winds through the mostly roofless ruins of Daphnoula exiting near the region called Kórtsa.
- 07.0 - The high road begins its steep ascent of Kithairon-Pastra. The road is passable, but, for the next one and one-half kilometers, unnerving.
- 07.2 - The summit is reached.
- 07.8 - A shrine indicates Pylean Zoodochos Pege Church in the distance to the west and quite near the ancient

Thebai-Phyle-Athenai road.

- 08.4 km. - On a peak on the horizon in front stands Benetsiániko Kastro (Venetian Fort) and nearby Pylean Profetes Ilias Church.
- 09.9 - An ancient track, said to connect Eleusis and Tanagra, here intersects the high road.
- 10.0 - The high road turns right. The road left leads to the village of Hagios Thomás.
- 10.2 - The high road here for the second time crosses the Foúskaina branch of the Thebai-Phyle-Athenai road. At only a few paces to the right one can see engraved in its stone bed, wheel ruts carved by centuries of cart traffic. Immediately to the left tower Benestsianiko Kastro and Profetes Ilias Church.
- 10.4 - One approaches the village of Pyle here at a point intersected by the road leading east to Skourta.
- 11.9 - Now within Pyle a road leads west for 1.2 kilometers, best managed on foot to Pylean Zoodochos pege Church, which is well worth seeing for its many inscriptions and unusual sun-dial erected vertically on the south wall. Leaving Pyle, a paved road connects Pánakton (Kakoniočńórion), the road to Hosios Meletios Monastery, Oinoe and the Athenai-Erythrai-Thebai highway, which route is recommended rather than a return on the Daphne-Pyle high road. (Treatment of the southern portions of the Kithairon-Pastra Range is beyond the scope of this work.)

Tracks for the timid: Notes

1. These limitations are natural and convenient but also historical (cf. Strabo, 9.2.24, ἐν τῇ Πλαταιείων φασὶ τὸν τε Σκῶλον καὶ τὸν Ἐτεωνὸν καὶ τὰς Ἐρυθράς).
2. The reader is here acquainted with the modern Greek *rema* derived from the ancient Greek ῥεῦμα. Its meaning ranges from that of a torrent bed of shallow course to fairly steep walled gorges and valleys. The concept may, but most likely does not, infer a channel containing water.
3. Throughout this work, where horometric estimates can be compared with those of other scholars who have studied the region, it is to be noted that my pace is somewhat slower.
4. K. Zekos, Καθορισμὸς τῶν θέσεων τῆς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχης (Athenai 1905) 58 has claimed that Rodoslavi (*sic*) derives from the Slavic (Albanian) meaning "glory of the race". The local inhabitants interpret its meaning from the Albanian as "May you live easily in slavery" or "Can you live in slavery?". They consider that the well was so named by the Turks who conquered them. I accept their interpretation rather than that of Zekos because of its use in an old Albanian-Greek regional song. Zekos' interpretation of "glory of the race" would not fit as well in the song which follows:

ῥοντοσκλάβι, ἄχρηστη γῆ,
 ἕνα ἀύλάκι δὲν ἀξίζει
 οὔτε ἕνα τάλληρο.

(Rondosklavi [Live in slavery], useless land,
 a ditch, not worth even 5 *drachmai*.)

The song is still known in Albanian. Much of its meaning, however, seems lost. One wonders if the ditch refers to the Asopos and if the song was inspired by a homesick resident Turkish pasha.

More tracks for the less timid

A clockwise radiation has now been completed with the modern town of Erythrai its focal point. The following trails, depending upon conditions of road and season, are at best only partially accessible to wheeled vehicles. The radiation resumes again from modern Erythrai.

1. *From modern Erythrai south and west on Karoumpalo Road to Tsia Spring (9.9 kilometers) (Map Sections 7 and 8)*

Start: - Leaving the town hall of Erythrai south on the highway for an ascent of 1.2 kilometers, one enters Karoumpalo Road on the right.

02.0 km. - A panorama of modern Erythrai, Parasopia, and the entire battle arena (479 B.C.) unfolds below to the right of the road (Plate 6).

02.5 - A stone embankment supports the road and, just beyond, the ancient Athenai-Plataiai road (cf. above *Kiafa to Erythrai, 01.1 km.*) intersects. From here, proceeding left on foot for about twenty minutes on the ancient road the ascent to Palaioi Anemomyloi to the right of the ancient road is easier.

03.5 - Here, looking to the right at a point where the road crosses a *remma*, one can see below the lines of Karydi Road (the ancient Megara-Thebai road) and the ancient Athenai-Thebai road, the former on the left of the gorge following the torrent bed, and the latter descending from Karoumbalo

Road on the right of the *remma* to terminate abruptly at the lower military enclosure. Continuation on this road is suggested only for foot traffic.

- 04.1 km. - A quarry on the left clings to the western face of Mount Karoumpalo. A trucking road connects this western quarry to the eastern quarry (cf. above *Kiafa-Erythrai*, 00.2 km.). From this connecting road one may turn left on foot near mid-point to ascend the southern face of Karoumpalo, where scars of a quarry, believed to be ancient, have been left by the export of a marble lighter than the local grey of Plataiai.
- 04.6 - The second stone embankment, unrepaired for years, has slipped into the valley. The approach in dry seasons may or may not be made by jeep from the terminus near Billia.
- 05.0 - Karoumpalo Road reaches its highest point to pass onto a plateau before beginning its southward descent. Here in this pass lies the crossroads of Karydi Road and Fichthi Road, the latter accessible on foot leaving to the left for Fichthi Spring.
- 05.3 - A smaller stone embankment carries the road to the further side of a small *remma*, on whose opposite side can be seen the junction of Karydi Road with Fichthi Road.
- 05.7 - From a fourth stone embankment one views, on the opposite side of the ravine, Fichthi Road running

parallel and at the same height as Karoumpalo Road, while at a level considerably lower than Fichthi Road runs Karydi Road.

- 07.3 km. - At this point where the road begins its series of coils to descend and disgorge near Billia, on the left one can see again Karydi Road below and near the torrent bed, but now on the same side of the *remma*. Descending to this point on foot, one can ascend the other side of the ravine to a level only slightly higher than that of Karoumpalo Road to find the spring-fed Fichthi Well, terminus of Fichthi Road.
- 08.5 - Having emerged from the coils of road, one tries to divine the easiest crossing of a usually bridgeless torrent bed on to the asphalt surface of the Kithairon Summit road, which from this point for the next 01.1 kilometers seems to have been laid upon the older Karoumpalo Road. Karoumpalo Road then in its last paved semicircular turn, twice crosses the straighter course of Karydi Road again, for the last time at 08.9 kilometers.
- 09.6 - The Karoumpalo-Kithairon road terminates at a junction of the Billia road directly ahead and east while the Aigosthena road leaves to the right and southwest. Continue straight ahead on the road for Billia.
- 09.7 - A good road, recently cut but uninteresting except for its panoramic view of Billia, leaves off left

to ascend Mount Lestóri for Panagia tes Goúras Church.

09.9 km. - Tsia (Basiliké) Spring on the western outskirts of Billia.

2. *From Tsia Spring west and north to the summit of Kithairon (7.8 kilometers) (Map Sections 6 and 8)*

Start: - Leaving Tsia Spring one retraces the route described above for 01.4 kilometers to continue on the paved road to the summit. The entire stretch is accessible to wheeled vehicles except in rainy weather. At 02.5 and 02.7 kilometers, roads leave on the left for fields, pasturage and coniferous groves where resin is gathered.

03.2 km. - To the left across the valley the southern continuation of Karydi Road is seen ascending south and west to Mount Karydi.

03.9 - A road leaves left.

05.8 - At a stone embankment on the left the old Kithairon Summit track, having intersected the new road, passes up to the summit and Kithaironian Profetes Ilias Church, now enclosed by the upper restricted military area.

07.3 - One reaches the only readily accessible point near Plataiai, from where one can see on the right the Korinthian Gulf. The blue sea meets the white sands of Alepočhórion and Psatha, and the total green of Mount Karydi.

07.8 - A sign announces the beginning of the upper rest-

stricted area. Profetes Ilias Church on the summit of Kithairon is now lost to its worshippers but for one day per year during the annual celebration of the saint's name. On the right, however, is the approach to the new chalet of the Hellenikós Oreibatikós Syndesmós Eleusínos from where on this part of Kithairon, named Pétalo, one can see the while of the Plataian plain, part of the tiny village of Plataiai, and all of the ancient city (Plate 2).

3. *From modern Plataiai west to Hagios Basileios (approximately 14 km.) (Map Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6)*

Start: - From Hagios Nikolaos Church one proceeds east to the Museum of Plataiai and then turns left.

00.3 km. - On the right the road to Megale Spring follows the western side of the ancient city of Plataiai.

00.4 - Panagias Eleouses Street intersects, left to Panagia Eleousa Church and right later to join the Megale Spring road.

00.9 - At an intersection the road continues 00.7 kilometers to Plataian Hagios Athanasios Church. To the left is another approach to the village. One turns right.

03.0 - Just before one crosses the Libadostras (Oeroe) River¹ in the direction of Kaparelli, a track appears on the left. Across the bridge another track on the other side of the river also leaves left. The first of these trails on the Plataian

side of the river is the most direct passage to Hagios Basileios, the ancient port of Plataiai,² though it is an arduous trek over three mountain ridges. After about four kilometers one meets a road on the left which leads to Hagia Barbára Church and eventually on to Hagia Triada Monastery. After about another two kilometers a road leaves right for a short distance to Hagia Sotéra Church, from where, looking across the Libadostras Gorge to the other side one can see the high and deep crags and cavern of the Haunted Cliff (Plate 36). A few more kilometers brings one to a view, on the right and far below, of Kalamáki and Libadostro³ villages on the Korinthian Gulf. Hagios Basileios is not sighted for another kilometer and is not reached until after about two and one-half hour's journey from the point mentioned at the Libadostras Bridge.

4. *From modern Plataiai north to Thebai along the ancient road (approximately 12 km.) (Map Sections 5 and 7)*

Start: - From Hagios Nikolaos Church. The road, barely accessible to vehicles at any time, has been largely lost between the aqueduct and the Asopos. The journey on foot takes about three and one-half hours, and consequently readings on the left are horometric rather than kilometric. One proceeds east to the museum.

0.05 hr. - At the museum one turns left to follow the north-

western portion of the upper cross-wall of the ancient city, and later to descend along the western circuit wall past Megale Spring.

- 0.22 hr. - Descending from the walls to the junction below, one veers north onto the straight road, now the ancient road. The road leaving left leads to Alepotrypi Spring.
- 0.30 - Within the Plataian plain a road intersects for local farms, here still heavily covered with ancient sherds.
- 0.35 - A shallow *remma*, the most westerly branch of the Libadostras River (Grundy's 0.4)⁴ crosses the road, marking that point beyond which the road is generally impassable, especially in the rainy season.
- 0.37 - A well has been dug to the right.
- 0.40 - The terrain beyond the ancient city site until now has been flat on both sides of the road. Now a pine-covered hill appears at about one-half kilometer to the right, this being the only hill discernible to the right between the road and Analepsis Ridge.
- 0.45 - A second shallow *remma* (Grundy's 0.3)⁵ intersects. Classical sherds from here to the Asopos are found less frequently. Another well soon appears on the left.
- 0.50 - The road begins to veer to the right as Medieval Tower is now seen on the left in the distance and

at a right angle to the road. From this point Analepsis Ridge on the right deceives the eye by appearing to form a continuous line with Hagios Ioannes Hill (Plate 45) to curve in a north-westerly direction in front, leaving the road to pass between this line of hills and the initial rise of Medieval Tower Hill on the left. Another scarcely noticed *remma* is crossed.

- 1.03 hrs.- The Medieval Tower-Alepotrypi-Erythrai road intersects.
- 1.06 - Medieval Tower Hill begins its gentle ascent from the left.
- 1.10 - The road crosses the fourth and thus far widest *remma* (Grundy's A.1).⁶ On considering Grundy's map one sees that the ancient road and this *remma* (watered most of the year by Alepotrypi Spring), the southern source of the Asopos, may have shifted in relationship to each other. It is here noted, however, that Grundy traced neither the stream nor the road to any such northerly extent.⁷ Having crossed the stream, the road now turns sharply right.
- 1.15 - The road ends abruptly at a high earth work of a U-shaped bed of the new aqueduct. There is a confusing maze of roads on both sides of this "cup" but one best regains the ancient road by continuing as straight as possible for half a kilometer through cotton fields, having crossed the aqueduct

wherever terrain and water allow.

- 1.20 hrs.- Móra (Moréa) Bridge appears at the Thespian branch of the Asopos (Plate 38).
- 1.35 - The road turns slightly to the northwest to cross the bridge and immediately after switches back in direction to resume a straight course intersected by a farm road left and right. There are some classical sherds on both sides of the bridge. From the bridge one can look back to see ancient and modern Plataiai, the lower restricted military area, the upper portion of Pantanassa Ridge (though not the site of ancient Erythrai), and the Hagia Triada Ridge and Church.
- 1.40 - A low hill begins its rise on the left. As one enters the Theban plain, the road gradient becomes somewhat greater than is the case on the Plataian side of the Asopos.
- 1.50 - Farm roads enter first right and then left.
- 1.55 - On the left, within a region called Platani⁸ the ruins of a brick and stone cottage provide the first evidence of recent habitation. The hills that hide the town of Thebai are now in view. On the extreme right are seen the conifers of the Greek Armed Forces' reforestation project on the right of the Athenai-Erythrai-Thebai highway, and from the left now is heard the sound of passing vehicles on the Kaparelli-Thebai highway which, as one progresses, soon joins with the Plataiai-

Thebai road.

2.05 hrs.- On both sides of the road a few reed-built hovels appear (cf. Plate 39).

2.15 - Wells and pump-houses irrigate the surrounding carrot farms.

2.30 - The road veers slightly right to enter the Kaparelli-Thebai highway. There is no visible continuation of the ancient road beyond this point and one assumes that it must have followed much the same course as this highway which now approaches Thebai.

2.45 - One arrives at Tachi, a suburb of Thebai.

3.05 - The Kaparelli-Thebai highway joins the Athenai-Erythrai-Thebai arterial. A further fifteen minutes brings one to the centre of Thebai.

5. *From modern Erythrai west and south to Bergoutiani Spring (2.7 km.) (Map Sections 7 and 8)*

Start: - From the town hall of Erythrai one proceeds to the continuation of Palama Street, which later becomes the Bergoutiani Spring road (cf. above *Erythrai-Plataiai*, 00.5 km.).

01.3 km. - Karydi Road intersects.

01.7 - The road, when dry crosses a *remma*, the eastern branch of the Libadostras River (Grundy's 0.1).⁹

02.1 - In front and a little to the right one can discern in the distance Hagioi Anagyroi Church and on the extreme right by the Erythrai-Plataiai highway Hagia Analepsis Church.

02.2 km. - A track leads right to pass Hagioi Anagyroi Church and exit onto the Erythrai-Plataiai highway. Classical sherds along the track confirm its ancient status.

02.7 - Bergoutiani Spring¹⁰ nestles among willows below and right of the road, while the traditional Bed of Aktaion crowns white crags a little to the left. Continuing another 00.3 kilometers on the road which reverses its direction to circle east one enters a stand of mature holm-oak and Hagia Anna Church.

6. *From modern Erythrai north and west to Alepotrypi and Medieval Tower (6.6 kilometers) (Map Sections 5 and 7)*

Start: - From the town hall of Erythrai one proceeds to Alepotrypi Road (cf. above *Erythrai-Plataiai*, 00.5 km.) and turns right onto the left branch of the fork.

02.2 km. - Karydi Road intersects.

02.3 - A road on the right leaves to terminate at Rétsi Well, the generally accepted location of Herodotos' Gargaphia Spring.

02.6 - Retsi Well¹¹ is now directly at a right angle to the road. Here also on the right can be seen Hagios Demetrios Hill (Troúlos).

03.2 - Alepotrypi Spring borders the road on the right. Just beyond a road intersects, approaching in its northern direction Hagios Ioannes Hill.

03.3 - On the left and entered by a road at this point

lie the ruins of an ancient structure and a church, whose shrine still standing suggests the name Hagia Sophía.

- 04.0 km. - Thus far the route has been fairly hilly. The road from here to the tower now crosses the plain.
- 05.0 - The ancient Plataiai-Thebai road intersects.
- 05.4 - Here commences the gradual ascent to Pyrgos Hill (Medieval Tower Hill) and Medieval Tower.
- 06.6 - The tower rises on the left, while the ruins of houses lie scattered near Hagios Georgios Church (Plate 42). Only an unkept shrine marks the ruins of Panagia Church.¹² The road here divides to descend quickly, right, towards Melissochorion, and left, towards Kaparelli.

7. *From modern Erythrai north to Hagios Demetrios Church (2.3 km.) (Map Section 7)*

Start: - From the town hall of Erythrai one proceeds to Alepotrypi Road (cf. *Erythrai-Plataiai*, 00.5 km.) and turns right onto the right branch of the fork. One passes many farm roads on the approach and beyond the church.

02.3 km. - A road right enters the enclosure of Hagios Demetrios Church (Plate 44).

8. *The ancient Athenai-Thebai road from the Athenai-Erythrai-Thebai highway to the Old Bridge (2.6 kilometers) (Map Sections 7, 8, 9 and 10)*

Start: - From the highway (cf. *Erythrai-Thebai*, 2.9 km.) the ancient road leads south over Turkish Bridge,

- a well worked stone post-classical arched structure.
- 00.7 km. - On the right towards the highway lies Tzabararas Spring (Plate 34).
- 01.0 - The paving stones of the ancient road appear for the next three-tenths of a kilometer (Plate 48).
- 01.6 - The Erythrai-Daphne high road intersects.
- 01.9 - The ancient paving stones again appear for but five metres.
- 02.0 - On the right, close by the road and across a *remma* which carries the most easterly branch of the Moloeis Stream, lie the scant ruins of the Temple of Eleusinian Demeter.¹³ On the left is a spring.
- 02.1 - The road continues to the town dump and a cave above it; however, the ancient road here turns right and crosses Old Bridge (Plate 49).
- 02.6 - At a line of cypress on the right the road is no longer passable except on foot where it can with difficulty be traced to its initial steep ascent into Kiafa Pass, where sections of the road are now in the process of being covered with supporting fill for the highway.

9. *From modern Erythrai south and east to Profetes Ilias Monastery (6.3 kilometers) (Map Sections 7, 8, 9 and 10)*

- Start: - Proceeding south on the highway from the town hall of Erythrai to turn left at the fifty-ninth kilometer stone one enters after 02.3 kilometers the old loop road, now Profetes Ilias Monastery Road, to find almost immediately on the left the old

lime-kiln (cf. *Kiafa-Erythrai*, 02.7 km.).

- 02.5 km. - The road forks right and up to the heights of Pantanassa Ridge and left and down to continue as the old loop road (eventually lost) into the ancient Athenai-Thebai road.
- 05.4 - The road, having passed a cave on the right just before its ascent, now reaches a shrine and its highest section on Pantanassa Ridge.
- 06.3 - One reaches the monastery. A path continues east for about two kilometers to yet another ruined Hagios Athanasios Church.

More tracks for the less timid: Notes

1. The river takes its modern name from the port village of Libadóstrata (Libadostro) situated at the river estuary, which port derives its name from the Frankish "Rive d'ostre" (later Catalan "Ripadóstro") meaning the "eastern bank" of the Korinthian Gulf. The village served as the port of Thebai during the Frankish and Catalan periods; cf. A. Bon, "Forteresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale," *BCH* 61 (1937) 187.
2. A. Gomme, "The Topography of Boeotia," *ABSA* 18 (1911-1912) 204, n.3 has also considered Hagios Basileios as the most likely port of ancient Plataiai. Though it seems probable that the Plataians made use of the harbour and probably had some merchant shipping interests through the port, it is not likely that the city had a navy at any time (cf. Demosthenes, *Against Neaira* 95).
3. A magnificent armless bronze statue of Poseidon (two-thirds life size) was found in the sea nearby. The god's name is inscribed on the base in script of the late sixth century B.C. The statue, now in prominent display in the National Museum at Athenai, has been further described by S. Casson, "Notes and News: Livadhostro," *Antiquity* 13 (1939) 83, with Plate 4.
4. G. Grundy, *Plan of the Battlefield of Plataea (1893)* appended to *The Topography of the Battle of Plataea* (London 1894).
5. Grundy, *Plan*.
6. Grundy, *Plan*.
7. Due to the rainy weather in which his survey was attempted, the course of the Plataiai-Thebai road at this point was marked as "probable" by Grundy on his plan. With this in mind, there may not have been any shift, at all, and the variation between Grundy's plan and the map sections appended to the present work is thus explained.
8. The area by this name is to be distinguished from the homonymous abandoned village site (previously mentioned) northeast of Hagios Ioannes Church on the southern side of the Asopos.
9. Grundy, *Plan*.
10. Zekos, 59, has suggested that the name derives from the Slavic (Albanian) "vergnoute" meaning "spurting continually".
11. Zekos, 59, has derived Retsi from the Slavic, meaning

"little river".

12. An inscription (IG 7, 1696) mentions such a church. Although aware of the *eikonostasion*, local inhabitants do not agree on the church's name. Since Hagios Georgios here dates back at least to 1875 (as evidenced by its inscribed gate) and since there seem to be remains for only one other church in the tower area, I equate the name of the site with that mention of the name Panagia in the treatment of the inscription cited. Nonetheless, the name of Hagios Andréas has also been associated with this area (cf. G. Körte, "Die Antiken Sculpturen aus Boeotien," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 3 [1878] 346).
13. Two inscriptions found nearby (IG 7, 1670 and 1671) are associated with the site, now generally accepted as that of the temple of Eleusinian Demeter, which is perhaps older than the homonymous temple at Eleusis (cf. Soulé, 84-85).

For asses and other foot-passengers

The more adventurous, well armed with maps, the best of which are Grundy's survey,¹ the Greek General Staff Map Sheet 1.9 Khalkís,² and the regional surveys held at Erythrai town hall,³ can trip along a plethora of trails and ancient roads, none of which admit an automobile. Most of these tracks seem to end nowhere -- some terminating in the midst of brush, others at high plateaus. Some actually exit at habitations and a few are links that scratch across the heart of Greece; but most decay in time's abuse and isolation. Those few which are here mentioned actually do, or rather did, serve as connectives as much as service roads for the region. The horometric measurements are employed here as mere suggestions after pensive deductions of time lost in circling and searching about for the trail with greatest likelihood of emission at the projected terminus. In places even the donkey has second thoughts.

From Hagios Basileios harbour an ancient path snakes around Poúñta Promontory in the direction of Aigosthena (Map Sections 2 and 4). Spartan arms - and Spartans almost - were blown right off the road and into the sea below.⁴ Paradoxically, this is the most scenic trail in all the Plataian region. Beauty also has its pitfalls, and this track is well endowed with three hours of both in about eleven kilometers.

Another trail, far from friendly, leaves south from Hagia Triada Monastery again to Aigosthena (Map Sections 4 and 6). Although it is the most direct route from Plataiai in about

four hours and approximately twelve kilometers, its southern stretch convinces the traveller that its difficult course could never have been frequently travelled, if at all, in ancient times. The sight of Prosélion and Aigosthena makes one forget the complexities of finding the trail and descend post-haste in the best fashion available, and wonder why the path exists at all. On the other hand, having tracked down every possible track (as well as the impossible) which, west of Karydi Road, could lead across Kithairon -- there are no others -- this writer would suggest that the very presence of the Plataiai-Aigosthena path proffers its candidacy for ancient status, though, to be candid, beyond its presence, no other cogent evidence to promote its claim to antiquity was found.

To lend further frail support to a belief in its ancient status, at least in its northern stretch, the most direct route to Hagios Basileios departs west from the Plataiai-Aigosthena track at about two and one-half kilometers south of the monastery (Map Sections 2 and 4). It is a fair track for a three hour journey of about thirteen kilometers from Plataiai, and its nature alone suggests that it also may have been used by the ancients, especially in the winter when its course is easier than the mud of the plain, although again no other evidence suggests its antiquity except possibly a few fragments of cut marble picked up along the way.

Between the monastery and Karydi Road many tracks lead up the northern face of Kithairon, but the final ascent is too steep for any but shepherds and the goat *passe-partout*.

One of these, a track no longer in use, departs from the southwest of ancient Platiai to continue to the summit of Kithairon and the upper restricted area (Map Sections 5 and 6). Karydi Road, however, having passed near Retsi Well in its uninteresting approach from Thebai, ascends and crosses the heights in a more direct and easier gradient over Kithairon than even the modern Thebai-Erythrai-Athenai (Map Sections 7 and 8). The road leaves the plain just south of its intersection with the Bergoutiani Spring road and climbs along the western side of the valley that separates the road from the lower restricted area and the descent of the western route of the ancient Athenai-Plataiai road. Further south on the stony road bed, at many points, Karydi Road is still wide enough to carry cart traffic,⁵ and at one place remains supported by a carefully placed stone embankment (Plate 47). Soon the road branches right later to cross at its highest point Karoumpalo Road, and descend, then twice more to cross it and continue south. At that fork just mentioned, where, on the right side some ancient sherds were found, the western route of the ancient Athenai-Plataiai road departs left to pass beneath Panagia tes Gouras Church and exits near the east of Billia. The ancient sherds found at the fork suggest a way-station and further promote the claim that both roads were used in antiquity. The journey on either branch is about two hours over about six kilometers (Map Sections 7 and 8).

The eastern route of the ancient Plataiai-Athenai road (cf. *Kiafa-Erythrai*, 01.1 km. and *Karoumpalo Road-Tsia*

Spring, 02.5 km.) is today overgrown with pine and brush and hence throughout its course not easily traced. Just south of Kiafa Pass it meets the highway and the ancient Athenai-Thebai road, which from here north to the line of cypress (cf. *Kiafa-Erythrai, 00.6 km.*) is somewhat easier to trace simply due to its straighter course.

Between Kiafa and Daphne there are paths that approach the crest but few that cross it and those few in my estimation are too difficult to indicate habitual passage at any time. East of Daphne, the ancient Athenai-Phyle-Thebai road (cf. *Daphne-Pyle, 02.7 km. and 10.2 km.*), though not as easily walked or traced as Karydi Road, offers a gradient generally more gentle than its modern nearby counterpart and must be considered as a route once frequently travelled in ancient times (Map Sections 11, 12, 13 and 14).

It might be asked why so much effort has been expended on a description of roads and tracks through the Plataian region, especially with reference to those that ascend and traverse Kithairon. Obviously, a road map is the prime tool of any traveller or scholar who wishes to understand any area, even if superficially; the reason is not in that alone.

In the Plataian plain there is no guarantee, what with thousands of years of continuous tillage, that any particular road has not shifted its course, if it remains at all. The usual argument that roads are not likely to change course, simply because of the statically vested interests of landowners on either side of a particular road, is here not valid. In our own century, land redistribution in the region has been

extensive and roads have been obliterated. In the past few years the mid-course of the ancient Athenai-Thebai road has been covered with cotton fields. The extent of alteration in road courses within the plain is then proportionate to the degree that the land may easily admit of new roads or changes in their courses. Since the Plataian plain is relatively rich, rock-free tillage, its entire network of roads easily might have shifted at any time. Roads are constantly being opened and closed to meet the needs of the area.

Kithairon and its foothills, ridges and passes in the Plataian region, on the other hand, (excepting the quarries and the bulldozed bed of the modern highway, Karoumpalo Road and the Plataiai-Hagios Basileios road), have changed but little throughout the ages. By the nature of the terrain, the passes for present-day and ancient roads are the same.

Admittedly, it is much easier to cross a plain than a mountain, yet only within the range itself is there any guarantee that its roads and paths could not have substantially altered. With this geological guarantee, it is to be wondered that previous scholarship, in its description of the region and in particular its road system, is so heavily based upon conjecture rather than empirical verification of the axiomatic. Passes and roads appear in scholarly publications which are, or are based upon, conjecture and no more than that. Even Grundy's survey which still must form the basis of any serious study on the topography of Plataiai fails in this regard.

One of the principal tasks embraced within this study,

then, was to find and verify that which is least susceptible to change -- the ways into the Plataian region, which traverse or skirt the Kithairon-Pastra Range. But in pursuing the further purpose of describing the region itself, it is necessary to move into the realm of conjecture and hypotheses supported, however, by a familiarity with the region at least comparable to that of scholars who have previously attempted any such study.

For asses and other foot-passengers: Notes

1. G. Grundy, *Plan*.
2. *Geographical Section, General Staff, no.4439*, published by the Greek War Office 1944, Scale of 1:100,000.
3. The local agricultural coöperatives are likewise in possession of detailed regional maps.
4. Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.4.17-18.
5. *Pace, G. Grundy, The Great Persian War 446*, who, though he has elsewhere admitted that snow forbade proper inspections, has claimed that the road could never have been "used for wheeled vehicles".

Bones, beans and bay-leavesBones

One sits under a mass of mulberry tree that covers the whole of the tabled terrace and waits endlessly for service. There is no rush. Perhaps no one will come. From the accustomed barrage of empty chairs the eye follows the line of the white-washed trunk up to its lower limbs and more plastic-covered metal chairs precariously wedged between them -- red plastic - green plastic - yellow and black chairs hanging like balls at Christmas. The strings of lights avoid the tree and swing about the terrace. An old man leaves his cart and mule (Plate 9) to sit awhile, silently. His eyes burn and stare. Quickly on the left one traces the canopy of another tavern -- there are three -- and empty chairs. Then, glancing brazenly to the right, one finds that some chairs have people. The old man's eyes are posed for question and not disdain when at last the proprietress interrupts the contest. Hers is the right to ask; it is her domain and the usual questions in usual order follow. "Where are you from? From whom descended?" The answer is no matter. The questions must be asked and service will follow.

Somehow chairs are filled and faces look into the square -- there is only one -- and down the street. A bus is scheduled and may arrive. There is no rush. The priest comes up the road, parks his jeep, puts down the skirts of his cassock he had tucked beneath his belt, strains up to

the stoa of Hagios Nikólaos, Plataiai's central church, and disappears within. The bus from Erythrai arrives and leaves. The clock tower chimes above the church and square. Silence.

Modern Plataiai, better known to its own Albanian-Greek speaking inhabitants as Kokla (Κόκκαλα), meaning bones,¹ and its one thousand, two hundred² inhabitants crowd a spur of Kithairon on the west of the southern apex of the ancient city. In fact, the village and its necropolis have for centuries, contrary to every geographical sketch that has previously appeared, spread into the southern section of the ancient Plataian city, as if to form a unity and a continuity in time. Life revolves around its wheat and cotton fields, orchards and vineyards, its four churches, Hagios Nikolaos, Panagia Eleousa, Hagia Triada and Hagios Athanasios, and Sunday night, that even in winter sees the streets and taverns filled with gaiety. The ancient names of Andromáche, Dionysía and Philoxéna³ may still be heard, now, however, supplemented by Hellenic, Venetian or Albanian surnames - Sophós, Kapetáne, M̄pékas. To strangers the Plataian presents a reserve bordering on the xenophobic and a puzzling two-fold pride that protects the heritage of his land and church, but allows him to dismantle his ancient walls and church all in the name of progress.⁴ Seldom poor, but seeming so, the modern Plataian presents himself hardly in keeping with the "haughty" ancient Greek of Dikaiarchos' portrayal.⁵

The sight of the ancient Plataian city, now cultivated wherever the plough may pass beside the ruins, was in doubt even as recently as the last century.⁶ With the passing of

time and general scholarly acceptance of the site as actually being that of Plataiai, the American School at Athens began excavations⁷ five years before the publication of Grundy's competent survey.⁸ The Map of Plataiai which accompanies the school's later report is well drawn and attracts so little criticism that it is indispensable to the student.⁹ What criticisms are offered, are concerned with its omissions and, consequently, indebtedness is here acknowledged, and in order to minimize confusion the American map is followed with some few modifications.¹⁰

Originally, there was no intent of taking the reader through a step by step progression around the walls of Plataiai, but the deterioration of the past few years indicates that such a description of the remaining walls may subsequently serve a purpose. We begin then by proceeding north along the western walls of the circuit from the southwest corner of point A, reached from the highway which now crosses between points E and F.

Of the interval between points A and F, H. Washington has reported "little left of the wall above ground (merely one course of blocks, inside and out)".¹¹ Today in this stretch one is fortunate to find either the inside or outside, at least appearing together. One course of the tower at A appears joined to about twenty metres of one-course wall to the north, lost for about ten metres, and then re-appearing half way between A and B, apparently now as the outer wall which gives the appearance of another tower base. Just south of B the wall can still be seen intersecting the

enclosure in the necropolis of modern Plataiai, passing in front of Hagia Triada Church within. The excavated site of Byzantine Church VII lies in a hollow to the north of the cemetery, where the wall which turns northwest is lost almost entirely between B and G except for a few base-blocks south of the highway. The jagged rocky cliff mentioned by Washington from C to G is at its steepest rather between B and C, still a formidable defence between C and D and now all but undetectable from D to G, where years of ploughing and the construction of the museum inside F have levelled that stretch. The most southerly road which passed near B has disappeared, although the road near G still remains to traverse the ancient city site as a track to farms, but ends a little east of the city site at the excavation area of the precinct of Zeus Eleutherios (Plate 24). Outside point D are two "sarcophagus-like cavities", rather than the one, reported by Washington.¹²

Turning east and following the upper cross-wall, one comes to a series of four tower bases north of the highway. The first and most northerly tower base remains with but two and three courses above ground, and running inside and south from it is likely evidence for a platform not previously recorded. The second tower remains also at two and three courses, while the third (Plate 14), still the best preserved, has six courses, the lowest three having probably been exposed in this century. The fourth again is left with but two and three courses and beside it, on the east, the battle site plan erected by the Greek tourist bureau. As one progresses

south of the highway, another tower remains in two and three courses and another beyond this with only one and two courses above ground. The entire inside and outside courses of the upper cross-wall as it lies south and west is then easily traceable, but beyond as the wall turns northeast it is found with greater difficulty and disappears completely near Churches V and VI whose walls were obviously formed of blocks from the ancient wall nearby. Regarding the platforms which appear along the wall interior, Washington has reported that, "at one place in the upper cross-wall two of these platforms occur, one on each side of a tower, while at another place one is found between two towers."¹³ On the excavation map were shown two platforms flanking the seventh tower southeast of point H. The southern platform is today more evident than the northern; however, the platform recorded as being "between two towers"¹⁴ and not shown on the excavation map is most likely that which lies between the two tower bases nearest Churches V and VI, which platform is complete, rather than the "platform" running south from the tower base nearest point H.

Returning to point H to trace the western circuit wall again, one finds the line to I and a tower base between the two points, at K another tower base and beyond to L only one course above ground, becoming only intermittent as one proceeds to point M and a tower base, near which three of the six sarcophagi previously recorded survive in part (Plate 15). No tower base between M and N now appears above ground nor the polygonal wall mentioned in the American report.¹⁵ In fact

from H to N rarely more than one face of the two-faced ancient wall appears above ground and beyond N as far as S hardly a trace of wall appears whatsoever. It is this section particularly between N and Q which invites discussion in greater depth.

Between these points N and Q, according to the excavation report, neither trace of wall nor rock-cutting was found.¹⁶ Why, when almost the entire circuit of the city walls was uncovered (or at least the rock-cuttings to receive the walls), omitting for the moment the lost section V to W, was no trace found between N and Q? It might initially be suggested that this section, if such a section ever did exist, was completely and utterly incorporated into later nearby structures. But if such were the case, why was this not also effected along other sections of wall where later structures appeared? If such a stretch of wall did indeed exist, at least rock-cuttings should have been found, which would not necessarily be the case in the lost V to W section as this latter section was built on a deep layer of soil rather than rock. It is the present writer's contention that no major wall between N and Q ever existed at all. Between V and W (where there is a depression not noted as such on the excavation map), and also in the stretch east of W where a stream bed crosses the line of wall, the courses of wall disappeared, aided by the natural erosion of the soil base. But the K to V section is the steepest part of the city plateau, and its wall residua are generally sufficiently distant from the precipice which defends this section that a

suggestion of similar natural erosion here is hardly tenable.

To digress momentarily, Megale Spring (Plate 16) which is north of the nebulous location shown in the excavation map, is today immediately on the west of the Plataiai-Thebai road. However, the flow is piped from underneath the road, and the spring trough is simply the western face of a bridge that carries the road. The flow then obviously issues from the east side of the present road as it probably did in ancient times as well. Indeed, on the west side a gully, now occupied by a mammoth fig-tree, runs east from the road to form as it were a small canyon whose back touches the imagined line N-Q as seen on the excavation map. It may well have been, then, that the ancient spring lay right on the hypothetical line N-Q itself, in which case the wall certainly would have deviated to avoid the spring.

Only a few metres, however, west of the road two sections of wall can be seen, which nowhere appear on the American excavation map. The sections do, however, appear as a unit on Spencer-Stanhope's plan of the city,¹⁷ while only one section, probably the southern, appears on Grundy's city plan.¹⁸ The southern section may possibly have been incorporated into a Byzantine context (Church IX which is now on the north rather than south side of the stream), but the most northern section seems free from such suspicion. This northern section rises for about ten metres two and three courses above ground, having in the past few years lost one and two higher courses (Plate 17). It is here suggested, then, that the walls of ancient Plataiai descended from a

position between points N and O to enclose the spring and join with these lower courses of wall to rise again near point Q. Two reasons may be offered for the lack of any further traces of wall or rock cuttings here in this suggested course of the wall -- first, that such a descending and ascending course (there is like workmanship between W and X) would have been quite vulnerable to the passing of time simply because of its precipitous nature, and, secondly, that centuries of road maintenance and traffic here would have destroyed much, if not all of any such remains. Nonetheless, within this proposal for the missing link of the Plataian city wall would be understood the fact that Megale Spring, which is today the most considerable flow within the ancient city area (the flow from the spring near Church VIII is negligible), would then have been within the city walls. Needless to say, one hardly imagines that an ancient city's major water supply would have been outside its walls.

Resuming from point O and proceeding eastward along the lower cross-wall, one encounters the ruins of seven towers, six of which appear on the excavation map. The excavation map shows a towerless stretch of wall southeast of Church I. In fact, traces of a tower are to be found in this stretch, and its addition will then identify Washington's third tower with my fourth (Plate 19) and, consequently, account for the discrepancy between his description and accompanying plan.¹⁹ Along the entire length of this wall and tower system there is the appearance of intentional demolition, though not obviously for the purpose of securing building material. The

blocks still lie heaped and scattered on both sides of the wall, in places to a considerable depth, but to prove or disprove that the dismantling of the wall was intentional would be quite difficult as the wall at any time in its history may or may not have succumbed to natural attrition due to its surmised hurried or careless construction (Plate 18).

The first tower, east of point O survives in five courses with a floor level on the third above ground. The adjoining wall quickly disintegrates in its approach to a second tower which is little more than a one-course base in a tangle of blocks. A third tower survives somewhat better in two courses, while the fourth, the best preserved (Plate 19), towers at seven courses in part. Because the wall is then progressively more difficult to find, only part of one course shows in the fifth tower. The excavation of Church IV then appears on the inner side and then beyond on the exterior side, a sixth tower of but one course. Further, the tangle of blocks is chaotic, leaving the wall hardly to be distinguished until the seventh tower base which survives in three courses. Beyond this last tower base the lower course of wall can be traced for only a small distance, but before its present terminus a more easterly extension of the wall leaves for a short distance on nine well joined blocks set in a single course, which may have been part of the wall or part of some other structure.

We return now to the line of the circuit wall. From point Q to point U, residua of neither wall nor tower appear above ground. Between T and U stands a shrine to all saints,

and to the southwest one wall of Church II. Between U and V a few intermittent metres of both interior and exterior wall appear in one course, the longest stretch being about twenty metres just west of V. No trace is seen in the depression from V to W, and from W to the spring bed (originating near Church VIII) one and two courses, both interior and exterior, appear now only intermittently, having succumbed for the most part in the past few years not only to the plough but to the vineyards which cling to the whole northeast section of the ancient city. As one passes the stream bed and on to point X the remains of wall with two intervening tower bases are progressively more significant, in places five courses high (Plate 21). The interior wall does not appear, because the earth within the city is here always level with the highest extant exterior course. At X is the base of a round tower. Washington has reported that "very little of it remains".²⁰ Unfortunately it is today the only round tower base which has been preserved at all. The round tower between S and U seems totally lost. A few more seasons of ploughing will guarantee the other two round tower base remnants at E' and O' like status. The northeast section of wall from the stream bed to a point near A' is the longest stretch of well preserved wall (more than three hundred metres) in the ancient city. To some degree its still bush-covered length buttressed the higher level of earth within the city to pose an obstacle for any tractor or plough, but its precarious preservation now will depend upon the success or failure of the vineyards immediately north and east. A

successful vineyard here will preclude the encroachment of the plough over the hill that the wall forms. The lip service given to preservation by the Greek authorities would seem to allow the Plataian to cultivate the ancient city provided that the plough does not move or disturb the walls or stones, an apparent incongruity which does not seem to trouble the national authorities concerned.

Although the first tower base south of point X has been preserved along with this stretch of wall, the second tower base north of A' of only one and two courses indicates the beginning of extensive destruction. From A' to H' little appears above ground. About halfway between A' and B' a one-course square protrusion would suggest another tower, beyond which point the wall disappears until just before the round tower base remnant at E', of which not even a complete one-course circuit remains. As one progresses almost to the highway one course of wall is discernible, though not the tower base on the American plan near F'. South of the highway a few blocks form an intermittent one-course single line as far as H', at which point a broken one-course square may suggest another tower base. Between H' and I' five metres of two courses survive but nothing more before the tangle of blocks of Churches V and VI, where an apse is still partially preserved. Nothing more of the wall is seen until brief and isolated sections of one course between M' and N', at which latter point both exterior and interior courses make a unique appearance together. From here no wall is apparent until point R' and the one-course tower base. One

course of wall can be followed then in broken stages to pass the next tower base almost unnoticed, and another tower somewhat more apparent before another tangle beyond S' which suggests yet another tower not shown on the excavation map. The wall is finally traceable in one and two courses to the apex and nearby, and within the city circuit, a well with water at twenty-seven metres and a storage shed, the second modern structure found within the ancient city itself.

Unfortunately, in the city area, little remains beyond its walls, towers, sarcophagi, and theatre to excite much interest. The ruins of Church II (Plate 20) and some conglomerations at Churches V, VI, VIII and IX offer some interest, but the rest are but block piles. Halfway between the theatre and the fourth tower of the lower cross-wall, the Temple of Hera stretching east and west survives in one course stubbornly to impede the yearly sowing of grain. The complete inner city, including the acropolis, is now under cultivation, dotted from place to place with small trees, the wild-pear and the ubiquitous holm-oak.

These few walls then are the only impressive remains *in situ* of a once great city that witnessed almost continuous civilization over the past two and one-half millennia. The oldest walls, dating from before the Persian War are sparsely extant in the apex enclosure between L', A and G.²¹ Another no longer apparent section of pre-Persian wall between M and N was also reported to have been found during the American excavations,²² which could suggest that the pre-Persian city included more than the southern apex area. (Indeed the

northwestern acropolis including the M-N section must always have been the most easily defended area and, moreover, as will later be seen in the northeastern section, the absence of a wall's remains certainly does not preclude its more than probable existence in a former period.)

The next period of walls dating from about 385 B.C. is represented by the western circuit wall, the northern wall of the acropolis and the eastern circuit wall.²³ This second period is then represented by the northern two-thirds or more of the entire city plateau wall system with the exception of the northern W-X section.

The third period of wall dating from about 335 B.C. is to be seen in the upper cross-wall and the W-X section mentioned.²⁴ The fourth period is seen only in the lower cross-wall, probably dating originally from the Byzantine period under Justinian the Great in the sixth century A.D. owing to the greater concentration of Byzantine churches in this northwest acropolis area.²⁵ A fifth period of later Byzantine wall may also be seen. Because of its rarity, however, it is conveniently grouped with the fourth period. Of this fifth period, J. Frazer has reported evidence seen on the north and west sides (presumably of the circuit walls) in "fragments and stretches of Roman or, more probably, Byzantine wall, built of rubble and tiles laid in mortar",²⁶ but what evidence remains today of such a period seems restricted to walls of Byzantine buildings which abutted against the circuit wall, as for instance in the area of Churches V and VI.

The conclusions that may be reached with regard to the size and situation of the city during any particular period seem endless. One may come to the conclusion that no conclusion is possible at all. Nevertheless, if one is so determined, it seems best to keep in mind one simple axiom, namely that the presence of evidence for a wall of a later period but absence of evidence for one from an earlier period does not at all preclude the possibility that an earlier wall may have existed near or under the outer wall, in view of the probability that earlier walls will frequently follow the same line or direction as later ones. For instance, the second period has given Plataiai its western and eastern circuit walls on these two outer reaches of the city plateau. This same second period has not, however, left traces of a wall from the second period in the northern W-X section, where, however, there is a wall from the third period. Logic would demand that the western and eastern circuit walls be enclosed and thus the third period W-X portion also represents the second period, if not perfectly, then at least approximately. Beyond this axiom one must also keep in mind that the northwestern acropolis always must have formed some part of the city in any period. There is copious archaeological evidence for this for all periods from the pre-Turkish to the Mykenaian period, not to mention considerations of strategy.

The Byzantine and pre-Turkish city must have been concentrated on the northwestern acropolis, for the largest concentration of Byzantine churches is in this area. The word

concentration and not restriction is used, for there are remains of three other Byzantine churches on the remainder of the city plateau. As seen on the excavation map near the centre of the city plateau, a theatre is designated, accompanied by a question mark. The theatre is shown simply by its flanking walls without indication of a semicircle to complete the shape of an amphitheatre. Of necessity, thanks to the lie of the land, the semicircle would have to be on the southern end of the theatre. Indeed it is. Blocks of stone were recently bared here, which give every indication of being placed together so as to form the usual tiered and semicircular end of an amphitheatre, contrary to what appears on the excavation plan. What is striking, however, is that such blocks have been allowed to stand in place throughout the Byzantine period, while so many others have been incorporated into other Byzantine structures. It seems obvious then that the theatre was still in use in the Byzantine period. This and the presence of Byzantine churches elsewhere on the city plateau would then indicate that, although the Byzantine city was concentrated in the northwestern acropolis, it extended over a large part if not all of the entire city plateau. Further, the fact that the upper cross-wall remains in such a well-preserved state would lend force to the belief that this wall was a still important part of the defence of the city in the Byzantine period. It may be concluded then that during the Byzantine and pre-Turkish period the major portion if not all of the city plateau was in fact inhabited.

The third period city (post 335 B.C.) represented by

and bounded on the south by the upper cross-wall as well as on the north by the W-X section likewise must have comprised the northwest acropolis and its easily defended precipice. The absence of walls of the third period on the east and west circuit suggests that the second period walls still remained sufficient in the third period at least to form the base for the third period construction, and that, if this is accepted, the Theban destruction of Plataiai in 374/373 B.C.²⁷ may have levelled the city but not all of its second period walls. It is to be concluded then, that the third period city (post 335 B.C.) covered the same area as the later Byzantine community.

The location of second period walls suggests that the city of this period was of a size and location identical with the third period city. Plataiai, therefore, topographically had not substantially altered its location or dimensions from 385 B.C. (the beginning of the second period) until Turkish times. As cited above the northern third period wall W-X must logically have followed the course of a wall W-X dating from the second period to join with the second period wall X-K', and as an extension of that premise, it does not seem unreasonable that the upper cross-wall also followed the line of a second period wall, and that the series of platforms, admittedly arranged in a rather desultory fashion as part of the upper cross-wall, may actually be, other than buttresses, remnants of second period wall. The excavation report, however, does not note any but third period walls in this section.

One of the most vexing problems in the study of Plataian topography relative to the city itself is the extent of the city circumscribed by walls of the first period. Other than some evidence for first period walls between M and N we are left with but portions of first period walls between G, A and L'. R. Scranton has committed himself, regarding these polygonal walls, that they represent a period of the fifth century B.C. or before²⁸ and elsewhere he has conceded that they "may have been pre-Persian".²⁹ It is easy to see that the polygonal masonry would soon be covered or lost in the process of frequent rebuilding or maintenance in such an important area as the northwest acropolis, yet in the southern apex area this can hardly be the case, for evidence points to the fact that the extreme southern tip was, in all likelihood, no longer an important part of the city after the second period walls were erected. Surely these polygonal walls did not fall solely to the forces of nature; the polygonal bases at Palaioi Anemomyloi still stand in an area of continuously harsher weather. One can easily conclude then that these walls met with intentional and all but complete destruction at hostile hands. Polygonal stones, moreover, are not found incorporated into later structures. It is most likely therefore that the polygonal wall represents both the pre-Persian period and probably, if one can assume that the Persians despite the prodding of Thebans would not have taken time nor energy for its complete obliteration, the pre-Peloponnesian War period as well. If this is agreed, then the problem is relegated to the size and situation of

the first city period which may be thus called pre-Peloponnesian rather than pre-Persian. The archaeological remains in this period are, as mentioned, scant. As is apparent from the excavation map, the later W-X-D' section follows in straight lines as much as possible the natural contour of the plateau, as does the upper cross-wall. The line of the polygonal wall of the southern apex G-A-L' is noteworthy. One of its characteristics is that it deviates from the natural contour. From H to V such a zig-zag appearance is necessary in following the edge of the plateau, but in the section E' to K' there is no necessity for such contortions. Needless deviations from the natural contour of the plateau are largely seen then in the E'-A-G section, and for lack of better archaeological evidence it may be conjectured from the similarity in the deviations that this was indeed the line of the wall of the southern half of the city of the first period. As for the northern part of that city, it is easily seen that the northwestern acropolis must strategically have been included. Now we may consider the section between V and E'. Although some few stretches of the wall have survived in the southern apex, in the central area of any later city, they would indeed be in the way, to say the least. That evidence is lacking for any polygonal wall of the first period between V and E' is not surprising. However, the northern section of wall between Church III and point V veers southward into the centre of the plateau more than is necessary for the contour of the here slighter precipice. Indeed, that this northern wall beyond V may have continued even in subsequent periods

further south into the centre of the plateau may be conjectured from two facts, that no wall was ever found between V and W (making it possible to conjecture the actual extent of the northern acropolis wall in its southwest direction) and that point W may well be very close to the actual extremity of the northern wall. In its easterly direction it could then have proceeded almost immediately south or at least less southeast than appears on the excavation map to meet southeasterly an extension from point V and thereby avoid the major part of a depression lying between V and W obliquely in an almost exact north-south direction. The depression in such a proposal would be outside the wall and would serve as a natural defence, whereas the walls would be on ground more level than is the case between V and W.

In summary as to the extent of the city of the first period it may be concluded that such city was bounded by a line from the north and west of the northwestern acropolis, continuing along the western circuit to point A, along the eastern circuit to the round tower at E' and finally joining from E' to V. Such a city of the first period would then be little smaller in size than the later city which survived relatively unchanged until the close of the Byzantine period.³⁰ But what might be the reason for a change in situation of the northeastern limits of the city between the first and second periods? If it can be accepted that the first city was situated on the plateau in the position herein described, which position actually follows the plateau contour as well as or possibly closer than the later city, and if one rea-

lizes that this first city underwent a two-fold destruction once at the hands of Persian invaders³¹ and again at the hands of Peloponnesians and Thebans combined,³² one can see through the experience of the Plataian invasion and destruction by enemies an important and valid reason for including within the city walls land capable of enough food production to help ease the calamity of any future invasion or siege. The reason then for the shift after the period indicated by the earliest walls was to enclose an important area of food production within the city walls. The new area north of V-E' not only met this requirement in that it was agriculturally more productive than the rocky apex area but also included another spring useable both for human consumption and for irrigation.

This discussion of the Plataian city plateau has now run its course to conclude that the site, but for the historically known short periods of the forced exile of its inhabitants,³³ was continuously occupied from at least the early fifth century B.C., throughout the Hellenistic, and Roman periods until late in the Byzantine period.³⁴ In point of fact, the city may have witnessed a continued occupation longer than is the case at Thebai.³⁵ Pre-Mykenaian and Mykenaian artifacts have been found within the ancient Plataian city area. Late Byzantine sherds are also found today.³⁶ The continuity is then seen from pre-Mykenaian to late Byzantine and quite possibly -- to the extent that modern Plataiai today encroaches upon the ancient site -- Turkish and post-Turkish.

Bones: Notes

1. Cf. Pausanias, 9.2.5, who describes the numerous graves near the eastern entrance to ancient Plataiai.
2. Population assessment is here and throughout the text based upon the 1976 census held at the Erythrai town hall. Some of the most convincing yet still flexible research into the question of population density within the region has been done by M. Amit, *Great and Small Poleis* (93-94). Amit has felt that the free population of the ancient city figured about 4,000. The figure thus for the whole of Southern Upper Parasopia would range between 5,000 and 8,000 (the larger including slaves). Such estimates closely reflect the regional population density today.
3. Such names appear in the ancient list of female names on a votive inscription found at Plataiai and reported by R. Richardson, "Discoveries by the American School at Plataia in 1890: Votive Inscription," *PASCSA* 7 (1891) 406-421.
4. Such desecration, of course, is not unique. Hagia Triada Church at Melissochorion only recently succumbed to total eradication. Marble stelai, some with dates as recent as 1965 (cf. also *IG* 7, 1683; 1707; 1708 and 1709) were utterly levelled in preparation for the construction of a new edifice on the site.
5. Dikaiarchos in C. Müller, *Geographici Graeci Minores* (Paris 1855) 1.97f.
6. J. Spencer-Stanhope, *Topography Illustrative of the Battle of Plataea* (London 1817) 85-100.
7. April 2, 1889. C. Waldstein, "Discoveries at Plataia in 1890: General Report on the Excavations," *PASCSA* 6 (1890) 440.
8. G. Grundy, *The Topography of the Battle of Plataea* (London 1894), with map appended.
9. "Map of Plataea" (drawn by H. Hale) being Plate 23 appended to the several reports of the American excavation team in *PASCSA* 6 (1890) 445-475.
10. The original report of the ancient city wall excavations by J. Washington, "Description of the Site and Walls of Plataia," *PASCSA* 6 (1890) 452-462, followed by Hale's map are appended to the present work as a means of comparison of the state of the walls in 1889 with the present condition of the walls here described and delineated in Map Section Plataiai-Ancient City.

11. Washington, 455.
12. *Idem.*
13. Washington, 457.
14. *Idem.*
15. *Idem.*
16. Washington, 457-458.
17. J. Spencer-Stanhope, *Plates of Plataea, Olympia and the Ruins of the City of Elis* (London 1824).
18. Grundy's plan (cf. note 8).
19. Washington, 457 and Hale's appended map.
20. Washington, 459.
21. R. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (Cambridge, Mass. 1941) 113 and 166. Also Washington, 452ff.
22. Washington, 457.
23. Scranton, 113-114 and 175. Also Washington, 452ff.
24. Washington, 452ff. Scranton, 173 has approximated the date to c. 338 B.C. which for reasons discussed in the historical section (Metastases) has here been altered to c. 335 B.C.
25. Prokopios, *Buildings* 4.2.24. Nevertheless, the present arrangement of the wall is quite possibly, at least in part, of later construction as it is known that Plataiai was fortified during the time of the Crusades.
26. J. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece* 5 (New York 1965) (= Pausanias, 9) 10.
27. Diodoros of Sicily, 15.46.6, states: οἱ μὲν ἠθηβαῖοι τὰς Πλαταιὰς κατασκάψαντες
28. Scranton, 166.
29. Scranton, 113.
30. Pace G. Grundy, *The Great Persian War*, 489-490, who has ultimately agreed, though not earlier, throughout *Thucydides and the History of his Age* (Oxford, 2nd ed. 1948), with the American excavation report that the Plataian city of the fifth century B.C. was located at the southern apex and not on the northwest acropolis.

31. 480 B.C.
32. 427 B.C.
33. 427 - c. 387 B.C. and c. 373 - c. 335 B.C.
34. Sherd samples and repeated references throughout the American excavation reports verify habitation in each case.
35. The historically known eradications of the city of Thebai (e.g. c. 336 B.C. and 1311 A.D., etc.) in combination with Homeros' mention in the Catalogue (*Iliad*, 2.505) of not Thebai but rather Hypothébai seems to shatter any conception of a Thebai more continuously occupied than Plataiai. Even a consideration of "mythological" genealogies, as previously mentioned, indicates the founding of the Plataian settlement several generations before the Theban occupation of the Kadmeía.
36. That settlement (if not on the whole of the ancient city site, then, at least in part and nearby) continued after the advent of Turkish control is evident from the fact that during this period the monks at Hagia Triada Monastery continued to oversee the Greek education of the people of the Plataian region (Basileios, 48).

Beans and bay-leaves

Kriekouki, now officially called Erythrai, derives its name from the merger of two disyllabic Albanian words meaning "red head". In a lighter vein another pair of modern Greek disyllables can also be heard to proclaim the town's name equally as "cold bean". Despite the charm of the latter, depending, of course, upon culinary predilection, the former derivation historically claims more credence. It can be closely linked with its ancient counterpart Erythrai. If Plataiai could then on etymological consideration be dubbed as the "flats", then modern Erythrai could just as well be called the "reds", and its wine-coloured topsoil is enough to provide the reason.¹

Modern Erythrai, the largest town in the south of Upper Parasopia, spills down a spur of Kithairon, its four thousand and thirty-two inhabitants crowded together in a maze of streets, most of which recall the heroes of the Greek War of Independence, although a past more ancient is still evoked in streets named Hysión, Salamínos, Mousón, Athenón, Kithairónos and Plataiόν. The town presently can vaunt of little more industry than modern Plataiai and remains largely tied to agriculture in controlling the largest share of the region's farms and produce, much as Plataiai had before the Turkish period. Modern Erythrai's greatest export, much like its ancient namesake, has been its own citizens, who are numerous enough to have formed expatriate societies in North America for the benefit of the mother *komópolis*.² The town of its

own accord has prospered, but many reminders of aid from its former sons remain. Euangelístra Church, the most magnificent in all of Upper Parasopia, is perhaps the greatest reminder. Modern Erythrai, today part of Attika, has assumed the leadership in the region that long belonged to Plataiai, which ironically, as tables are turned, is in its modern form once more on Boiotian soil. Like Plataiai before, Erythrai now is at the crossroads of Boiotia, Attika and Megara. At times it seems almost cosmopolitan. It straddles what was until recently the main highway through central Greece; the tourist is a usual sight. Its educational system, being the region's largest, is frequented by Boiotian, Megarian and Attic students alike. The soldiers from the military units complete the diversity. The people of Erythrai are quite accustomed to outside contact and consequently are outwardly more friendly than the more retiring Plataian.

Other than the small pockets at Hagios Basileios and Daphnoula (Rapentosa), the only other place of habitation in the region is at Daphne, a Boiotian village of three hundred and forty-one, whose name, derived from the laurel which grows nearby, has only lately supplanted the former appellation of Darimari (Tarimári), the very sound of which conjures up images of the Turkish occupation. Philologically, it may be suspected that this name finds its origin in an apocopation of the Turkish *dári* and the Turco-Greek *timári* to mean a "millet fief". Daphne is hemmed in between the Asopos and rough spurs of the Kithairon-Pastra Range. In spite of the

new road to Pyle, its main line of intercourse is through Erythrai and in winter it is at times even cut off from this connexion. Little recommends the place, other than its churches and the charm and hospitality of its people.

The modern towns of Plataiai, Erythrai and Daphne are then, virtually, the only places of habitation today in the region. Hagios Basileios, the ancient port of Plataiai, is today comprised of few permanent residents and comes alive only in summer as a local seaside resort when roads allow communication; Daphnoula stands largely in ruins. What is interesting is the number of settlements which have sprung up in the region and have died, leaving remains, with the exception of the cluster near Medieval Tower, hardly distinguishable from each other. The location of most of these sites such as Mpoumpouka, Katsoula and Platani have been recorded. For others no location has been hitherto definitely accepted, and this group is comprised of the four ancient settlements recorded in the ancient literature which treats of this region, namely, Hysiai, Erythrai, Skarphe and Skolos. It is the location of each of these four settlements which is here discussed. But first, it will be useful to review the previous research into this matter. It is apparent that modern research before 1890 was largely hypothetical and not grounded on close topographical observation. With the arrival of George B. Grundy on the scene in the early 1890's, we have the first serious and largely unretracted enquiry, based upon topographical research, into two of these four settlements.³ In the early 1950's Ernst Kirsten furthered this research,

and although his historical contribution with regard to Plataiai has since been the major reference, he has added little to the identification process.⁴ W. Kendrick Pritchett in 1959 advanced most convincing identification of three of the four locations.⁵ These he soon repudiated, however, and largely rearranged in his subsequent work.⁶ His concept of relating sherd concentration to size of settlement is valid, but his works would have gained much by omission -- especially the undercurrents of sarcasm directed against other classicists.

First of all, it seems important to try to discover the location of each of these four settlements in relationship to each other. Strabo, after informing us that Skarphe was formerly named Eteonós and that it was in Parasopia, lists Skolos, Eteonos and Erythrai in that order, and next mentions Plataiai.⁷ It would be suspected that Strabo, being a geographer, names these settlements in their natural geographical order. In addition, the fact that Skarphe was within Parasopia would discredit U. Kahrstedt's placement of it on his map in a location almost as close to Eleusis as to the Asopos, and indeed closer to Eleusis than to Plataiai.⁸ Parenthetically, Homeros also names these four settlements with others in the same order in the catalogue and qualifies Eteonos by the epithet πολύκνημος.⁹ Skarphe (Eteonos) is but rarely mentioned in the ancient texts. That it should be related to the neighbouring communities in the same order when it is recorded seems more than coincidental. Furthermore, this record of relative location to Erythrai and Skolos does accord with the four areas of high sherd concentration along or very

near the Kithairon foothills east of Plataiai where ancient sites would seem most likely for the lost towns of Hysiai, Erythrai, Skarphe and Skolos in the south of Upper Parasopia. With Pritchett's repudiation of much of his first germane article through the publication of his later research he left himself with one area of fairly high sherd concentration unidentified.¹⁰ Apparently, this seemed of little importance to him as no mention was made of the fact. Consequently, it is here proposed that Skarphe (Eteonos) occupied one of these sites, the actual position of which is later clarified.

It is now of immediate importance, the relative location resolved, to arrive at the extent of possible location. In the eastern section of southern Upper Parasopia, the Asopos flows much closer to the rocky spurs of Kithairon than it does in the western section in front of Plataiai. This leaves, consequently, very little space east of Daphne in which one might expect to find an ancient settlement, a fact that seems generally recognized by commentators by its omission from consideration. The limit of location in the east must then be near Daphne. The limit in the west, however, presents a greater problem. Geographically, it could be said to be the eastern walls of Plataiai. This, of course, is not impossible but improbable, especially with the report of a boundary stone found on Grundy's Ridge 2, the ridge immediately west of modern Erythrai.¹¹ Hysiai, it should be recalled, the nearest in geographical order to Plataiai, was long regarded as closely affiliated with Plataiai and

Athenai,¹² and may have even been a purlieu, so-to-speak, or off-shoot colony of Plataiai. We know that neighbouring Erythrai's inhabitants (perhaps not having enough land to support its own people, or perhaps through pressure from non-Ionian Thebans) in the epoch of colonization, founded Ionian Erythrai. It seems obvious that Erythrai, a *komopolis* often with no walls,¹³ could not easily expand its territory westward if it so wished, due to the presence of a stronger and walled Plataiai. Because of the latter's relative size and strength, she may have expanded eastwards in the form of a pilot community, this being Hysiai. Further, along much of the eastern foothill approach to Plataiai from Karydi Road to the Plataian walls are found classical sherds.¹⁴ Their presence in this once almost continuous line of habitation would indicate an absence of hostility between Hysiai and Plataiai and even affirm the historical affinity. Although we do not know historically when Hysiai's life came to a close, we are told that during the Peloponnesian War, Erythrai and Skolos, both lacking walls, gathered their inhabitants together at Thebai.¹⁵ Hysiai is excluded from mention. Its orientation was not toward Thebai, and therefore probably toward Plataiai.

If, then, a fairly strong affinity can be seen between Plataiai and Hysiai throughout its brief historical life, there is then no cause for alarm in suggesting a site for Hysiai close to Plataiai. Tradition, the life-blood of classical studies, though it may be questioned, also places Hysiai closer to Plataiai than may be comfortable for some scholars, and even today the farm region hard by the tradi-

tional site is phonetically called by the same name, recorded as 'Ισιαι on the map at the Erythrai town hall. It is further pointed out that when Greeks are cognizant of the historical significance of a place name they preserve the ancient orthography. The phonetic alteration of Hysiai to Isiai therefore lends credence to the observation that the area has not been locally connected with the site of ancient Hysiai through benefit of historical study, but that it has always been called Isiai, i.e. Hysiai.

With this premise of an affinity between Hysiai and Plataiai it is convenient to refer to Herodotos and Pausanias, who provide the most valuable clues for location. Herodotos shows us that Hysiai must be the next settlement east of Plataiai,¹⁶ but Pausanias, in what has been previously a badly interpreted passage,¹⁷ approaches a more precise location for Hysiai. Pausanias states:

Γῆς δὲ τῆς Πλαταιίδος ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι
ὀλίγον τῆς εὐθείας ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐς
δεξιὰ Ὑσιῶν καὶ Ἐρυθρῶν ἐρείπια ἐστί.
Πόλεις δὲ ποτε τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἦσαν, καὶ
νῦν ἔτι ἐν τοῖς ἐρείπιοις τῶν Ὑσιῶν ναός
ἐστίν Ἀπόλλωνος ἡμίεργος καὶ φρέαρ
ἕρπον. Πάλαι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος κατὰ τὸν
Βοιωτῶν λόγον ἐμαντεύοντο πίνοντες.
ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον ἐστὶν
αὐθις ἐν δεξιᾷ Μαρδονίου λεγόμενον
μνημα εἶναι. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν εὐθύς ἦν
μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀφανῆς ὁ Μαρδονίου
νεκρός, ἔστιν ὁμολογημένον. τὸν δὲ
θάψαντα οὐ κατὰ ταύτά, ὅστις ἦν,
λέγουσι. φαίνεται δὲ Ἀρτόντης ὁ
Μαρδονίου πλεῖστα μὲν δοὺς Διονυσοφάνει
δῶρα ἀνδρὶ Ἐφείῳ, δοὺς μέντοι
καὶ ἄλλοις Ἰώνων ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις
ἀμελὲς γενόμενον ταφῆναι Μαρδόνιον.

Αὕτη μὲν ἀπ' Ἐλευθερῶν ἐς Πλάταιαν
ἄγει, τοῖς δὲ Μεγάρων ἰοῦσι πηγὴ τέ

ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον
 πέτρα· Καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἀκταίωνος
 κοίτην, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καθεύδειν φάμενοι
 τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸν Ἀκταίωνα ὁπότε
 κάμοι θηρεύων, ἔς δὲ τὴν πηγὴν
 ἐνιδεῖν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν λουμένης
 Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν τῇ πηγῇ· Στησίχορος
 δὲ ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ἔγραψεν ἐλάφρου
 περιβαλεῖν δέρμα Ἀκταίῳ τὴν θεόν,
 παρασκευάζουσάν οἱ τὸν ἐκ τῶν κυνῶν
 θάνατον, ἵνα δὴ μὴ γυναῖκα Σεμέλην
 λάβοι· ἐγὼ δὲ ἄνευ θεοῦ πείθομαι
 νόσον λύσσαν τοῦ Ἀκταίωνος ἐπιλαβεῖν
 τοὺς κύνας· μανέντες δὲ καὶ οὐ
 διαγιγνώσκοντες διαφορήσειν ἔμελλον
 πάντα τινὰ ὅτῳ περιτύχοιεν· καθότι
 δὲ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος Πενθεῖ τῷ Ἐχίονος
 ἐγένετο ἡ συμφορὰ ἢ Οἰδίποδα ὄρη
 τεχθέντα ἐξέθεσαν, οἷδεν οὐδεὶς, καθάπερ
 γε ἴσμεν τὴν Σχιστὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ
 Φωκέων, ἐφ' ἣ τὸν πατέρα Οἰδίπους
 ἀπέκτεινεν, (ὁ δὲ Κιθαιρῶν τὸ ὄρος
 Διδὸς ἱερὸν Κιθαιρωνίου ἐστίν) ἀ
 δὴ καὶ ἔς πλέον ἐπέξειμι, ἐπειδὴν ἔς
 αὐτὰ ὁ λόγος καθήκη μοι.

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον μάλιστα τὴν
 ἐς Πλάταιαν τάφοι τῶν πρὸς Μήδους
 μαχεσαμένων εἰσὶ ...

Not until the second paragraph are we told which road is being described. Pausanias makes a transition from the description of one road to the description of another. The two roads join together at the point where he makes this both literary and physical transition. He states: Αὕτη μὲν Ἐλευθερῶν ἐς Πλάταιαν ἄγει, τοῖς δὲ Μεγάρων ἰοῦσι It is stressed that these are two separate roads meeting at a point near the lower military unit (Map Sections 7 and 8). Pausanias has taken the Eleutherai (Gyphtokastro) road to its northern termination which joins the more important road from Megara (Karydi Road) to proceed to Plataiai.

In this excerpt there is an order which corresponds exactly to the topography. Pausanias describes the way from

Eleutherai to Plataiai, first mentioning Kithairon, then Hysiai and Erythrai to the right (northeast), then right (northeast) of the same road the Tomb of Mardonios, then having joined the road from Megara (Karydi Road) a spring on the right and the Bed of Aktaion (Bergoutiani Cave) which he says is a "little away" (ὀλίγον - paragraph 2). It is also noticed that the point of departure for Hysiai is as Pausanias states a "little" (ὀλίγον - paragraph 1) to the right of the Eleutherai-Plataiai road before this road joins Karydi Road. As to the distance to be interpreted from the first occurrence of ὀλίγον, Pausanias' later use of the same determinant guides us. To perceive the approximate distance of this word, it is not necessary to go beyond the actual excerpt at hand.¹⁸ The distance from Bergoutiani Spring to the cave is not much greater than that span between the Eleutherai-Plataiai road and the site to be proposed for Hysiai. Pausanias' intent seems to be that the ruins of Hysiai are a little away, and that the ruins of Erythrai are a little further still.

Two important words in this passage must be considered, namely ἐκτραπεῖσιν and ἐπανελθοῦσι. This digression suggests that Pausanias actually may have made an excursion to the ruins of Hysiai and Erythrai at the time, or at least, that the ruins were so near that a traveller could have easily done so. On the contrary, Pritchett had finally suggested that Erythrai was to be located at Metoche (near Daphne). But this is hardly acceptable if we understand Pausanias correctly, inasmuch as the distance from the ancient Eleutherai-

Plataiai road to Metoche would constitute a digression as the crow flies of eight or more kilometers -- a distance greater than Pausanias' remaining trek to Plataiai: an extremely awkward hypothesis. Together ἐκτραπεῖσιν and ἐπανελθοῦσι do not imply a digression to a point so far away.

It is interesting that Pritchett's search for sherds in this particular area, namely the southwestern side of modern Erythrai, produced "negative results".¹⁹ In his later work he further stated that he had examined the fill of excavations for new constructions and that he was a continuous interrogator of the "natives". In continuing, he wrote: "There seems to be no evidence for believing that the modern town stands on a classical settlement. What squared blocks there are in the village must have been taken from the Pantanassa ridge, and this is what the older inhabitants of Kriekouki say."²⁰ Modern Erythrai certainly does not stand upon the *nucleus* of a classical settlement. *Some* of the blocks (most of which appear in basement foundations beneath ground level) were probably taken from Pantanassa Ridge. However, Pritchett, it seems, cannot have discussed this matter of opinion with other "natives" who might have informed him otherwise. As for his "negative results" in sherding the area in and near modern Erythrai, it appears that the negativity lies in a lack of pertinacity. Not only some classical sherds but also half of a classical lamp have been found in the town area itself -- all in excavated earth -- findings not enough, of course, to substantiate a proposal for any concentration which would indicate the existence of

an ancient town, but finds sufficient to provoke further investigation in the area.²¹

To focus upon Hysiai's actual location, Grundy wrote²² (and Pritchett quotes in part):²³ "There is a mound there with a more or less circular enclosure on the top, quite close to the great bend of the loop road above the village [Plate 7] of Kriekouki This enclosure may well mark the site of the foundations of an ancient *φρούριον*, which would command the alternative route from Athens to Thebes by way of this pass, but would lie east of the road [i.e., to the right, as Pausanias says] from Athens to Plataea" Pritchett has identified this site with the high-school area in placing it "just at the western tip of the bend in this loop road".²⁴ He seems to have restricted his search to the immediate area west of the bend. Had he searched south and east of the bend, he might have found Grundy's enclosure in an area where there are some remaining large cut blocks and classical sherds. The area is now thickly covered with conifers and is more difficult to track down than even the Eleutherai-Plataiai road.

But what will a few blocks and a small concentration of sherds prove? These scant indications could easily point to a small temple area or even a small settlement, such as Hysiai must have been. (It is assumed that Hysiai was not a large settlement; it is only rarely mentioned by the ancient Greek authors.) There are, moreover, other sherd areas near Plataiai, which might seem to present themselves as possible locations for Hysiai -- near the Morea Bridge, near Alep-trypi Spring and near Hagia Anna Church.²⁵ The first of these

possibilities, the Morea Bridge area, may be rejected because sherd concentration does not seem to warrant a town site, because it does not meet the usual regional standard for town position on or near the rocky foot of Kithairon, and because such a position does not correspond to Thoukydides' directions from Plataiai to Hysiai.²⁶ The Alepotrypi site can also be rejected on grounds of insufficient sherd concentration, non-compliance to the regional criterion for a town position, and its omission by Herodotos in his description of the Gargaphian second position of the allied Greeks.²⁷ Large sherd concentrations are, however, to be found at and about Hagia Anna, especially to the west on the approach to Plataiai. Some classical sherds are to be found quite close to the church, but most sherds as Pritchett has observed "are Byzantine and later".²⁸ Consequently, the Hagia Anna site is also rejected.

Nonetheless, "just east of the traces of road marked on Grundy's plan there is a small rocky eminence which was covered with classical tiles, including several large pieces".²⁹ This area is hard by the exit from Kithairon of both Karydi Road and the ancient Eleutherai-Plataiai road. Numerous classical sherds have been found in this area, which is not far west of the south end of modern Erythrai. It is this area close to the farm region still called Isiai which is here proposed (perhaps in conjunction with the area southeast of the bend of the loop road) as the site of ancient Hysiai. Unfortunately, barring deeper investigation between these two points is the fact that the area connecting them is restricted

to military personnel.

Consider again the historical evidence. It is known that Plataiai in classical times once controlled the whole of the southern area of Upper Parasopia. Also, it is known that Erythrai, at least in its pre-Persian history, was ethnically Ionic as was Athenai herself. Again, it is universally acknowledged that Erythrai, later a Boiotian sphere of influence, lay east of the ancient Athenai-Thebai road. Since, historically, Boiotian influence in this region, during the Persian War, lay east of this main road, can it not be assumed that Plataian or Attic influence was west of that same main road? One is reminded of the close affinity suggested between Plataiai and Hysiai. In spite of the two individual locations it would seem that as long as these two demes existed side by side the affinity that existed one with the other and with Athenai was sufficient to make it of little matter where in the region west of the ancient main road each might settle outside of its nucleus in outposts to serve its farms. Today, for instance, there is an official boundary between modern Erythrai and modern Plataiai. It does not, however, correspond to the "perceived" boundary in the minds of the local people, which boundary is felt to be further east than the official demarcation. Many from both villages farm on both sides of the "perceived", as well as the official boundary, and it is likely that such flexibility must have been just as much the case in this area in classical times.

With evidence presented for locating Hysiai south and west of modern Erythrai a progression may now be made east-

ward to locate ancient Erythrai. We know that Erythrai lay east of Hysiai. It would seem, then, Erythrai's location depends upon the location of Hysiai to a great degree, but to a much lesser degree, however, than should have been the concern of previous scholarship. Independent of such associations, observations are here presented which place ancient Erythrai in the vicinity of Pantanassa Church, specifically in the area immediately east of the ancient Athenai-Thebai road, and perhaps to some degree on its west.³⁰

Although Plataiai and its closely tied neighbour, Hysiai, guarded the ancient routes from Megara and Eleutherai, the settlement near Pantanassa must have long been more important strategically with regard to monitoring and overlooking traffic on the direct road from Thebai to Athenai. It is not surprising that a large ancient settlement was located here and no more surprising that such a strategically located settlement early could have been caught in a struggle between non-Ionian Thebai and Ionian Athenai.³¹

An extensive area near and around the church, more than one kilometer in length, from roughly south of Grundy's enclosure near the High Bastions³² east of the Athenai-Thebai road to north of Turkish Tower, yields sherds of many periods, some dating as far back as the Bronze Age. Pritchett in his first article reported that sherds from the area were all either Roman or modern.³³ One can only suspect that he conducted his investigations with some haste, since he admits of other areas that he had not even examined an extensive area in the region.³⁴ A more serious difficulty for his

thesis is that early classical artifacts have been reported surreptitiously taken from this lower region north of Pantanassa. Clandestine excavation of this area is not a source of pride to the majority of the local people, but it has been lucrative on more than one occasion, despite illegal implications.

The size of this site approaches a par with that of Plataiai. Today on the southern acropolis no walls are apparent, although their earlier presence has been recorded for us in more than one source.³⁵ A spring and ancient temple base are located nearby to the west of the southern acropolis area. North of the temple base is the now desiccated Peristéri Well and evidence of another well having been dug to the south of the base. Both are but a few metres from the temple area. As for the spring, its issue is slight, but northwest of the ancient settlement area water flows today.³⁶ The approach to the acropolis was probably from the southwest. There is little more to say of the site, except that its acropolis height is near sixty metres higher than the Erythrai-Daphne road below and is now grandly crowned by two massive hydro-electric towers.

It is that height which must be taken into consideration in proposing this site as the ancient Erythrai. Herodotos seems to have it in mind when he explains:³⁷

οὔτοι ἦσαν οἳ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι
καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων
'Ελλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθραῖς ταχθέντες

The important word is πρό. We learn from this excerpt concerning the confrontation of Persian cavalry with the Mega-

rians, that there may have been an advance guard of the Greeks at Erythrai, namely three hundred Athenians.³⁸ Just how much time elapsed between the arrival of the advance guard and the main body is left to conjecture, but one assumes that the three hundred Athenians were posted at Erythrai as advance guard under the command of Olympiodoros some days before the allied Greek force came upon the scene.

Consider again the height of the acropolis of the site proposed for ancient Erythrai. Then consider the nature of the site proposed by Pritchett in his latest article thus: "To the south the area of sherds extends to the base of the bare rock of the mountain."³⁹ This base at Metoche is a low cliff before it rounds out to the south in its mountain spur. Neither the spur nor the small wall-like cliff would prevent any attack, especially by archers climbing but a little from the south, though this is the site's greatest natural defence. The western and eastern sides of the Metoche site are negligible and the northern little better. There is no acropolis at Metoche. In comparison with Pritchett's latest choice for Erythrai at Metoche, the site here proposed is an impregnable fortress. The advance guard of three hundred Athenians would have stationed themselves at the Erythraian acropolis area. To the Greek army crossing Kithairon from the south it would be logical, strategical and immediately available choice as a first position; to the advance guard it must have had the same attraction.⁴⁰

Were Pritchett's location at Metoche accepted as the site of ancient Erythrai, the advance guard as well as the later

main body would have first entered Boiotia near my proposed acropolis, would have seen the Persian army deployed directly in front by the Asopos, would have descended to that acropolis only to spurn its defence and pass eastward over six kilometers of far more difficult terrain than lies toward Plataiai west of the ancient main road or pass along the open road inviting Persian cavalry attack, and finally would arrive at Metoche to take up a position on that exposed site only to find that there was insufficient water and that it would be necessary to march back again nine kilometers toward Gargaphia Spring in order simply to survive. Were one to follow Pritchett in accepting Metoche as the ancient Erythrai one would have to credit both Athenian Olympiodoros and Spartan Pausanias with the highest degree of strategic and logical stupidity.

Enough of Erythrai. The ancient town must be located immediately east of the Athenai-Thebai road. Pritchett "so misunderstands"⁴¹ the location of Erythrai that he places it "east of Skolos".⁴²

Moving yet east to the next concentrated sherd area, one arrives at Hagia Triada Ridge. Here may be located Skarphe-Eteonos (see above n.7) on the west side of the ravine which terminates in a cliff hanging over the Erythrai-Daphne road, that is to say, on the Hagia Triada side of the ravine. Largely on the other (eastern) side of the ravine Pritchett reported glazed sherd finds which were subsequently dated in the "sixteenth and seventeenth centuries". He considered them "Byzantine".⁴³ Of the western side he stated

that the "classical sherd area extended onto the ridge which lies to the west across the ravine."⁴⁴ In this latter area, part of a Mykenaian bowl was also recently found. Admittedly, identification of this site is based upon rather slender, but nevertheless concrete, evidence. (W. Leake had earlier reported finding squared blocks, foundation walls and a Doric column in the area, but nothing today is apparent.⁴⁵) Reliance is most heavily placed upon the position of the site relative to the positions of the remaining town sites for which better evidence is presented, and on Homeros' description of "craggy Eteonos".⁴⁶ Not only, then, is there topographically sequential evidence, as well as Mykenaian sherd evidence, but this area more than any other in the region fits Homeros' description.

Finally, having passed Hagios Georgios in an area of sherds mostly from the Turkish period, one comes to Metoche, the most easterly concentration of ancient sherds in the region large enough to suggest a town of the classical period. Here may be located Skolos which Strabo portrays as *δυσοίκτητος τόπος καὶ τραχύς*.⁴⁷ Pritchett wrote of the village of Daphne, hard by this site, that the "present village of Darimari would exactly fit the Strabo passage."⁴⁸ However, in his later work he tacitly retracts this observation by placing Skolos north of the Asopos, whereas formerly he had placed the site south of the river.⁴⁹ The shift is unwarranted.

Strabo explicitly states in that same passage that Skolos was *ἐπὶ τῷ Κιθαίρωνι*. It may also be noted that only a little further in his description he refers to Plataiai as also *ἐπὶ*

τῷ Κιθαίρωνι⁵⁰ and it stretches the possibilities of ὑπό to breaking point, if we follow Pritchett's latest choice of a Skolos north of the Asopos, rather than south of it and at the foot of Kithairon. Indeed, of the ancient settlements here in question, only two are actually at the foot of Kithairon, these two being Plataiai and Skolos, precisely as Strabo describes. Hysiai, Erythrai and Skarphe, on the other hand, were actually on the rocky spurs of the mountain, and these latter sites Strabo does not determine by the preposition ὑπό.

Pausanias more than Strabo fixes for us the location of Skolos. In travelling from Plataiai to Thebai he records the following:⁵¹

Ἐκ Πλαταίας δὲ ἰοῦσιν ἔς Θήβας ποταμός ἐστιν ᾿Ωερόη· θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι τὴν ᾿Ωερόην τοῦ ᾿Ασωποῦ λέγουσι· πρὶν δὲ ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν ᾿Ασωπόν, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ρεῦμα ἀποτραπεῖσιν ἔς τὰ κάτω καὶ προελθοῦσιν ὅσον τεσσαράκοντα στάδια ἔστιν ἐρείπια Σκώλου·

Other than the distance of forty stades, the crucial elements of this passage are πρὶν and ἔς τὰ κάτω. The first is quickly understood. It can mean nothing other than that the deviation from the Plataiai-Thebai road must take place before, i.e. south of, the Asopos. The second element hardly offers much more complexity. The phrase may mean geographically southward, downstream or towards lower ground. The context immediately discredits the possibility of a southward direction; the traveller would find himself back at Plataiai again rather than heading toward Thebai. But the relationship of a proposed location of Skolos at Metoche to

a point near the Asopos on the Plataiai-Thebai road fulfills the remaining two normal applications of the phrase. The Metoche area is near one of the lowest levels in the Boiotian Plain, and is moreover, from such a point as Pausanias would have been, downstream. (One might possibly see a subterranean implication of ἐς τὰ κάτω though the present writer is unaware of any connexion, mythical or otherwise, between this region and the portals of Hades.) In point of fact, the distance is very close to forty stades.⁵²

Pritchett has so misconstrued the ancient historical evidence in this case, that he has in the course of two efforts tried to employ Pausanias' and Strabo's records, once to prove a location for Skolos south of the Asopos,⁵³ and once to prove it north.⁵⁴ In addition, he has disregarded further evidence from Herodotos which is found in the description of Mardonios' march from Dekelea, through Sphendale to Tanagra, and subsequently to a position on the Asopos in Theban territory:⁵⁵

οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς
προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι δὲ
αὐτῶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἠγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας,
ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν· ἐν Τανάγρῃ
δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλισάμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ
ὑστεραίῃ ἐς Σκῶλον ἐν γῆ τῇ Θηβαίων
ῆν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καίπερ
μηδιστόνων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους

It is τραπόμενος which is of importance in the location of Skolos. Mardonios had reached Tanagra. Once there, the route to the generally accepted location of his stockade, south of Thebai and near Megale Bridge, would have been as it is today almost as directly west as the Greek terrain can allow. (Tanagra is exactly east of Thebai.) But Herodotos

says he *turned* to Skolos (which was at that time in Theban territory rather than in Plataian). No site on the north bank of the Asopos, including Pritchett's latest site for Skolos by Neochorakion (the Thebai-Tanagra road passes through it today) would cause Herodotos to say *τραπόμενος*. Mardonios turned southwest from Tanagra toward Skolos, and quite possibly by way of the nearly straight track which today connects the three settlements of Tanagra, Asopia,⁵⁶ and Skolos (Metoche).

Such, then, are the locations of four lost ancient towns recorded in Greek history. To summarize, Skolos is to be associated with the Metoche site west of Daphne, Skarphe on the Hagia Triada Ridge nearest the church, Erythrai in the Pantanassa Church area, and Hysiai south and west of modern Erythrai. Greek classical sherds are, of course, found in other areas throughout the region, but the concentrations, which are small, do not point to evidence for any considerable settlement. Not surprisingly, the majority of these sherd locations are west of the ancient Athenai-Thebai road and suggest that these were small agricultural outsettlements, whose inhabitants were akin to the citizens of Plataiai.⁵⁷ These situations are at Alóni Tzabára (north of Hagia Triada Church and near the south side of the Asopos); Megale Bridge; Goritsá; Hagios Demetrios Church area;⁵⁸ south Alepotrypi area; Asopos area between *remmas* marked A.2 and A.3 in Grundy's plan; Hagia Anna with extension to Anagyroi Church and tumulus-grave area; Morea Bridge; Hagia Triada Monastery; and near the intersection of Karydi Road and the road

to Panagia tes Gouras Church (only a few classical sherds).

Beans and bay-leaves: Notes

1. Erythrai, as has been previously noted, may etymologically be seen to stem from the "mythological" personage of Erythras. Even before the modern town of Erythrai was called Kriekouki it bore the name Kalybia meaning "reed huts" (Plate 39), the Asopos River nearby providing some of the tallest reeds in Greece (cf. Pausanias, 5.14.3 and Homeros, *Iliad* 4.383).
2. *Viz.* the bi-monthly publication of the Seattle chapter of the Criekoukiotes Association of America, *Spirit of Criekouki*, published at Maritime Building-302, Seattle 4, Washington, U.S.A.
3. G. Grundy, *The Topography of the Battle of Plataea*.
4. E. Kirsten, "Plataiai," *Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 22.2 (Stuttgart 1950-revised).
5. W. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataia," *AJA* 61 (1959) 9-28.
6. W. Pritchett, "Plataia Revisited," *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* (Berkeley 1965-9) 103-121 with Plates 96-102.
7. Strabo, 9.2.24-31.
8. U. Kahrstedt, "Die Landgrenzen Athens," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 57 (1932) 8-28 with map appended.
9. Homeros, *Iliad* 2.497-504.
10. In "New Light on Plataiai," Pritchett has identified east of the ancient Athenai-Thebai main road three major sherd concentrations -- Hysiai, Erythrai and Skolos. In "Plataia Revisited" he has placed Skolos *north* of the Asopos, while retaining the same identification for the site of Hysiai and at the same time shifting Erythrai to his former identification of Skolos. The shift thus left one concentration between his Hysiai and his later Erythrai (formerly his Skolos) unidentified. Furthermore, in both his works he seems to have chosen to ignore the concentration east of Hagia Anna Church on the west of the ancient road.
11. G. Grundy, *The Topography of the Battle of Plataea* 25.
12. Herodotos, 5.74. Hysiai was actually once a deme of Attika.

13. *Hellenika Oxyrynchia*, 11.3. At the time of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War the inhabitants of Erythrai, Skarphe and Skolos sought refuge at Thebai.
14. The sherds are mostly Roman and Byzantine, although at one point there is a concentration of classical Greek sherds. (Unless noted otherwise, by classical, is meant classical Greek).
15. See note 13.
16. Herodotos throughout the ninth book mentions Hysiai always in a context that makes it clear that Hysiai was east of Plataiai but west of Erythrai.
17. Pausanias, 9.2.1-5. *Pace* N. Hammond, *Studies in Greek History* (Oxford 1973) 444, who has had Pausanias and his description of the region start from Plataiai rather than from Eleutherai (as is actually the correct interpretation). Because of its length the passage is here translated:

On Mount Kithairon, within the territory of Plataiai, if you turn off to the right for a little way from the straight road, you reach the ruins of Hysiai and Erythrai. Once they were cities of Boiotia, and even at the present day among the ruins of Hysiai are a half-finished temple of Apollo and a sacred well. According to the Boiotian story oracles were obtained of old from the well by drinking of it. Returning to the highway you again see on the right a tomb, said to be that of Mardonios. It is agreed that the body of Mardonios was not seen again after the battle, but there is not a similar agreement as to the person who gave it burial. It is admitted that Artontes, son of Mardonios, gave many gifts to Dionysophanes the Ephesian, but also that he gave them to others of the Ionians, in recognition that they too had spent some pains on the burial of Mardonios.

This road leads to Plataiai from Eleutherai. On the road from Megara there is a spring on the right, and a little farther on a rock. It is called the Bed of Aktaion, for it is said that he slept thereon when weary with hunting, and that into this spring he looked while Artemis was bathing in it. Stesichoros of Himera says that the goddess cast a deer-skin round Aktaion to make sure that his hounds would kill him, so as to prevent his taking Semele to wife. My own view is that without divine interference the hounds of Aktaion were smitten with madness, and so they were sure to

tear to pieces without distinction everybody they chanced to meet. Whereabouts on Kithairon the disaster befell Pentheus, the son of Echion, or where Oidipous was exposed at birth, nobody knows with the assurance with which we know the Cleft Road to Phokis, where Oidipous killed his father (Mount Kithairon is sacred to Kithaironian Zeus), as I shall tell of at greater length when this place in my story has been reached.

Roughly at the entrance into Plataiai are the graves of those who fought against the Persians....

18. *Pace* Pritchett, "Plataia Revisited" 106, n.18.
19. Pritchett, "Plataia Revisited" 105.
20. *Idem.*
21. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataia" 12, has stated that he and Professor Travlos "removed two thick sherds" which "might be prehistoric". Such a find hardly seems "negative" but rather exciting.
22. G. Grundy, *Topography of the Battle of Plataea* 15 = *The Great Persian War* 464-465.
23. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataia" 10.
24. *Idem.*
25. At Hagia Anna Church some ancient architectural fragments still remain. K. Zekos, 60, had also reported the remains of a temple column there.
26. Thoukydides, 3.24.2.
27. Herodotos, 9. 26ff. In Herodotos, 9.25, we also find that Hysiai must be located *on the foothills*, for the Greeks while keeping to the foothills passed alongside Hysiai after departing from Erythrai to proceed into Plataian territory.
28. Pritchett, "Plataia Revisited" 106.
29. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataiai" 12. Pritchett seems to have conveniently disregarded his own previous findings (quoted here) in his later work.
30. Temple residua (Demétricn) and acropolis area lie on opposite sides of the ancient Athenai-Thebai main road.

31. The strategical value of Erythrai's location high above the ancient main road through central Greece near the Boiotian and Attic border may have rendered it a prize to be fought over early in its history (as was the case with once Boiotian Eleutherai in much the same high position over and near the main road) or even in its pre-history. Such a struggle would have provided sufficient reason for the inhabitants to leave the region to found, as tradition holds, their colony at Ionian Erythrai. This relocation of mainland Ionian Erythraians to Ionian (Aigian) Erythrai would accord with the theory that when the Boiotians first entered the region now known as Boiotia they expelled a people who were Ionian (cf. J. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* 28).
32. Grundy, map appended to *The Topography of the Battle of Plataea*.
33. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataiai" 11. In Pausanias, 9.2.1, we read that Erythrai (and Hysiai) were in ruins in his time (late second century A.D.). While we therefore have evidence that Erythrai and Hysiai were not inhabited in the Roman period of c. 170 A.D. we have no evidence that Erythrai (and Hysiai) were not inhabited during the almost four earlier centuries of Roman domination in Boiotia. The presence of Roman sherds at Erythrai is thus explained.
34. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataia" 23.
35. *Hellenika Oxyrhynchia* 11.3; Grundy, *Topography of the Battle of Plataea* 9; I. Hunt, "Discoveries at Plataia in 1890: Notes on the Battlefield of Plataiai" *PASCSA* 6 (1890) 472, n.39 and Zekos, 57.
36. Zekos, 57, has also reported that an ancient aqueduct had been unearthed near Pantanassa Church.
37. Herodotos, 9.22.
38. The translation of $\nu\acute{\rho}\omicron$ is a vexed problem. This writer has followed among others, P. Legrand, *Hérodote Histoires* (Paris 1954) 9.23-24, who has rendered the passage: "Ce sont eux qui acceptèrent volontairement la mission et devancèrent les autres Grecs pour aller à Erythrai occuper le poste"; J. Myres, *Herodotus, Father of History* (Oxford 1953) 288; and A. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* (London 1962) 516. This is not the normal interpretation of this passage, and it has been advanced over the strenuous objections of Professor Campbell.
39. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataia" 13.
40. The overwhelming majority of scholars has agreed that the Greek army crossed Kithairon in 479 B.C. via either the ancient Athenai-Thebai main road or emerged from Kithairon by the Karydi Road-Eleutherai/Plataiai road

exit. Of these the majority has preferred the former. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataia" 20, has admitted that he had not made "a personal inspection" of the more easterly pass near Daphne (Map Sections 11, 12, 13 and 14) but nonetheless has concluded that the eastern pass "played no part in our reconstruction of the battle". He therefore would have the Greek army enter the region via one of the two more westerly passes mentioned above. In his later work he holds to his conception, but as nowhere is mention made in either of his works that Olympiodoros' advance guard of three hundred Athenians entered Boiotia by a road different from that over which the main body later came, it is assumed that Pritchett would also have the advance guard (depending again upon the translation of πρό) enter by one of the two Kithairon exits (mentioned above) west of the ancient Athenai-Thebai main road.

41. Cf. his note 73, "Plataia Revisited" 120.
42. Pritchett, "Plataia Revisited" 109.
43. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataiai" 13.
44. *Idem.*
45. W. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* (Amsterdam 1967) 328-329 in chapter 16.
46. Homeros, *Iliad* 2.497.
47. Strabo, 9.2.23.
48. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataia" 23.
49. Pritchett, "Plataia Revisited" 107.
50. Strabo, 9.2.31.
51. Pausanias, 9.4.4.
52. Presuming that there was a path on which to proceed east from the Plataiai-Thebai road (from a point between the Oeroe and Asopos) and considering Thoukydides' mention (3.24) of the Plataians' departure eastwards, the Alepotrypi road is guaranteed ancient status.
53. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataia" 23.
54. Pritchett, "Plataia Revisited" 107.
55. Herodotos, 9.15.
56. Though the observation is beyond the limits of the pre-

sent study, the plural usage in τῶν Ἀσωπίων (Herodotos, 9.15) may suggest a town rather than a region (as it is invariably translated) and may be seen reflected in the name of the modern town of Asopia which like Neochorakion is on the Tanagra-Thebai road. Indeed Asopia (formerly Chlempotsari) straddles an almost straight line between Tanagra and Skolos (Metoche).

57. I must here admit that when I seriously became interested in solutions to Plataian problems in history, especially with reference to these four settlements, I naively considered that archaeology would provide most of the answers. Though I would not discredit their contributions, sherd studies and archaeological reports have in the case of Plataian history, in my opinion, taken a subordinate place to the value of a careful study of the ancient texts. To be sure, archaeology might have answered important questions, especially in the Pantanassa, Alepopyri, and Hagia Anna areas, but it has not. Excavations, indeed, there have been, as all over Greece, but in place of accurate records we encounter understandable denial from the local people. And yet, one can hardly blame them. Not only are they not rewarded for their finds, but they are shamefully penalized by confiscation of their farms and property. In relation to fortuitous finds and discoveries one might say more, but the dangers and realities are so readily apparent. The writer has been nearby when inscriptions have been unearthed, not only in this region but elsewhere -- inscriptions which were hastily returned to the ground before being recorded. The new museum at Plataiai stands empty of artifacts. Beyond administrative delays, it is easy to perceive the reason. Yet there are those of the region who have come forth to reveal their history further, rather than protecting their own interests. Their sacrifices are real and must be commended.
58. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataiai" 28, reported that he had examined the *summit* of Troulos (Hagios Demetrios Hill) without discovering any classical sherds. Some late sixth century B.C. votive figurines have been apparently found in the environs.

Springs and other thingsWhere it's wet

Throughout the preceding pages of this topographical survey but passing reference has been made to the many springs and wells which dot the region. Naturally, their importance to the region is as crucial today, despite piped drinking water from Thebai, as it was in ancient times. The amount of readily available water in all seasons of the year has always, more than defensibility, determined the size and duration of each settlement in the region. (Imported water is too recent to have had much impact on the transfer of habitable sites in the region.) That the availability of water was a greater site determinant than defensibility is seen in the case of ancient Erythrai. With its attainability from the plain area and its strategic defensibility, the site of ancient Erythrai would have suggested the likelihood of a more important place in history than for any other settlement along these foothills, including Plataiai, were it not for its lack of available water. Plataiai's prominence in the region, on an elevation less than that at Erythrai, is due largely to the satisfaction of those two determinants, water and defense, in good proportion. The soil itself in this region is not a determining factor, as it is rich throughout the area.

There is a natural water base lying beneath the surface of this low region of the Boiotian Plain. Flow from this basin surfaces more obviously, roughly in the crescent of low elevation between Alepotrypi, the north of modern Erythrai,

the south of Turkish Bridge, and the lowlands midway between Daphne and the Asopos near the present channel of the aqueduct. The water bed is largely fed by the underground springs of the foothills and ridges by means of underground channels. Imagine that this water table is tapped. The more the table is tapped, the less water seeks issue in surface springs of the foothills, having found an easier course in the subterranean channels.¹ There is a charming tale told by the people of the region that not long ago a villager lost his wooden flute (such flutes are still played by shepherds in the mountains today) in a deep well and that it was subsequently found at Thebai. Such a tale might be discounted immediately as, while amusing, nothing short of incredible. It seemed a harmless way for the villagers to vent envy of the fact that Thebai was well supplied with water, whereas the Plataian region was increasingly not. Only recently did the present writer begin to lend some credence to the situation, if not the tale, when in frustration some villagers at Plataiai poured large quantities of dye into the well within the southern apex of the ancient city. The dye was soon found at Thebai.

If any credibility can be attached to this phenomenon, it then appears that as Thebai has recently grown and continues to do so as a bedroom community to Athenai, the more water it takes, the less there is apparent in the surface springs in the southern Upper Parasopian region. Bergoutiani Spring, which was in the last century copious enough to supply in times of drought the needs of villagers as far away as

Billia, has over the years become increasingly weaker in its issue to such a point that today it is pumped to the surface. Thebai, as it seems, derives at least some of its water from this region and now pipes it back for sale. It is hardly necessary to say that such a process, suspected or real, does little to alleviate the traditional aloofness between Plataians and Thebans. For present purposes, however, such stories may give insight as to which of the springs, still flowing above ground, were probably strong issues in former times.

The issue from Retsi Well which is now considered by most scholars as the Herodotean Gargaphia, is not torrential, but it is steady.² It is not hard to imagine that in classical times under different circumstances, Gargaphia Spring was both strong and steady. Other than Gargaphia on the water table, Megale Spring at ancient Plataiai is the strongest in the whole region. Next in strength are the western Kontita Spring (Plate 41)³ within modern Plataiai; the Darimari spring near Metoche; a spring near the northwest of the junction of the ancient Thebai-Athenai road with the modern Erythrai-Daphne Road; and lastly the springs which were long ago organized into a piping station at the north end of modern Erythrai. By analyzing this information it becomes easily apparent why settlements have formed in particular regions both in times ancient and modern and why they continued or died. The distribution of such strong flowing springs should also give us clues in suggesting boundaries between the territories of the regions' ancient settlements.⁴

All of the above issues are springs. The following springs and wells are less vigorous, but certainly not negligible, and some must have influenced the duration and location of settlements. In this group from west to east are the Hagia Triada Monastery well; the eastern snake-infested Kontita Spring (recently unearthed) and Moulki Spring⁵ (the latter two both near the eastern wall of ancient Plataiai); Loukide Well; the spring by the western foot of the ancient Erythraian acropolis; Ploúmpē Well and Tzabaras Spring near the Turkish Bridge; a well near Megale Bridge; Hagia Triada Church Well by the road; Rontosklaba Well just east of Pantanassa Church and south of the Erythrai-Daphne high road; and a few wells south and east of Daphne. Most of these springs and wells in this group are on or near the surface and also probably had some role as determinant of settlement. It is seen, then, that ancient Plataiai probably had five reasonably strong water sources, the fifth, being within the later northern walls, now almost dry.

Three more areas require discussion: the Zoodochos Pege Church area, Tzabaras Spring, and Bergoutiani Spring. The first area, contrary to the meaning of its name, and in defiance of the usual setting for churches of that name, has no abundance of water. The second area at Ploumpē Well and Tzabaras Spring, however, does have a reliable, if not now strong, source. The well is actually marked as a spring on Grundy's plan and must have had at that time (1893) enough issue to be so named. But immediately to the west, a spring bed was only recently unearthed and is here named after D.K. Tzabaras, one

of the discoverers. The spring, now of almost negligible flow, is enclosed in much the same way as the Megale and Kon-tita Springs with cut blocks, apparently ancient, well fitted together to form a trough and back. This spring, due to its location, may even have provided some supply to the allied Greek army in its second position during the classic struggle against the Persians. Though the spring flow is currently well-nigh negligible, the well close by is still constant, with water at about a metre's depth, and obviously spring fed as Grundy has shown.

The last spring for discussion is Bergoutiani. It has long been held, with topographical support from Pausanias,⁶ that Bergoutiani and its close-by cave and rock protuberance were the Bed of Aktaion and the Spring of Artemis, celebrated in the "myth" of Aktaion's demise. Ovidius, who later included this spring and rock bed in his *Metamorphoses*,⁷ most probably attached to it the celebrated name of Gargaphia, since this is the only spring that was by name associated with the area in ancient Greek literature, specifically in Herodotos' ninth book. Since both the battle and Aktaion's "tale" had been associated with the Plataian area, this process of name transference is quite understandable. Moreover, the transfer seems proof that the Aktaion "story" should at least be closely connected with the Plataian region.

C. Edmonson, however, in suggesting another possible location of the bed and spring has posited a position near Tsia Spring (Vasilikes Spring).⁸ It has already been demonstrated that in the Pausanias passage⁹ there is a spatial and logical

progression to show that Bergoutiani Spring equates to the Spring of Artemis. Nonetheless, Edmonson has argued that on the right hand of Karydi Road as one comes from Megara to Plataian territory there is found but one spring which he has claimed must be Tsia Spring:

A traveller coming from Megara today by way of Hammond's 'Road of the Towers' [i.e. Karydi Road] and Pass 2 will pass near a number of wells and cisterns before emerging into the Platais, but only one spring. This is the *vrysi Vasilikis* on the lower slopes of Gouros Lestori (elev. 985 m.) approximately 1½ km. west of Villia on the modern Villia-Aigosthena road. It is clearly marked by a large deciduous tree [it is no longer there, having been cut down] and a small whitewashed shrine (*eikonostasion*). Some 400 m. west of the spring the modern road to Aigosthena turns sharply to the south towards Ayios Vasilios, and the 'Quarry Road' [Karoumbalo Road] branches off slightly north-west to begin its circuit of Gouros Lestori. Due north of this fork, at a distance of a little more than 100 m. is an abrupt outcropping of stone rising from 10 to 20 m. higher than the sloping ground around it.

This outcropping of stone and the spring then are those which Edmonson has associated with the Bed of Aktaion and the Spring of Artemis. Unfortunately, along the course are located two other springs, also on the right of Karydi Road as it approaches Plataiai. The one is very near Tsia Spring. It is on the west of a new house located on the north of the Aigosthena-Billia road between Tsia Spring and the southern turn to Aigosthena. Although this issue is very slight in summer, there is another spring with much water even in the heat of summer at little more than a metre below surface. This is at Fichthi, about twenty-five metres higher than the ancient Karydi Road, quite near it, but in much too high a

situation on the mountain slope to suggest it is merely a well rather than a spring issue. Since Edmonson's proposal depends upon the presence of *only one* spring to the right of Karydi Road in this particular area considered, the actual presence of other springs, also to the right and nearer to the road than is Tsia Spring, would seem to deflate that argument.

If this, however, seems insufficient to support the traditional location of the Bed of Aktaion and the Spring of Artemis in their traditional sites near Hagia Anna Church, reference is made to an often misconstrued passage in Strabo.¹⁰ In his reference to Skolos Strabo records: καὶ τὸν Πενθέα δὲ ἐνθ' ἐνδε καταγόμενον διασπασθῆναί φασιν. Pentheus has rightly been associated with Skolos; the town is mentioned just before this excerpt. But it cannot be construed from this passage that Pentheus was actually killed there. The presence of ἐνθ' ἐνδε not only suggests but proves otherwise.

Where then did Pentheus meet his end? It has often been thought that it must have been at least near Daphne. But not until reading Euripides' *Bacchae* does one come to a closer understanding of the location. In a passage¹¹ just preceding the mention of Hysiai and Erythrai the location of Pentheus' doom is described. Even the ravine and trees are there. The messenger reports:

ἐπεὶ θεράπνας τῆσδε Θηβαίας χθονὸς
 λιπόντες ἐξέβημεν Ἀσωποῦ βοάς,
 λέπας Κιθαιρώνειον εἰσεβάλλομεν
 Πενθεύς τε κἀγὼ -- δεσπότη γὰρ εἰλόμην --
 ξένος θ' ὅς ἡμῖν πομπὸς ἦν θεωρίας.
 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ποιηρὸν ἴζομεν νάπος,
 τὰ τ' ἐκ ποδῶν σιγηλὰ καὶ γλώσσης ἄπο

σώζοντες, ὡς ὀρώμεν οὐχ ὀρώμενοι.
 ἦν δ' ἄγκος ἀμφίκρημον, ὕδασι διάβροχον,
 πεύκαισι συσκιάζον, ἔνθα μαινάδες
 καθῆντ' ἔχουσαι χεῖρας ἐν τερπνοῖς πόνοις.

The location Euripides describes answers exactly to the same traditional Bed of Aktaion and Spring of Artemis near Hagia Anna Church. But surely both the demise of Aktaion and that of Pentheus could not be set in the same place? Agaue speaks, then Kadmos replies:¹²

Ποῦ δ' ὤλετ'; ἦ κατ' οἶκον; ἦ ποίοις τόποις;
 οὔπερ πρὶν Ἀκταίωνα διέλαχον κύνες.

So they are!

The conclusion is then most natural and justified. Since we know from Euripides that Pentheus met his end near Hysiai and Erythrai, and also that the Bed of Aktaion and Spring of Artemis are in the same place where Pentheus died,¹³ therefore, the Bed and Spring must of necessity be located in the traditional fashion. The Bed of Aktaion is Bergoutiani Cave; the Spring of Artemis is Bergoutiani Spring.¹⁴

Where it's wet: Notes

1. Cf. Strabo, 9.2.16 and Grundy, *Topography of the Battle of Plataea* 4-5, who also note such subterranean channels and pockets.
2. Alepotrypi Spring is reportedly piped from a nearby source, perhaps from Retsi.
3. There are two springs by this name, the western Kontita Spring immediately northwest of Plataian Panagia Eleousa Church, the eastern on the second *remma* east of the ancient Plataian city (at a point south of the Erythrai-Plataiai highway and immediately on the east of the Zeus Eleutherios precinct).
4. Whatever conclusions may be reached they must always rest upon much conjecture. Furthermore, such conclusions must constantly be altered to accommodate known territorial shifts in various periods. The reader may gain some insights, especially with regard to the southern boundaries, by referring to U. Kahrstedt, "Die Landgrenzen Athens," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 57 (1932) 8-28.
5. Moulki Spring (or possibly the eastern Kontita Spring) is likely the spring connected with yearly memorial rites on behalf of the Greeks who fell in the battle of 479 B.C. (cf. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 21.4 and 5). An aqueduct found near Byzantine Churches V and VI and reported by H. Washington, "Detailed Report on the Excavations," *PASCSA* 6 (1890) 450, probably derived its flow from nearby Moulki Spring.
6. Pausanias, 9.2.1-3.
7. Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* 3.138ff.
8. C. Edmonson, "Κοίτη Ἀκταίωνος," *JHS* 84 (1964) 153-155.
9. Pausanias, 9.2.1-5.
10. Strabo, 9.2.23.
11. Euripides, *Bacchae* 1043ff.
12. Euripides, *Bacchae* 1290 and 1291.
13. Centuries after Euripides, Pausanias, 9.2.4, recorded: καθότι δὲ τοῦ Κιθααρῶνος Πενθεῖ τῷ Ἐχίονος ἐγένετο ἡ συμφορὰ ... οἶδεν οὐδείς. By Pausanias' time the two-fold connection between the Spring of Artemis and both Pentheus and Aktaion had been lost.

14. From the passage in Euripides, *Bacchae* 751ff., it becomes yet clearer that Hysiai and Erythrai were settlements close to each other. The Bacchantes leave from the death scene at the spring to proceed to Thebai via Hysiai and Erythrai. The locations previously proposed for these two settlements accord with Euripides' directions. From Bergoutiani Spring, Hysiai would first be passed and Erythrai met at the main road on the way to Thebai. An Erythrai at Metoche would necessitate a lengthy digression.

The et alia

In this section is described a plethora of temple and shrine remains, churches, inscriptions and topographical features, most of which are still to be seen in the Plataian region today.

Androkrateion: Herodotos, in treating of the second position of the allied Greeks at the Battle of Plataiai and Erythrai, associates that position with Gargaphia (Retsi) Spring and the Heróon of Androkrates.¹ It may be that Herodotos uses two references to pinpoint one location and that the Androkrateion should be located quite near Gargaphia. Thoukydides also mentions the shrine, and it is quite possible to connect his reference with the Retsi area as well.² Both Zekos³ and Pritchett after him have accepted as the location of the shrine the ruins near Alepotrypi Spring (and therefore near Retsi) where remains a shrine with icon to Hagia Sophia (Map Section 7). Such location appears acceptable and, moreover, respects the Herodotean stipulation of an Androkrateion twenty stades from the ancient Plataian city.⁵

Palaioi Anemomyloi: Two tower bases of polygonal masonry remain high on the Kithairon range (Map Section 8 and Plates 4 and 5). They were reportedly topped during the Turkish period by windmills to which the region's grain was brought by donkey. The two almost square bases, not quite parallel to each other, are approximately forty metres distant at their closest points. Each side is about eight metres in

length, although the more southerly base is slightly larger than the northern tower base. The ancient towers control the ancient Eleutherai-Plataiai road below and together survey not only almost the whole of the Plataian region to the north but much of the ancient Athenai-Thebai main road north and south, as well as the acropolis at Gyphtokastro (Eleutherai). The towers are not mentioned in the ancient literature, but nonetheless have seen much use. The masonry suggests that the original bases could date to the fifth century B.C. or earlier. There is evidence that the Spartans used them at some time, perhaps during the years when a Lakedaimonian garrison was stationed at Plataiai (post 387 B.C.),⁶ and that the towers may have been even used during much later times as a beacon with direct vision from Medieval Tower to the northwest and from Eleutherai to the southeast.

Sphragidion: Ploutarchos mentions a cave of the Sphragitic Nymphs in the region,⁷ reporting that the oracle was located on the northwest side of one of the peaks of Kithairon. Pausanias, in addition, records that the distance below the peak was fifteen stades.⁸ In point of fact, Hagia Triada Monastery, though no cave is now apparent, fits the prescribed location, is known to be an ancient site⁹ and therefore possibly rests on or near the site of the ancient oracle, especially in view of the fact that Christian sanctuaries were often built on the site of pagan shrines.

Trophy of the Battle of Plataiai: The monument of Greek victory over Persians was erected about fifteen stades from the

altar of Zeus Eleutherios.¹⁰ Since it stood near the area of the final onslaught it is possible that it was on the southwest slope of Spáta ridge, which position nears the recorded distance.

Temples and Churches: Beyond the Plataian city area were recorded a temple to Eleusinian Demeter near Hysiai, another temple to Eleusinian Demeter in Plataian territory,¹¹ still another Demetrium at Skolos,¹² and a temple (ναός) to Apollo at Hysiai.¹³ In the city area itself were the temple to Hera¹⁴ and the temple of Athena.¹⁵ It was long thought that the *λερόν* of Zeus Eleutherios was another Plataian temple, and only the recent excavations at the precinct east of the ancient city walls have disclosed that it was but an altar and shrine. Nevertheless, out of this discovery one is alerted to a too hasty interpretation of *λερόν* as used in the ancient Greek writers. It might mean a temple but not necessarily, and only when a sanctuary is described as *ναός* does one feel safe in the assumption that a temple is described or recorded. Consequently, with this in mind coupled to a careful reading of other references to Plataian *λερά*, the Plataian shrines of Artemis Eukleia¹⁶ in the marketplace, Hermes Chthonios in the Zeus Eleutherios precinct¹⁷ and the shrines to various Plataian heroes and nymphs must be relegated to a status of shrine or sanctuary rather than temple, at least until further excavation provides better insight.

The churches and ruins of churches which dot the region are so numerous that pages could be filled simply in recording

their names.¹⁸ Some, however, are of particular interest. As one progresses through the region roughly from west to east, first and foremost is Hagia Triada Monastery, whose wall paintings and adornments (some dating from the thirteenth century) are too numerous to describe;¹⁹ Plataian Hagios Athanasios Church is endowed with magnificent antique wall paintings which unfortunately may soon perish as the church is literally splitting apart into two halves. Plataian Panagia Eleousa Church is built entirely of blocks from the ancient city; Plataian Hagia Triada Church within the ancient walls also survives with beautifully coloured frescoes (Plate 13); while Plataian Hagios Nikolaos Church, the largest in the town, is a marvel of marble, crystal and icons.

Of those between Plataiai and Erythrai, mention is made only of Hagia Anna Church and then only because of an inscription on marble immured in the north wall which does not seem recorded elsewhere. The inscription, which is probably Roman,²⁰ reads:

ΓΥΜΝΑ
ΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΩ ...
... ΟΥΚΑ ...

Of the eight churches in modern Erythrai (from north to south -- Hagios Paúlos, Hagios Spyrídon, Hagia Triada, Hagios Konstantinos, Hagia Euangelistra, Hagia Paraskeuế, Hagios Christóphoros and Hagios Athanasios) only Hagia Euangelistra, the most splendid in the entire region and Hagios Konstantinos, the oldest Erythraian church with inscription to Saint Tychikos on the south wall, are noteworthy.²¹

The et alia: Notes

1. Herodotos, 9.25.
2. Thoukydides, 3.24.
3. Zekos, 64.
4. Pritchett, "Plataiai Revisited" 111.
5. Herodotos, 9.25.
6. Laconian roof tiles dating from the fourth century B.C. or later are found near the bases (cf. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataia" 17).
7. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 11.4.
8. Pausanias, 9.3.7.
9. Basileios, 24, 46 and 76. Plate 28.
10. Pausanias, 9.2.6.
11. This is probably the temple described by Ploutarchos (*Aristeides* 11.3-8), where were found three relevant inscriptions (IG 1670-1671 and Soulé, 81), and is likely distinct from the Demetrium mentioned by Herodotos (9.57, 62, 65, 69 and 101) and Pausanias (9.4.3), which was in Plataian territory, possibly near the present Hagios Demetrios Church.
12. Pausanias, 9.4.4. The temple, whose site may have been at the later monastic cell area of Metoche (Plate 33), was never finished according to Pausanias.
13. Pausanias, 9.2.1. The temple, complete with sacred oracular well, was likewise never completed. The site may have been at Hagia Anna Church, conveniently located beside the Spring of Artemis (Apollo's sister) -- the only other site where remains have suggested a temple in the region outside the Plataian ancient city area.
14. As has been observed, the four cults of Hera Kithairónia, Teleía, Nympheuoméne and Gamélios were housed in the one temple (cf. Soulé 43-59). Pausanias (9.2.7) describes the temple and its statues, relating that upon entering the sanctuary one first saw the statue of Rhéa carrying to Krónos the stone wrapped in swaddling clothes, then the huge upright statue of Hera Teleia, both of Pentelic marble and both executed by the sculptor Praxiteles (possibly after 338 B.C. but according to Soulé, 49f. c. 364 B.C.) and finally the seated image of Hera Nympheuomene, associated with the Daidala festival and wrought by the

sculptor Kallimachos (c. 375 B.C.).

15. Possibly the site was outside and below the acropolis on the west side where large foundation blocks survive to form a base of about twelve by eight metres. According to Pausanias (9.4.1-2) the gold overlay and marble cult statue as well as the temple were the work of Pheidias but the paintings by Polygnotos (c. 455 B.C.) and Onasias. Soulé, 67, has suggested that the image was about twenty feet, and since it is generally agreed that the temple was small (both temple and image being financed by only eighty talents), it is seen that the image size and the dimensions of the surviving foundation could be in harmony.
16. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 20.5-6.
17. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 21.5.
18. Some information on the region's churches, their names, their ruins, and the inscriptions they once housed can be gleaned from the several entries in *IG 7 s.v. "Plataea"*.
19. The description and history of Hagia Triada has been written by A. Basileios, 'Η ἱερὰ μονὴ Ἀγίας Τριάδος Πλαταιῶν καὶ ἱστορήματα τῆς περιοχῆς (Thebai 1970) 87 pages.
20. Roman alpha (Α).
21. There is little of importance to be found in the eastern churches. The numerous inscriptions reported in *IG 7*, have been removed to museums or lost. Nonetheless, two more inscriptions which have escaped that process of both record and removal are now found in the south walls of the decaying Profetes Ilias Monastery. They are both late, having ο superimposed by υ (ϝ). The one reads:

Π // // // Μ // Ι Ο Υ
// Π Ο Ε // Ο Ν

The other, upside-down, reads:

// // // // // // // //
// // Α Ν Α Κ Ε
// // Ν Ι C Ι Ν Ε //
Κ Ι Π Α Ν // // Π
Χ Ο C Τ Ο Ε Μ Ι //
Λ Η Γ Ι Α Ν Α Κ Ο Υ
Α // Ο Ϟ Ι // // // //

Battles and battles

The Plataian region has been host to so many troop movements that one could fill a volume in recounting those alone. Most of these manoeuvres, inasmuch as they relate to definite topographical features in the region, are historically so scarcely associated with precise topographical reference points, (some of which themselves have a habit of shifting ground), that it remains quite often extremely difficult to reconstruct the exact location of these manoeuvres. In dealing with such a large area, the reasons are easily understood. Were Pausanias, the Spartan leader of the united Greek forces against the barbarians, suddenly and miraculously to come before us today, probably not even he could always truthfully relate the exact position of his various squadrons at many times, indeed, most of the time during the action of the all important final onslaught.

Nevertheless, we persist in trying to envisage more exactly the precise location of events, and this quite naturally enough, in order to give ourselves something concrete and visible with which to identify the abstractions of history and "myth". Such is the intent of the following discussion with particular reference to those battles and skirmishes which can be connected, with a fair degree of certitude, with the region's topography. Necessarily, mere speculation of troop movements is excluded inasmuch as the routes involved over Kithairon's passes are invariably open to conjecture.

During the latest of our world wars and in the time of

German and Italian occupation of Greece, only two topographical locations within the region are cited as having a close connection with the bloody events of that war. The most eastern is Kastro Darimariou, its height on a spur above Daphne. Crowning this crest, lies a large circular enclosure, about half the size of a football field. The defence work has been carelessly, and therefore, probably very quickly, assembled (without mortar) from nearby unhewn stones. The walls are generally only three or four metres in highest sections, most of that height being the native bed rock foundation which is more precipitous on the north and east. The average height of the entire circuit, however, is little more than a metre, sufficient for its purpose of artillery cover.¹ The western reference point is Haunted Cliff, on the north side of the Libadostras Gorge, where invaders taken captive were hurled down its steep precipice to their death.

As one works back in chronological sequence, only one particular topographical point is connected with local uprising during the Greek War of Independence of 1821. The last pasha of the region, in subduing the local inhabitants, so allowed his superiority to go to his head, that over the matter he literally lost it. The dispatcher was a local Albanian-Greek servant; the place, at the pasha's residence near Hagios Georgios Church, in an area where Turkish remains are still evident.

In times more remote, between the nineteenth century and the birth of Christ, we have on record many movements of armed forces throughout the region, some of these including

the citizens of Plataiai themselves, but it is not until we come to the era of the Peloponnesian War and Thoukydides' account of it, that we have an instance of siege and battle in the Plataian region itself. In his extensive history of the siege of Plataiai, we are unfortunately provided with but few topographical references, and of these almost every one's location has long been debated. It is to these few points that reference is here made in order to clarify much previous complex conjecture. At the outset, the reader is reminded that evidence has already been presented to show that the northwest acropolis and the Medieval Tower-Alepo-trypi road are ancient. The present purpose is to give evidence that these two closely relate to the topographical features Thoukydides describes in recounting the Plataian escape:²

ὀρμήσαντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου οἱ Πλαταιῆς
 ἐχώρουν ἀθρόοι τὴν ἐς Θήβας φέρουσαν ὁδὸν,
 ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρῶον,
 νομίζοντες ἥκιστ' <ἀν> σφᾶς ταύτην αὐτοὺς
 ὑποτοπῆσαι τραπέσθαι τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους·
 καὶ ἅμα ἐώρων τοὺς Πελοποννησίους τὴν πρὸς
 Κιθαιρῶνα καὶ Δρυὸς κεφαλᾶς τὴν ἐπ' Ἀθηνῶν
 φέρουσαν μετὰ λαμπάδων διώκοντας· καὶ ἐπὶ
 μὲν ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ σταδίου οἱ Πλαταιῆς τὴν ἐπὶ
 τῶν Θηβῶν ἐχώρησαν, ἔπειθ' ὑποστρέψαντες
 ἦσαν τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος φέρουσαν ὁδὸν ἐς
 Ἐρύθρας καὶ Ὑσιᾶς, καὶ λαβόμενοι τῶν
 ὀρῶν διαφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἄνδρες
 δώδεκα καὶ διακόσιοι ἀπὸ πλείονων·

From this exciting passage, we learn that the Plataians, in escaping the Thebans, proceeded along the Plataiai-Thebai road for six or seven stades, before turning right (east) toward the region of Erythrai and Hysiai, two towns apparently so close together that Thoukydides could inoffensively reverse

their geographical order. In connection with this turning point and the distance travelled, Thoukydides provides a point of reference, namely the Androkrateion. If Thoukydides knew the region, even if by report, and if he had wanted to select a landmark that would identify that point at which the Plataians turned, it seems natural that he would have chosen the most noticeable feature there. Consequently, if the Plataians were coming from the *polis* of the southern apex, the most prominent landmark near the turning point would then be the northwest acropolis itself. (It is approximately five stades from the most northwestern remains of the south apex walls to the northwestern foot of the northwest acropolis.) But Thoukydides does not mention the northwest acropolis at all. It is the Androkrateion he notes. Are we then to infer that Thoukydides or his informants would myopically forego an imposing landmark sixty to ninety metres high, as is the northwest acropolis, in preference to a shrine, in providing a reference point for the distance and the right hand turn? It would seem hardly likely. If, however, the Plataians were starting out from the northwest acropolis, they would come to their turning point six or seven stades north of the northwest acropolis. In point of fact, allowing some small distance for the siege walls of the Lakedaimonians, the distance to the present junction of the Alepotrypi road with the Plataiai-Thebai road, is quite close to Thoukydides' estimate.

Consider again the archaeological evidence. Fourth- and fifth-century B.C. sherds are readily found on the northwest acropolis. In comparison, the southern apex area yields

precious few.

Consider again the strategic advantage that the natural precipice of the northwest acropolis offers over the southern apex area, whose precipices, other than in Church VII area, are in comparison negligible. The contrast approaches that of a fortress compared to an ant-hill, and for any who will urge that the later age of the lower cross-wall argues for rejection of the northwest acropolis as the site under siege, it is reiterated that the present Byzantine aspect of this wall can never exclude the possibility and indeed the probability of an earlier wall in this same position.

Consider, finally, the natural features of the terrain, which all but exclude the possibility of locating the site under siege at the southern apex. Thoukydides presents a gripping account of the siege. The besieging force outside the walls constructed a mound whereby to scale the *polis* walls. The Plataians then made an opening through their wall in an attempt to retrieve the material from the rising mound outside as fast as, or faster than, the besiegers could heap it up. Thoukydides continues:³

οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐν ταρσοῖς
καλάμου πηλὸν ἐνίλλοντες ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὸ
διηρημένον, ὅπως μὴ διαχεόμενον ὥσπερ ἡ
γῆ φοροῖτο· οἱ δὲ ταύτη ἀποκληρόμενοι τοῦτο
μὲν ἐπέσχον, ὑπόνομον δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
ὀρύξαντες καὶ ξυντεκμηράμενοι ὑπὸ τὸ χῶμα
ὑφεῖλλον αὐθις παρὰ σφᾶς τὸν χοῦν.

Some may feel that the newest Plataian passage to undermine the besiegers' mound was likely above the lowest foundation course of the *polis* wall, but Thoukydides tells us that the Plataians renewed their efforts to draw away the earth to

their side after having *guessed* or *calculated* (ξυντεκμηρά-μενοι) in the process of their new channel construction, that point where they would be under the mound. If the Plataians had undermined the mound for a second time, at a place *above* the foundation, it seems obvious that they would have *known* when they had reached it. Clearly, the mound would have been detected as soon as the outer blocks of the *polis* wall were reached. Moreover, Thoukydides precisely states that the channel was a ὑπόνομος. The meaning of this word in classical times was exactly as it is in modern Greek, i.e. a channel (sewer) beneath the earth. Had Thoukydides meant a channel above ground, he probably would have used the word, both ancient and modern, σωλήν.

The importance of this observation is to be seen in its application to the nature of the ground surrounding, on the one hand, the northwestern acropolis, and, on the other hand, the walled area of the southern apex. The rocky nature of the whole southern apex precludes the possibility of a ὑπόνομος dug under that part of the wall. However, almost the entire lower cross-wall at the northwest acropolis would admit such a construction.

In conclusion, the area under siege was the northwest acropolis, the only area that could possibly have been held so long by four hundred and eighty men.⁴ It may be noted that in this discussion the use of the word *city* has been avoided. It is not denied that the southern apex was the fourth- and fifth-century city. Yet, it is rejected that this was the *only* part of the city of that time, as has been

previously shown. The city of that period included both the southern apex (the sparse remaining sherds there would argue for some occupation during this period) and the northern acropolis. It further seems strange that other scholars have not made note of the dual significance of *polis*. As we are aware, *polis* means not only *city* but also *acropolis*. Athenians, today, even when in central Athenai, refer to the *polis* as the hub of their city, though they may be already well within the proper city limits. Thoukydides in describing the siege uses the word *polis* to describe the *section* of the whole city invested, namely the northwestern acropolis.

As for the route of the fleeing Plataians and that of the Peloponnesians in pursuit, the former, it seems, followed the ancient Alepotrypi road to a place of dispersal near the ancient Athenai-Thebai road, while the latter we are told headed toward Dryós Kephalai. There is simply not enough precision of topographical reference to ascertain which road the Peloponnesians followed, or enough strength in the quoted δλώκοντας to confirm the fact of their arrival as far as Dryos Kephalai. In any case, with regard to the Plataian escape route and the Androkrateion, which was on their right as the Plataians fled (at least during their northern course), the site proposed, on strength of previously discussed evidence for the Androkrateion satisfies the requirement that the sanctuary was on the right of the Plataiai-Thebai road and further satisfies a requirement⁵ that it be on the right of the path followed, after the turning point, i.e. the Alepotrypi road.

The last recorded battle in this region, and the first in which we are provided with topographical references, was the battle at Plataiai and Erythrai, perhaps the most important battle and that of the most lasting impact ever fought between the east and west of our world. Despite the criminality of such treatment, discussion is again restricted to the actual movement of forces with reference to topographical lineaments. In following Herodotos, we must always use our imagination as much as his reference points; no more than in any other instance of armed warfare in the Plataian region will we arrive at the exact locations and extension of army manoeuvres. One wonders if either Herodotos or Pausanias himself knew.

Herodotos informs us that Mardonios and his army left Tanagra, crossed the Asopos and came to Skolos which was in Theban territory.⁶ He tells us that ἐνθαῦτα Mardonios ravaged the lands in order to strengthen his position in case of an adverse turn of events.⁷ Depending upon either a spatial or sequential interpretation of ἐνθαῦτα, it might be argued respectively that the wooden stockade was built at Skolos itself, or at a place later reached by Mardonios. However, wherever it was located, it was probably built from timber cut on the Kithairon slopes, probably near Skolos, where trees would be much more prevalent than in the fields to the north. There seems, however, little difficulty in locating the Persian stockade north of the Asopos. Assuredly, there would have been no shortage of manpower in transporting timber from Skolos to the area north of the Asopos.

Of the four ancient southern Upper Parasopia towns Skolos was not only the closest to the Asopos, but also Herodotos tells us that this work was entrusted to the barbarian, and hence greatest section, of Mardonios' army.⁸ The stockade would by reason of strategy be best situated beside the Asopos, rather than at Skolos. Herodotos tells us that the Persian forces (στρατόπεδον meaning a force not necessarily aligned for battle) were located along the Asopos, between Erythraian territory (ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων) and some point within Plataian territory. Although possessing a greater array of troops, Mardonios would have had the length of his line roughly correspond to the extent of the formation made possible by the limitations of the allied Greek forces. Since most scholars agree that the allied Greek line was approximately four to five kilometers in its second Asopos position,⁹ we can tenably attribute a similar length to the barbarian line. That Mardonios' station was north of the Asopos is also generally accepted.

An Athenian advance guard of the allied Greeks was probably stationed at Erythrai.¹⁰

The allied Greeks entered Boiotian Erythrai and took positions along the foothills of Kithairon and opposite (ἀντετάσσοντο) the Persian line.¹¹ The force of ἀντί in ἀντετάσσοντο seems too weak to suggest that the Greek line extended exactly opposite and within the limits of the parallel Persian line. Rather, ἀντί implies that the Greeks were arranged *against* the Persians. The Greek position in the foothills near Erythrai was of necessity, as Herodotos throughout his

narrative stresses, dictated by the strategic possibilities of the terrain occupied.

Once the position in the foothills was taken, the Megarians, being in the most assailable portion, were attacked by barbarian cavalry.¹² Had Herodotos informed us of the relative positions of the various Greek contingents in this initial occupation of the foothills, as is the case for the subsequent second position near the Asopos,¹³ we would have a better idea of the position of the Megarians in relation to the whole Greek line. But we are not so informed, and consequently, the Megarian position here may be located again by the dictates of the terrain. We are told that the Persian cavalry attacked unit by unit (κατὰ τέλεια).¹⁴ One of the reasons for this *seriatim* attack may well have been that the Persians struck from a gathering and launching point on the ancient Athenai-Thebai road, which indeed enters the most open and assailable area of the foothills near ancient Erythrai. If the cavalry attack had been elsewhere, and other than from along the road, (i.e. from across open fields where all the cavalry would experience equal difficulty in an attack), that attack would not have been κατὰ τέλεια, but *en masse* to gain the maximum of shock and thrust.

After the death of Masistios, the Persian cavalry retreated two stades, conferred and then returned to Mardonios.¹⁵

The corpse of Masistios was paraded by cart along the Greek line.¹⁶ The natural deduction would be that the Greek line must have been at least very near the edge of the foothills where they meet the field and the Skolos-Plataiai

road,¹⁷ where a cart could have been manoeuvred.

The Greeks then decided to march down to Plataiai (ἐπιπλαταβῆναι). In the description of this movement to Plataiai, Herodotos tells us that the Greeks went by Hysiai.¹⁸ Hence, it becomes apparent, that the original Greek position did not extend west of Hysiai, though perhaps, and most probably, east of Erythrai, and further that the original Greek position was not precisely aligned with the Persian, but in fact rather far from that conception. Herodotos further tells us that the Greeks arrayed themselves nation by nation (as if to say that the initial position near Erythrai was more condensed and sporadic) near Gargaphia Spring and the Androkrateion, perhaps two places which pinpoint this location, much as Erythrai did for the first position.¹⁹ Nonetheless, we learn that both Gargaphia Spring and the Androkrateion were in Plataian territory. Herodotos then provides us with the ethnic distribution of the line-up.²⁰ That this line, once assembled, would have stayed in this position, hemmed in between the Asopos Ridge and the Kithairon foothills, appears strategically impossible. Granted, the position was safe for a short time while the barbarians were withdrawn from the scene in mourning for Masistios, but no longer than that. Strategy demands that the Greek line assume a higher position either on the foothills behind Gargaphia (strategically difficult for the protection of its water supply) or in front (north) of the spring on the high ground of the Asopos Ridge. But Herodotos gives us little indication of a shift, strategically necessary, to higher ground, except, where perhaps

having presumed that such a move would be understood as a matter of course, he tells us that νῦν ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἄσωπῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. (A broader and more flexible interpretation of ἐπὶ τῷ Ἄσωπῳ may be construed to have the Greek line actually at the Asopos, but the strategic difficulties are apparent.) The distance between the encampment and the Asopos may be somewhat flexibly interpreted, yet the phrase would seem to intimate that the Greeks from their line could at least see the Asopos. This they could do from atop the Asopos Ridge, but not from their grouping position near Gargaphia Spring. All considered, the final stage of the Greek second position must have been formed along the Asopos Ridge (Map Sections 7a and 7b).

Soon we find that the barbarians are indeed arrayed in deeper ranks to accommodate themselves to the length of the Greek line.²² A description of the ethnic grouping in Mardonios' line *vis-à-vis* the several Greek states follows, from which unfortunately, we cannot with any certainty, reconstruct the actual numbers of the barbarian components.

We are at last presented with concrete evidence that, as expected, the Persian and allied Greeks were on opposite sides of the river:²³ τοῖσι μὲν νῦν Ἕλλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἰρὰ ἀμυνομένοισι, διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἄσωπον καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οἱ. Further, any conjecture which will place the Persian stockade south of the Asopos must be rejected.

A plan is formulated wherein Persian cavalry is to be sent τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φυλάξαι.²⁴ These outlets are later named by their Boiotian name, Three Heads, and by

their Athenian name, Oak's Heads.²⁵ One may argue that a single concept is contained within the plural usage of ἐκβολαί, yet Herodotos *does* use the plural. Furthermore, between ancient Erythrai and Plataiai, there are *three* ancient roads into the region from the south, exiting in *two* outlets. It would seem, then, that Herodotos used the plural ἐκβολαί not without reason. It may well be that the two outlets with their three emerging roads were understood within the single appellation of Three Heads (or Oak's Heads). It is also to be observed that Herodotos is naming the outlets and not the passes themselves, for which he would most likely have employed στενά, had he wished to refer explicitly to those passes. The only other reference extant, being found in Thoukydides,²⁶ neither confirms nor detracts from the suggestion that exits rather than passes are described by Herodotos. Moreover, in that passage of Thoukydides, it is not certain if the passes themselves are to be involved in the action described. The Lakedaimonians are headed in the direction of Kithairon and the Oak's Heads, but there is nothing at all to record that any pass was ever reached. In Herodotos, we are, however, informed that the action is exclusive of the passes themselves. Persian cavalry took Greek supplies and men at the outlets of the passes as they came ἐς τὸ πεδίον.

It would be convenient to leave this vexed question of nomenclature and topography with regard to the passes and exits in accepting Herodotos' description at face value, in that the Oak's Heads are the *outlets*, rather than the passes. It is because most commentators have discussed the subject

and have opted for one pass or another that the problem is treated further.²⁷ What, then, can be the reason for associating either the oak or the number three with any of the passes or the mountains which flank these passes? The connection between the oak and any of these mountain heads is forced. If the oak was ever found at elevations as high as these passes and mountain "heads", it would indeed be a cause for wonder.²⁸ Even at lower levels, the oak must in ancient times have made as rare an appearance as it does today. Oak for the Plataian cult images, we are informed, was brought from Alalkomenai, not from Kithairon.²⁹ As for a possible link between the numeral three and eligible mountain "heads", there are, between the three roads in question, two mountain "heads" and flanking these same roads on the east and west, two more, any combination of which fails to correspond to the three "heads" desired. In fact, one can from either the Boiotian or the Attic sides of these passes look to any combination of three mountain "heads" and come to the exquisitely irrelevant conclusion that one sees three "heads" together -- almost anywhere.

The three "heads" most probably, then, refer to the "heads" or outlets of these three roads which on the north side of Kithairon find exit within close range of one another, though not on the south (Attic) side. As for the Athenian connection between the oak and the "heads", the few references in the ancient writers to the tree in this region are connected with the topographical location of the Kithairon outlets. Euripides³⁰ makes mention of the oak in context

of the demise of Pentheus, which, it has been argued, is hard by the exits of two of the three roads in question. The oaken image of the Daidala festival was similarly associated with the summit of Kithairon also not far from the same outlets, and the association might have been strong enough for the Athenian mind to have linked the Kithairon outlets to Plataiai with the festival of the oaken image at the same city.

In summary, it seems more valuable to consider what Herodotos tells us, i.e. ἐκβολαί, rather than what he does not, i.e. passes. The κεφαλή of a river is its exit. The κεφαλή of three roads would also point to their exits, the ἐκβολαί which Herodotos mentions.

In resuming Herodotos' narrative,³¹ we learn that the barbarians came as far as the river and provoked the Greeks near it, though they did not cross it. From this, we are not only reassured that the Persians and Greeks in their second position were on opposite sides of the Asopos, but also conclude that one section of the Greeks, obviously one of the wings, was near enough to the Asopos to be in a position of being provoked. Further, it is the Thebans who are soon named in this connection, and it therefore follows that the Greek left, at least, was near the Asopos.

After the exchange of wing position between Lakedaimonians and Athenians, we find that it was the Boiotians who first noted this movement.³² This fact not only reaffirms that the allied Greek left wing was close enough to the Asopos for the Boiotians to make such an observation but also implies that the right wing, occupied by Lakedaimonians, may not have

been close enough to the river and the Persians for the latter to have observed either Athenians or Lakedaimonians on either wing.

The Persian cavalry subsequently attacked the Greek allied line without discrimination and succeeded in choking Gargaphia Spring. Herodotos relates that the entire Greek army drew its water from this spring, and from that fact we must conclude that in any hypothetical placement of the second position of the Greek line, the location of this spring has maximum bearing.³³ We are then informed that the Lakedaimonians alone were stationed in defence of the spring. But we are not told that the whole of the right wing (i.e. Lakedaimonians et al.) was stationed there.³⁴ A spring of such importance would naturally be guarded by a contingent from the leaders of the Greeks, and we cannot, it seems, assume that the allied Greek line found its right terminus there at the spring in so assailable a position. What we are told, however, is that the spring was far away (πρόσω) from the several stations of the other Greeks. This could suggest that the Greek right stretched from near the spring in an easterly direction while most of the army and the left wing stretched further from the spring towards the river (Map Sections 7a and 7b). It now appears more than clear that the Greeks must have occupied the Asopos Ridge, for we are told that the Asopos was near, and as noted, nearer to the Greek left than to the right.

Plans were then made for a Greek retreat to the "island" (generally accepted as Analepsis Ridge) which was in a direc-

tion *away*³⁵ from the Asopos and ten stades from Gargaphia Spring. The island, three stades wide, was defensible against Persian horse, and had plenty of water (Loukide Well and Bergoutiani Spring) available.

Most of the Greeks retreated to the temple of Hera in front of the Platian acropolis, that temple being twenty stades distant from Gargaphia Spring.³⁶

The Lakedaimonians and Tegeans after much delay marched from their position while keeping between the hillocks.³⁷ Their direction was towards the "island"; Herodotos informs us of no change from that plan on the part of the Lakedaimonians. The termination of this march was actually ten stades, however, from their original station in the second position, at a point near the Moloeis River, and an area called Argiόπιος, where there was a sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter.³⁸ Let us remind ourselves that Herodotos again uses more than one topographical reference to pinpoint a location.

The Athenians on the left, being the only other Greeks not to have retreated to the Heraion, began to march.³⁹

Ἄθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἤσαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν
ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων
ἀντεῖχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπάρεης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος
φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον, Ἄθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω
τραφθέντες εἰς τὸ πεδῖον.

We are told that the Athenians went *in a way contrary to the way which* the Lakedaimonians went and this contrast is fully developed in the subsequent μέν ... δέ construction. The Lakedaimonians kept to the rising ground and foothills of Kithairon, whereas the Athenians turned *down* into the plain. That the Athenians turned down is of importance. The loca-

tion of the Athenian wing can now be fixed with greater certainty. We have seen thus far that the position was near the Asopos. The strength of κάτω now determines for us a location east of the Plataiai-Thebai road. In the Moraítiza region west of this road, Grundy, on his map,⁴⁰ has shown this region as a "plain without determinable slope". His indication may be qualified, to say that in comparison with the slope on the east side of the road, the rise to the west is *hardly determinable*, and that further west, at a point where the declivity is determinable, that point is too far from Gargaphia Spring to be considered as the place from which the Athenians turned down into the plain. Ergo, the left wing of the allied Greek forces was near the Asopos and east of the Plataiai-Thebai road.

We return now to the third and final position of the Lakedaimonians and Tegeans who joined them near the Moloeis River, the area called Argiopios where there was a sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter.⁴¹ Herodotos has unwittingly arranged these topographical references in an order of difficulty convenient for discussion. And such a discussion is important as these are the only clues to guide us to the location of the final and momentous onslaught of Persian against Greek.

Of the three main surface water drainage systems in the area the two most important are the Asopos and the Oeroe. The only other major network is that drainage system whose channels furrow the modern town of Erythrai. Naturally, this system, and in particular its deepest bed beside the modern loop highway, must be considered as a prime candidate for the

appellation Moloeis, which name is not in use today. Leake made mention of a fief at the junction of a branch of the Asopos in the area concerned.⁴² The branch he described seems to be part of the same drainage system in question, the Moloeis River. The name he recorded was Samoili. In most names found within this region, Turkish, Albanian and Greek roots are readily detected, but such does not here seem to be the case. It may be that Samoili is an alteration which time has developed from an original ancient Greek name, Moloeis. Mutilations and apocopations of regional names are far from uncommon.⁴³

Assuming that the Moloeis is the river in question, it happens, conveniently, to surround almost completely, by means of its branches, that area which would suggest itself (cf. Grundy's plan) as the Argiopios. This is the central area of the Spata-Goritsa Ridge, which topographically is a continuation of a spur of Kithairon. After having initially investigated this area and having often bemoaned the fact that the ancient Greeks were altogether too tidy in their post-battle clean-up operations, the present writer found upon referring to the Erythrai town hall map that the original Hagios Demetrios Church had been located on this ridge, rather than where it now stands on Troulos (Hagios Demetrios Hill). Not a trace of this previous structure remains. The area is valuable farmland. It is little wonder, then, that with the disappearance of every trace of a far more recent structure to Demetrios, any sanctuary to Eleusinian Demeter that may have been also built here would have likewise met with complete and untrace-

able destruction. With the apparent uselessness of investigating the area any further, this area was demoted to a low priority. It was soon realized, however, that further investigations were carried out there, either at dusk or dawn, not only out of a feeling of fruitlessness, but due to an illumination factor. Because of the relative height of the area and its situation, one could enjoy the early morning or late afternoon light at times when much of the region was obstructed by the shadows of Kithairon. It became apparent that there might be a relationship between the additional hour of light on this ridge and the etymology of the Herodotean name, Argiopoulos. The significance of ἀργί (bright) did seem to beg some application to this ridge.

Truthfully, the connection seemed, while possible, rather spurious, until in the *remma* to the northwest, were found a few pieces of ceramic, one of which was later identified as part of an acroterion.⁴⁴ Some support was mustered for the conjecture that Spata-Goritsa Ridge was the area that Herodotos had described, however, confusion was compounded inasmuch as the ceramic was found in the *remma* between the height that once was occupied by Hagios Demetrios Church and the other height which today is crowned by the present church. In referring to Spencer-Stanhope's map,⁴⁵ we find that, in place of the present Hagios Demetrios Church, only an altar stone is recorded and no mention whatsoever is made of a church on either the Spata-Goritsa Ridge or Troulos. Further confusion is added by reports of small ceramic cult statues from near the present church location and by the fact that a

few classical sherds (fifth and fourth century B.C.) have been found on both heights. Neither Troulos nor Spata-Goritsa Ridge, thus far considered, would yet distinguish itself as winning candidate for the location of the final onslaught of Persian against Lakedaimonian. What is valuable at this point, however, is that the contention and confusion of choice at least promotes the valid candidacy of either location, in accordance with the Herodotean description.

Since we know that the site of the principal engagement was connected with an area where there was a *ἱερόν* of Eleusian Demeter, other possible suggestions would seem to present themselves. Indeed, if *ἱερόν* is understood as *ναός* the possibilities are restricted to archaeologically known or supposed temple sites. But *ἱερόν* does not necessarily indicate a temple, but may be nothing more than a shrine or altar precinct. (The site of the altar of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataiai, was long considered a temple until recent excavation proved that it was but a sanctuary with altar, rather than a temple.⁴⁶) With this broader sense of *ἱερόν* in mind, the possible sites would increase to distressing proportions.

Let us now consider the other areas which seem most likely to fit the Herodotean description. A temple structure has been suspected at Hagia Anna Church. Another temple site is found west of the ancient Athenai-Thebai road near the Erythraian acropolis. Herodotos tells us that Pausanias, being near the Demeter sanctuary, looked toward the Plataian Heraion (*ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Πausανίην πρὸς τὸ Ἡραῖον τὸ Πλαταιέων*).⁴⁷ From the Erythraian acropolis *near* the Demeter temple site,

from the northeast *area* of the Hagia Anna precinct, and from both Troulos and Spata-Goritsa Ridge, one can fix one's gaze on that area of ancient Plataiai, where the ruins of the Temple of Hera are found. Herodotos' use of ἀποβλέπειν in its literal sense is restricted in his whole History, as far as one is aware, to this passage. The question arises, as to whether or not the act of seeing is implied in ἀποβλέπειν. Did Pausanias actually see the Heraion or did he merely fix his eyes in its direction? No positive solution can be found. One can only add, that from neither the *actual* Hagia Anna site nor the *actual* Demetrium site near ancient Erythrai, can the Heraion area be seen. On the other hand, it can be seen from Hagios Demetrios Church, as well as from some parts of the Spata-Goritsa Ridge.

The ἀποβλέπειν factor aside, it is now incumbent to eliminate the Demeter temple site near ancient Erythrai as well as the site at Hagia Anna as possibilities, in that order.

Ploutarchos has recorded a passage which is not only incredible on the surface, but seems to fly in the face of Herodotos' History.⁴⁸ Arimnestos, the Plataian general, has had a dream. He speaks to Zeus and says that the allied Greeks intend to quit the Plataian region in order to comply with the Pythian oracle's "god and hero list", requisite for victory, and better satisfied at Eleusis than at Plataiai. Zeus declares to him that he is in error and that the Plataian region does indeed meet the required list:

Τούτων ἐναργῶς τῷ Ἀριμνήστῳ φανέντων
ἐξεγρόμενος τάχιστα μετεπέμψατο τοὺς
ἐμπειροτάτους καὶ πρεσβυτάτους τῶν

πολιτῶν, μεθ' ὧν διαλεγόμενος καὶ
 συνδιαπορῶν εὔρεν ὅτι τῶν Ἰγσιῶν
 πλησίον ὑπὸ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ναὸς ἐστὶν
 ἀρχαῖος πάνυ Δῆμητρος Ἐλευσινίας καὶ
 Κόρης προσαγορευόμενος· εὐθὺς οὖν
 παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἤγεεν ἐπὶ τὸν
 τόπον, εὐφυστάτον ὄντα παρατάξαι
 φάλαγγα πεζικὴν ἰπποκρατουμένοις, διὰ
 τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἄφιππα
 ποιούσας τὰ καταλήγοντα καὶ συγκυροῦντα
 τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν· αὐτοῦ δ' ἦν
 καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρῶον ἐγγύς

From this passage we learn that Arimnestos through the diligence of conference and investigation, found that near Hysiai, at the foot of Kithairon, was situated the temple required. Nothing is mentioned by Ploutarchos of any ruinous condition, so one assumes that the temple described was at least standing in his time. Ploutarchos, accordingly, seems to credit the Plataian general, who is at home in his own region, with an astonishing amount of either irreligiousness or stupidity, in that he is not aware of the temples in about his own region. This seeming slight upon the Plataian general's intelligence may, however, be unhistorical. Not only does Ploutarchos appear to confuse temples and regions in this passage, but this confusion may represent an actual case in point. The only definitely known temple of Demeter in the region, the one which Ploutarchos seems to describe, is west not only of the Erythraian acropolis, but also west of the ancient Athenai-Thebai road. Temples, were, as are churches today, open to any believer. Temples and sanctuaries must have in ancient times, as churches today, served believers from various communities as well as passers-by, especially if, as in this case, the temple were situated near the border of two commu-

nities and near a heavy traffic flow. Like parallels can be seen today in the instances of Analepsis and Hagia Triada (west of Erythrai) Churches. The Demetrium, mentioned here, seems largely to have served Erythrai, but yet it is located on the west, i.e. Hysiai, side of the road. It could become, then, a vexing question as to which community actually could claim priority over the temple. Moreover, to defend the Plataian general's intelligence, we have record of various other sanctuaries of Demeter in the region, one at Plataiai itself⁴⁹ and another at Skolos.⁵⁰ A hypothetical sprinkling of Demetrian precincts about the region should cause no more alarm than the fact that there are today in the region no less than four Hagia Triada churches west of the ancient Athenai-Thebai road alone.⁵¹

The temple that Ploutarchos describes is in an open space, probably in an area that would most invite cavalry attack. Herodotos, in contrast, tells us that the Lakedaimonians in retreat τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο.⁵² In the Troulos region, the Lakedaimonians could have easily kept to the hills; indeed, they would have to keep to the hills. This would not have been possible at Ploutarchos' Demetrium.

Ploutarchos does give us one valuable topographical reference in his last statement. He associates the Androkrateion site with the Demetrium. It is clear that he describes the temple of Demeter near Erythrai. As for the Androkrateion, its position near Gargaphia Spring has already been proposed. In bringing together Ploutarchos' connexion and that proposition, we see that the sanctuary of Demeter refer-

red to by Herodotos must be near the Androkrateion. Both Troulos and Spata-Gortsa Ridge fulfill this requirement.

One remaining problem may be seen in both Ploutarchos' and Herodotos' descriptions of the Demetrion area. The former writes ἐπὶ τὸν Κιθαῖρῶνα in describing the location. He may have been inspired by Herodotos' description of the Lakedaimonian retreat, wherein was used τῆς ἐπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαίρῶνος.⁵³ This problem can be easily dismissed through consideration of the Makryá Ridge. Many spurs and ridges of Kithairon protrude, but, as the name Makrya suggests, that ridge projects further out from Kithairon than any other in the region.

This furthest extension of the Kithairon foothills into the region is the only area that completely accommodates Herodotos' description of a retreat close by the foothills yet still in the direction of the "island". Troulos, in addition, at its crest would be cramped quarters for fifty thousand Lakedaimonians, three thousand Tegeans, and probably more than a matching amount of Persians, but such close quarters may also be seen as a significant condition for a Lakedaimonian victory over more numerous Persians, since the Lakedaimonian occupation of the summit would eliminate the advantage of numbers. In conclusion, the Herodotean Demetrion was likely located on Troulos (Hagios Demetrios Hill), the Spata-Goritsa Ridge was probably the Argriopios and the *remma* between them was a branch of the Moloeis.

As for the Athenians who had turned down from the Asopos Ridge and down into the plain, they began to bring aid at the

Lakedaimonians' request, when they were attacked by the maddening Greeks.⁵⁴ Logically, this would be somewhere near the intersection of the Plataiai-Thebai road and the Alepotrypi road.

The Corinthians and company later left the Heraion at Plataiai and headed for the Demetrion by way of the foothills to the straight road leading up to their destination.⁵⁵ This statement alone is sufficient proof to reject Hagia Anna as a site for the Hysian Demetrion, since, to that site from Plataiai, such a direction by way of foothills to a straight road leading up to their destination would be topographically impossible. Their course was probably close to that which would follow today's Plataiai-Erythrai highway, turning onto the straight road up to Hagios Demetrios Church.⁵⁶

The Megarians, Phliasians and company attempted the same destination by way of the most level approach, probably along part of the Alepotrypi road where they were cut off by Theban cavalry.⁵⁷

The battle of allied Greeks against the barbarians at Plataiai and Erythrai is one of the highlights of Plataian history. Nonetheless, throughout the whole of Herodotos' description of the several Greek nations which fought and manned the field, there is no mention whatsoever of the Plataians.⁵⁸

Battles and battles: Notes

1. Pritchett, "New light on Plataia" 13, reported of this area "twelve fragments of tiles, all of which might be classical". There seems little basis, however, to assume the site was classical. Even the site's use as an artillery cover is disputed amongst the region's inhabitants. Some believe that Kastro Darimariou as well as nearby Mazareka was employed by the invading forces, while others feel that only the latter was used.
2. Thoukydides, 3.24.1-2.
3. Thoukydides, 2.76.1-2.
4. Thoukydides, 2.78.
5. From a careful reading of Thoukydides, 3.24, it may be felt that the Androkrateion must be on the right as the Plataians proceed towards Thebai, or on the right as they proceed towards Erythrai and Hysiai, or both.
6. Herodotos, 9.15.2.
7. *Idem.*
8. Herodotos, 9.15.4.
9. Cf. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataiai" 24.
10. Herodotos, 9.22.1.
11. Herodotos, 9.19.3.
12. Herodotos, 9.21.
13. Herodotos, 9.28.
14. Herodotos, 9.20, 22.1 and 23.1 where κατὰ τέλεια is contrasted with ἅμα πάντας, *en masse*.
15. Herodotos, 9.23.2.
16. Herodotos, 9.25.1.
17. Since we have sherd evidence for five ancient settlements between and including Skolos (Metoche) and Plataiai, all of which are either on or quite near the foothills, it is more than likely that an ancient road connected them, such as does the modern road between Daphne and modern Plataiai. The "cart" reference in Herodotos, 9.25, at least in part, assures the antiquity of such a road.

18. Herodotos, 9.25.3.
19. Herodotos, 9.25.3.
20. Herodotos, 9.28.2-6.
21. Herodotos, 9.31.
22. Herodotos, 9.31.2.
23. Herodotos, 9.36.
24. Herodotos, 9.38.
25. Herodotos, 9.39.1.
26. Thoukydides, 3.24.
27. To give one example of the confusion inherent in this discussion, Pritchett, "New Light on Plataia" 18, has listed Kiafa Pass as Pass 1, in following Grundy, but later in "Plataia Revisited" 120, has referred to it as a "so called pass ... nothing more than a broad stream-bed". With mountains on both sides, however, not only the ancient Athenai-Thebai road, but also the modern highway follow the course of this "stream-bed".
28. On the assumption that $\pi\rho\tilde{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ is not to be included within the classification of $\delta\rho\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma$, the presence of the oak at such elevations is highly suspect both in times ancient and present. (Cf. I. Horvat, "Pflanzengeographische Gliederung Südosteuropas," *Vegetatio Acta Geobotanica* 5-6 [Den Haag 1954] 434ff.).
29. Pausanias, 9.3.4.
30. Euripides, *Bacchae* 1103.
31. Herodotos, 9.40.
32. Herodotos, 9.47.
33. Herodotos, 9.49.2.
34. Herodotos, 9.49.3.
35. Herodotos, 9.51.1. There is a textual difficulty which has generally been accepted as resolved. The distance of ten stades from the Asopos has convincingly been amended by W. Woodhouse, "The Greeks at Plataiai," *JHS* 18 (1898) 57, to twenty stades.
36. Herodotos, 9.52.
37. Herodotos, 9.56.

38. Herodotos, 9.57.2. Again there is a textual difficulty which may render the ten stades as only four. The discrepancy, however, is of little importance and is absorbed by the length of the Lakedaimonian line, which is greater than the six stade difference. Herodotos does not inform us whether his measurement from the Lakedaimonian position to the halting place is from the right or left of their line. Herodotos again uses more than one topographical reference to pinpoint a location. Identification of that location will follow.
39. Herodotos, 9.56.2.
40. Grundy, "Plan of the Battlefield of Plataea".
41. Herodotos, 9.57.2.
42. W. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* 369.
43. Alepotrypi is often spoken and written Apotrýpi; Oeroe has become Aeróis; Orntoslava has become Rontosklavi.
44. This fragment, deposited with the University of Victoria, is not unlike fragments found at the Temple of Demeter below the Erythraian acropolis.
45. J. Spencer-Stanhope, *Plates of Plataea, Olympia and the Ruins of the City of Elis* (London 1824).
46. T. Spyropoulos, *Εἰδήσεις ἐκ Βοιωτίας· Πλαταιαί*, AAA 6 (1973) 375-379.
47. Herodotos, 9.61.3.
48. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 11.6 and 7.
49. Pausanias, 9.4.3.
50. Pausanias, 9.4.4.
51. *Pace* Pritchett, "New Light on Plataia" 28.
52. Herodotos, 9.56.2.
53. Herodotos, 9.56.2.
54. Herodotos, 9.61.1.
55. Herodotos, 9.69.
56. This was likely the later course of the armed hoplite race, the major event at the Games of Freedom.
57. Herodotos, 9.69.

58. One understands, nonetheless, that the Plataians met with a fair share of the action, largely wherever the Athenians were. Surely, the meed of valour would not have been assigned to them otherwise (cf. Ploutarchos, *Aristeides* 20.1-3 and Lysias, *Funeral Oration* 46-47).

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Abbreviations used:

AAA	= 'Αρχαιολογικὰ 'Ανάλεκτα ἐξ 'Αθηνῶν
ABSA	= Annual of the British School at Athens
AJA	= American Journal of Archaeology
BCH	= Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
CP	= Classical Philology
CR	= The Classical Review
JHS	= Journal of Hellenic Studies
PASCSA	= Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (= AJA)
REG	= Revue des Études Grecques.

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Zekos, (Ζήκος) Κ., Καθορισμὸς τῶν θέσεων τῆς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχης (Athenai 1905).

Appendix.

Description of the Site and Walls of Plataia in 1890 by H.S. Washington in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (AJA) 6, 1890, pp.452-462. Reproduced by kind permission of the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

The ancient city stood on a fan-shaped ridge or plateau, about 1.4 km. long, from north to south, and 1 km. in its greatest width, stretching down from the north slope of Mt. Kithairon toward the plain of the Oëroë. This plateau has its highest point at the southern end, where a shallow ravine, 50 m. wide at its narrowest point, separates it from the lower rocks of the mountain. From this point the plateau slopes down rather sharply at first, but toward the upper cross-wall very gently, the ground becoming almost level inside the lower cross-wall and rising again near its northern edge. In the northeast corner it is split by two small ravines, formed by a couple of little brooks running north. The question whether these existed in ancient times, will be considered below. The soil for the most part inside the walls is cultivated and fairly deep, at *Church No. V* bed-rock being reached at a depth of 3 m., and at *Church No. I* at about the same depth. In many places, however, especially to the west and south, the rock crops out, the soil being very thin. This is especially the case to the south of the north cross-wall, between it and the outer wall as far as *Church No. VII*, and to the north of it, about parallel with its general direction as far as the point *M* of the

outer wall. In the northern, or lower, part no rock crops out except along the western wall, as far as the point *T*, and near the so-called votive cuttings. The rock is a coarse gray marble, much corroded into deep holes and channels where exposed to the weather. All the walls are built of this rock, which forms the ridge of Kithairon to the south, and could be quarried either on the mountain slopes or on the plateau itself. The soil is a rather clayey lime earth, very loose when dry, but exceedingly clinging and sticky when wet--the mud making the plain of the Oëroë and Asopos almost, if not quite, impassable in winter.

The sides of the plateau are not precipitous and rocky, except at a few points. As a rule, they slope gently down to the plain below. The slope has, of course, been decreased during our era by the washing down of earth from the plateau above. It is probable that the sides were never high or precipitous enough to make good defenses *per se*, and that walls must always have been needed to make the plateau a tenable position.

The remaining walls appear to be assignable to five periods. The earliest is characterized by a polygonal style of masonry, though not of the earliest type. The blocks are of fairly uniform size, the form seldom hexagonal, quite often pentagonal, step-cutting common on the upper edge to fit the superincumbent stone, with joints very neatly made. This style is similar to the oldest part of the walls of Lepreon, in Arkadia. The portions of wall exhibiting this style are the worst preserved of all, the stones being much

corroded and weatherworn.

The style of the second period--that most largely represented--is intermediate between the first and third. The walls of this period are better built than those of the former, with scarcely any polygonal blocks, but are not so well made as those of the latter period, to which, however, they bear a closer resemblance and for which they probably served as a model.

The third period or style comprises work which is much the best built as well as the best preserved. It is seen in the upper cross-wall, which is entirely of this period, and in the northeast corner. The blocks are larger than those of the first two periods, about 1 m. high, from 1 to 3 m. long, and about 60 cm. thick. They are four-sided, laid in horizontal courses, with the edges neatly and accurately fitted. The vertical joints are very commonly, in fact generally, not perpendicular, but slanting or oblique--never more than 20° off from the perpendicular, however. The adjoining block in almost every case fits closely, with the same slope, except in one or two instances where the slopes are opposite and a well-fitted wedge-shaped block is inserted. The separate courses do not run along continuously at the same level, but, after varying distances (generally from 5 to 10 blocks) the upper course is lowered (or raised) by the upper side of the block below being cut into a step shape, the difference between the level of the two steps being only a few centimetres, never over five. The outer surface of the blocks, rather rounded or bulging, is cut vertically into

wide and rather deep furrows or grooves. The whole is a very good piece of work, the blocks of good size, the joints accurate, and the workmanship everywhere careful.

The fourth period is represented only by the lower cross-wall. It can hardly be said to represent a distinct style, the wall being built of blocks from earlier walls (of the second and third periods), of building-blocks and of other architectural fragments, all of the common, coarse gray marble, no white marble being observed in this wall or in any other. The blocks are not used with much system or care, sometimes the furrowed side being out and as often not. The joints are not close, the blocks not having been recut after their removal from their original positions, and little pains having been taken in fitting them. Mortar and tiles were used at one time to fill up the crevices, as can still be seen in the third tower from the west; but whether or not this was subsequent to the building of the wall cannot be made out.

The last period, including the worst-built masonry of all, is represented by a few fragments and stretches of Roman, or more probably Byzantine, wall, built of rubble and tiles laid in mortar. It is seen only at a few scattered points on the north and west sides.

The walls of the first four periods are very uniformly 3.30 m. in thickness, very little variation from this figure having been noted anywhere. The outer facing is the better of the two, built of larger stones and better finished, but the difference is not great. In all the walls the space be-

tween the outer and inner faces was filled with smaller rough stones and earth. How the walls were finished on top, whether battlemented or not, cannot now be determined, nor can any calculation be made, from the *débris*, of the probable height, the fallen stones having been scattered all over and below the plateau, and having disappeared in various ways. In many places, notably at the northwest from *Q* to *S* and at the southwest from *C* to *H*, the wall could be traced only by the smoothing of the natural rock as bed on which to lay the wall-stones. The rock was rather carefully cut away so as to present a level surface in many places, and several of the step-cuttings were observed in the native rock. At two points, *C* and between *S* and *T*, the natural rock has been cut away so as to leave a smooth vertical fall.

In order to take up and describe *seriatim* the various parts of the city-walls, we will begin at the point *A*, the southwest corner, and proceed toward the north. This point is the highest and most southerly of the plateau, and from it may be had a fine view of the whole site and the plain of the Oëroë and Asopos rivers stretching away to the north toward Thebes, which is entirely hidden by a low range of hills separating the valleys of the two rivers. Behind us, and to the right and left, runs the ridge of Mt. Kithairon; to the northwest can be seen Mts. Helikon and Parnassos, and to the northeast the mountains of Euböia. A ravine, about 50 m. wide and about 5 m. deep, separates the plateau from the lowest point of the slope of Kithairon. This ravine was much deeper in former times, a great deal of earth having

been washed down from the mountain, especially since the destruction to a great extent of the forest growth. It is wide and deep enough, however, to prevent any earth from being washed down from the mountain onto the plateau, and we may safely say that this part of the plateau has been steadily losing earth since it became uninhabited, and consequently for centuries diminishing in height.

There is little left of the wall above ground (merely one course of blocks, inside and out), but enough by which to determine the period, presumably the earliest. A tower, square in plan, 5.50 m. on each side, stood at the angle, and from this point the wall runs down the slope, toward the north, very well defined till it turns to the west near *Church No. VII*, and thence runs irregularly in a general northwesterly direction till it meets the upper cross-wall. All along this stretch, a single course above ground in a few places constitutes the best-preserved remains, the whole being of the first period. The wall has been traced, for the most part, by the rock-surfaces smoothed for the reception of the masonry. Along a great part of this stretch, notably from *C* to *G*, the wall runs along the edge of a rough and jagged rocky cliff, nearly vertical, but now only a few metres high. Below the point *D*, on the outside, there is a rectangular sarcophagus-like cavity cut in the rock. The point of junction of this outer and older wall with the upper cross-wall cannot be clearly made out, but is probably not far from *H*.

We now turn toward the east and follow the upper cross-

wall. This is by far the best built of all the walls; it is of the third period, and is in places in a very good state of preservation. It runs for 407 m. toward the southeast in a line almost straight, at one point making a bend of less than 2° and at another of 10° , and there turns to the northeast and runs toward *Church No. V*. The wall is everywhere 3.30 m. wide, both faces carefully finished (the outer one, that toward the south, the better) and the space between filled with rubble of earth and stones. The present height of the ruins varies greatly; at places they barely appear above ground, while at their highest point, the third tower from the west end, the structure is 3.80 m. above ground. Along the outer, *i.e.*, the southern, side of the wall there are remains of eight towers of rectangular plan, measuring 6.70 m. in length (*i.e.*, along the wall) and 5 m. in breadth. The variations are only a few centimetres either way from these averages. The towers are distant from one another 42.50 m., and form an integral part of the wall, not added to the outer face but built at the same time and continuously with it. The best-preserved example is the tower above mentioned, and it offers a few points of interest. The main courses rest on a foundation-wall, projecting 10 cm. beyond them, the blocks of which measure only 40 cm. high instead of 1 m., as in the courses above. This foundation is carefully worked with vertical or very slightly oblique joints, and furrowed facing. In this tower at present three courses of the foundation are above ground, while a similar foundation runs beneath the wall proper, though not visible

at present, except at one or two points, owing to the accumulation of earth. The corners of the towers present a striking peculiarity. The rough, bulging sides have been cut in from both sides, so as to leave a sharp right-angled ridge along the vertical edge, finished smooth and clean. This right-angled ridge, which measures 10 cm. on each side, is carried along the whole angle of the tower and is continued in the foundation. It occurs in every tower on all the walls of the first three periods, its use in this upper cross-wall being probably copied from the older walls. The towers, as far as can be judged, were solid, filled up within, like the walls. Another peculiarity of the upper cross-wall (also occurring once in the extreme south wall) is that there are several "platforms", as they have been called, built on the inside of the wall. These are thickenings of the wall, about 10 m. long and 1 m. thick, and were probably buttresses to strengthen the main wall, though too little is left of them to determine this definitely. At one place in the upper cross-wall two of these platforms occur, one on each side of a tower, while at another place one is found between two towers.

Returning to *H*, we continue toward the north along the western outer wall. The stretch *HI*, distinctly traceable, but not projecting much above ground, is of the second period; it is similar to the wall of the third period, that of the upper cross-wall, but is not so carefully built. It disappears at *I*, and the wall begins again at *K*, where there are traces of a square tower. A wall running east from this

point was traced for some 50 m. The main wall, of the same masonry as *HI*, continues to the point *M*, where it makes a sharp angle, turns to the northwest, and thence to *N* is traceable mostly by rock-cutting. From *H* to near *M*, it runs along the edge of the plateau, the ground sloping down gently toward the plain. At *M* is a tower, and the wall from this point on to *N* overhangs a steep and rocky cliff, from 3 to 8 m. high. Inside the tower to the north of *M*, there run for a few metres the remains of an apparently polygonal wall, probably of the first period, as in the extreme southern part, but perhaps earlier still. Below the wall *MN*, perched on the rocks, are half a dozen sarcophagi, hewn in one piece out of the common, coarse gray marble, and separate from the rock on which they rest. The dimensions of the most northerly one are as follows: length (exterior) 2.40 m., width 1.20, height 1.25, thickness of sides, 0.20. These sarcophagi are surrounded at top and bottom by a simple moulding. The interior is sloping at the bottom. The monolithic cover of the sarcophagus measured lies further down the slope; it has the shape of a long, obtuse wedge. To the south of the sarcophagi lie some graves of less importance, hewn in the rock, in the shape of rectangular pits; all these are empty. Of two of the sarcophagi only halves remain, and all the covers with the one exception have disappeared. At a distance of 98 m. from *N*, there are traces of a path leading down through the wall and between the sarcophagi--very faint however. At *N* this wall disappears, though blocks are still scattered about the slope in large

numbers, and many are built into field-walls below.

At *O*, begins the lower cross-wall, almost the latest of all. It is built entirely, as stated above, of blocks taken from other structures. The remains of seven towers, measuring 6.20 m. in length by 5.50 in width, are visible in its southern or outer side, joined to and forming part of the main wall, as in the upper cross-wall. The third tower from the west end is the best-preserved, its extreme height being 3.85 m. The wall makes a rather sharp turn at *Z'*, and thence runs almost due north, with a few slight angles, for over 150 m., finally being lost amid a tangle of blocks and house-walls, which continue till within 50 m. or so of *V*. The wall runs throughout on almost level ground, and no traces of a gate appear. Below the point *O*, near the road, are 19 m. of the inner facing of a wall, built of large cut blocks, apparently of the second period. No connection could be made out between it and the main western wall, and it is probably all that remains of a wall figured in Stanhope's map, but of which all other traces are now lost. At *P*, there are scanty remains of a wall of the same period, half-way down the rather steep, earth-covered slope, and above this is a right angle, apparently a corner of a tower, built of small stones and mortar, while a little further north there is a large mass of the same material.

From *O* to *Q* the main wall is lost, but at this latter point we come upon rock-cuttings, and hence to *R* the line of the wall can be made out, in a straight line, by the leveling of the tops of the rocks for the reception of the blocks.

All along this part of the west wall the side of the plateau is fairly steep and quite high, perhaps 15 m. above the road to Thebes. The slope, except toward the top, is not rocky, but of earth. Below the stretch QR , at two points appear short lengths of what at first sight looks like early polygonal masonry; but a closer examination shows that it is late work. The stones are very roughly fitted, and in one or two cases have apparently been taken from an early wall of cut blocks. One block shows a hole, apparently made for an iron anchor or clamp. Just below the point R is a grave-cutting.

From the point R , the northwest angle, till half-way between S and T , the wall remains are short lengths of rough wall made of small stones and tiles laid in mortar. No trace exists of an earlier wall except at S , where there are two pathways cut a few centimetres deep in the rock, meeting in the line of the wall at an obtuse angle, just outside which a large rock projects, its top cut away flat and level. This may have been a small gate where met two paths, coming up from below. A little to the west of T , the rock has been cut away perpendicularly for a few metres, the wall running along its edge. Hence to U , the wall, 3.30 m. thick, can be seen just above ground, and belongs apparently to the second period. The remains of one or two towers can just be made out. From U to V the wall runs east, down hill. Very little is left of it, and that little is mainly of small, rough stones, without mortar--very late work. No trace could be found of the wall figured to the north of this by both Leake

and Stanhope. 30 m. south of *V*, there are 4 m. of a wall running north and south, apparently of the same style as the lower cross-wall, and a continuation of it. But there are so many late house-walls in this region that this is not certain. At *V*, all traces disappear, and the next sight of the wall is at *W*, 234 m. to the northeast of *V*, on the east slope of the western valley. Hence the wall runs in a straight line about due east for 150 m., disappears where it formerly cut across the eastern valley and brook, reappears 50 m. further on, and thence runs 187 m. to the northeast angle of the plateau. This wall, though barely projecting above ground, can easily be seen, especially at its eastern end, where the outer or northern face projects a metre or more above the surface. It is built in almost exactly the style of the upper cross-wall, the oblique up-and-down joints, the step-cuts, the peculiar tower-angles, and the wider foundation being all present; the stones large, well-fitted, and with furrowed, bulging faces. From *X* westward to near the brook, the courses, though horizontal, descend step by step, following the gentle slope of the small ravine, thus proving that this ravine existed when the wall was built. As the valley to the west is the larger, we can infer, though there is no wall there to prove it, that it also existed at the same period. The slope down from all this stretch of wall (east of *V*) to the plain is gentle and entirely of earth. At the northeast angle, *X*, there was a round tower, about 10 m. in diameter. Only four such towers appear; there being one between *S* and *T*, on the north wall, and two on the

east wall, to be noted later. This one at *X* is built in the same style as the rest of this part, but very little of it remains.

From *X*, the wall, fairly well preserved, and for some distance overgrown with bushes, runs due south, then turns a little toward the west and disappears near *A'*, just beyond a small ilex tree, some 5 m. high, the only tree on the plateau. All this stretch of wall is of the second period, not as well built as *WX*. Hence to near *Church No. V*, the wall can be traced running a little west of south, sometimes entirely destroyed, and again fairly well preserved. All the remains are of the second period. At *B'*, a wall, 2.80 m. thick, runs almost at a right angle for 27 m. down the slope toward the brook, here distant 35 m. from the main wall. This offshoot-wall is of rougher and apparently late masonry. Inside the main wall, due west of *B'* at a distance of 17 m., are remains of a square building, measuring about 8 m. each way, with a small threshold--probably a late Byzantine structure. At *E'*, traces of a round tower can be made out. The slope down to the brook all along this east wall is very gentle, no rock crops out, and the soil is apparently deep. At *K'*, near *Church No. V*, all traces disappear, but at *L'* we make out a bit of wall, and hence trace it, at intervals, to *P'*. The only rock along all this stretch is a narrow ridge running from *L'* to *N'*, along the top of which the wall was built, as shown by the cuttings. At *O'* there are traces of a round tower. Too little remains of this stretch, south of *L'*, to determine its period; but it probably belongs to

the first, that of the extreme southern part. At *P'*, both faces of the wall can be seen, and hence to *A* it is fairly preserved, though not high above the surface--less than a metre. It is all 3.30 m. through, and of the same period, the first, as that near *A*, described above. At a point 37 m. from *A*, there is a cutting in the wall--traces of what may have been a threshold. The slope to the south down into the small ravine which separates the wall from Mt. Kithairon is very gentle, though in one or two places the wall runs along rather steep rocks. At *P*, the wall is nearly 150 m. from the mountain slope, while at *A*, as stated above, it is only 50 m.

This completes the survey of the walls, and a few remarks may be made as to the area included within them. It seems probable, from the apparently greater age of the walls there and from its height above the rest of the plateau, that the extreme south end was the original acropolis. Search was made for an old north enclosing-wall, but no trace of such a wall was found. Such a wall probably existed near where the upper cross-wall now stands, but running more east and west. The plateau, as has been said, sloped down to the north, the northern half being comparatively level. The southwestern part is very rocky, the natural rock here jutting out in large rough masses, while the southeastern part is almost free from rock, except the ridge between *L'* and *N'*. The middle zone (between the north and south parts) is rocky on its western side, while to the east it is mostly good soil. The northern third is entirely free from projecting

rocks except along its western and northwestern edges. Inside the lower cross-wall (to the north of it), and for a little distance to the east, the ground is entirely uncultivated, owing to the circumstance that it is covered with potsherds, broken tiles, and small stones, while to the east, on both sides of and between the two ravines, the soil is deep and fertile.

Apart from the ruined churches, there are few objects of interest above ground on the plateau. East of *D*, in the southwest, there is cut in the rock what is probably a threshold, facing west, 2 m. in length. Beyond this, to the east, there is a semicircular area in the rocks, some 15 to 20 m. across; and about 3 m. lower than this, to the north, there is a similar area. Both areas are level and apparently made by the hand of man. Southeast of *Church No. IV*, appear what are called on the map, "Votive Cuttings". These consist of seven or eight small rectangular holes or niches cut in the rock for the reception of votive or other tablets. To the south of them is a small level plateau, with some roughly hewn wall-stones. The wall to the east of *Church No. IV* is a very well built and preserved one of rubble and mortar. It is 32 m. long by 1.15 wide, and runs almost due north and south. To the south of this extends in the same line a series of eight square piers, 1.15 m. square, of the same materials, the first one distant 15.40 from the south end of the wall. The first seven piers are uniformly distant from one another 1.75 m., and from the spacing we judge that four are probably missing between the seventh and eighth remaining piers. No

traces are left above ground of any wall to the south, but the broad level space to the east of the wall makes it seem probable that a large building, or some such feature as an agora, once existed here.

There are four springs and brooks in the immediate vicinity of the plateau, besides the two very small ones in the northeast part. One brook on the east side rises in a spring a short distance due south of *P'* and flows northerly along the whole east side, at a distance from the wall varying from 20 to 100 m. The brook on the west begins at a point southwest of the older wall, flows northwest, is joined by the water from Megale Brysis, below *O*, and thence flows to the northwest away from the city into the Oëroë. Some 250 m. to the east of the plateau is another spring called Kondati, where are two inscriptions and some architectural fragments. Between this and the brook to the east of the walls is a ridge on which are the ruins of a small church and a number of large hewn blocks.

On the whole plateau there is a remarkable lack of white marble. The pieces remaining are confined almost entirely to the ruined Byzantine churches, *Churches Nos. I, IV, V, VII and VIII* being the richest in them. The greater number are Roman architectural pieces, architraves, capitals and bases, *etc.* There are some Greek slabs and other marbles, some with inscriptions, all built into the church-walls, and some re-worked into Byzantine forms. A few fragments of white marble, small pieces of cut and sculptured work, are found on the ground on the northwest part; and to the east of *Church No. I*

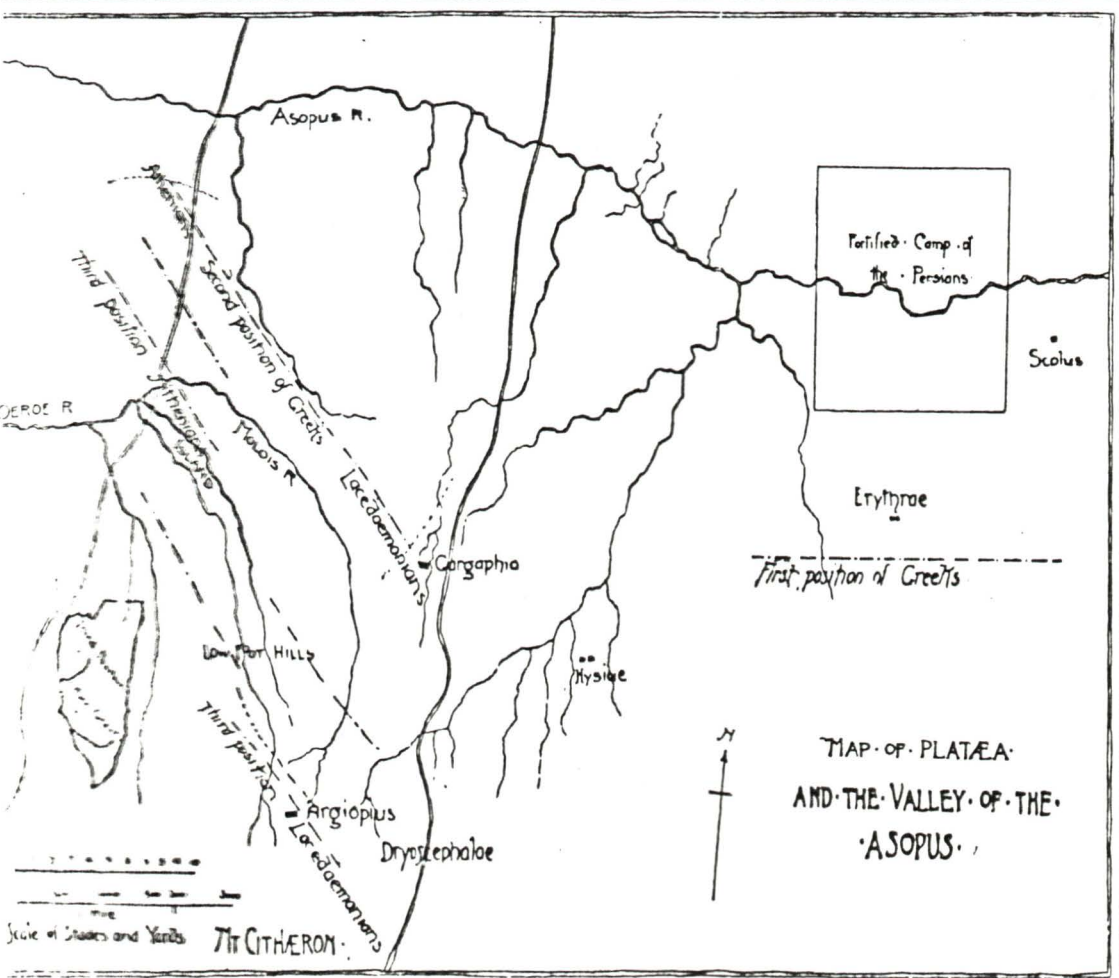
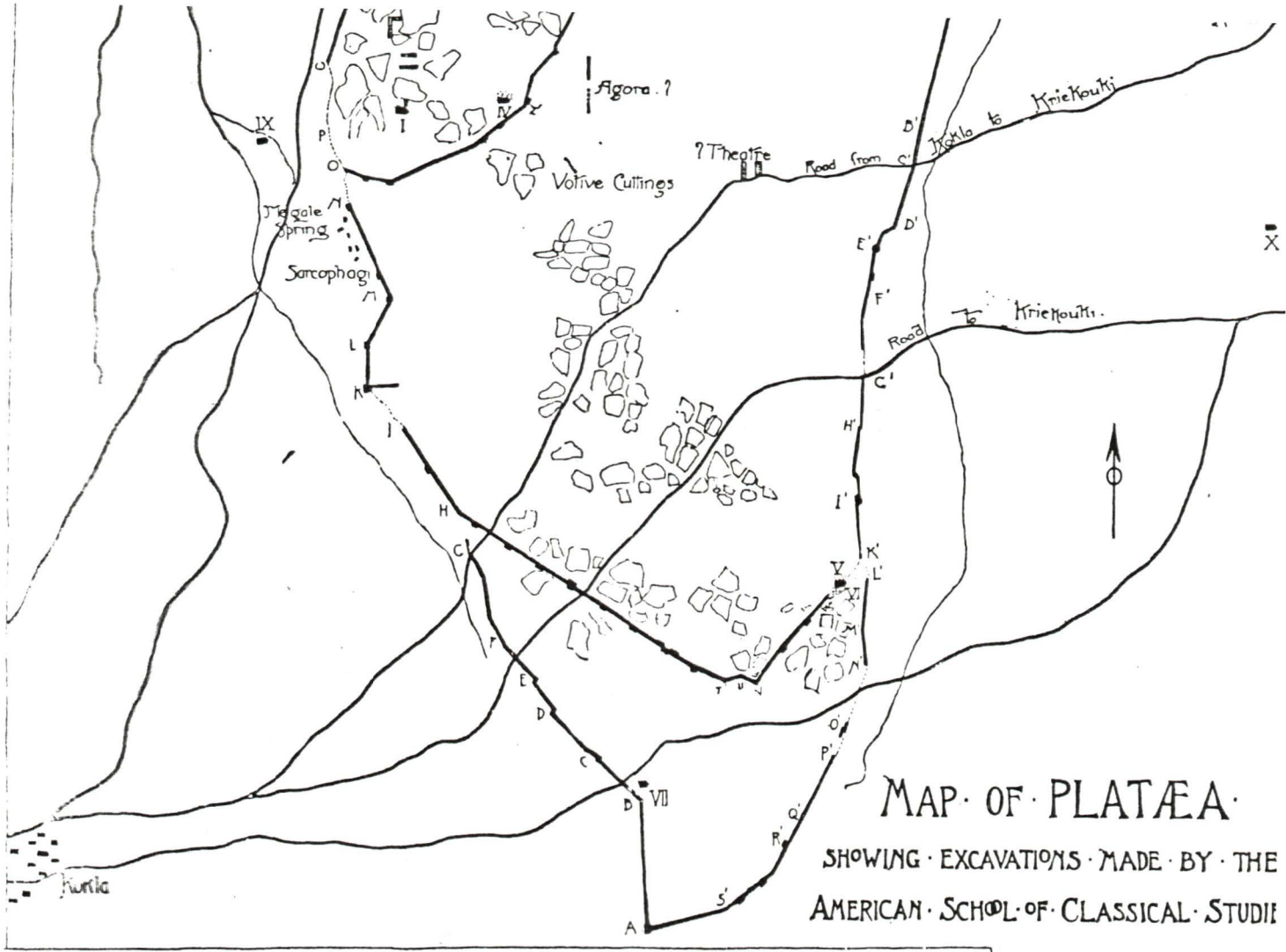
lies a portion of a Roman plain white marble column. The two springs of Megale Brysis to the west and of Kondati Brysis to the east have walls made of ancient fragments of white marble. All this marble is much like the Pentelic, but undoubtedly comes from a much nearer quarry.

I will close with a few remarks as to the different periods of settlement of the plateau. As already stated, it seems probable that the extreme southern end was the earliest citadel, if not the only part occupied before the time of the battle of Plataia. Then, later, a town was built lower down in the northern part (the upper citadel probably being abandoned), the upper cross-wall being built for its defense. This town very probably covered the whole of the plateau to the north of the wall. The apparently greater age of the walls to the east and west makes it seem likely, however, that the whole plateau was inhabited and fortified before the shrinkage within the upper cross-wall, which is probably of about the time of Alexander. At a much later date, in Byzantine times perhaps, the lower cross-wall was rather hastily and carelessly built to surround the much shrunken town. The fact that the ground inside this wall is deeply covered with tiles, *etc.*, and the number of house-walls, point to the conclusion that a densely populated town once occupied this part of the plateau. The great number of churches on and in the immediate vicinity of the plateau, ten in all, also tends to prove the same, and is a circumstance important in the later history of the place, and one which may explain the great scarcity of white marble, this probably

having been burned to make mortar.

Tarragona, Spain,
May 23, 1890.

HENRY S. WASHINGTON.



- Well preserved walls.
- ▨ Other walls.
- ▩ Excavations.
- I-X Byzantine Churches.

Scale 1^m = 3^m.

The Plates

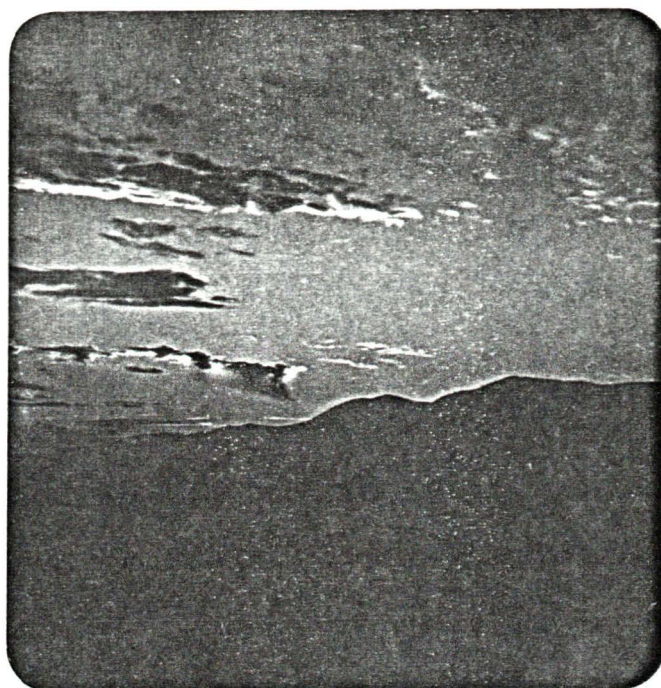
Frontispiece: The ancient acropolis of Plataiai from the northeast.

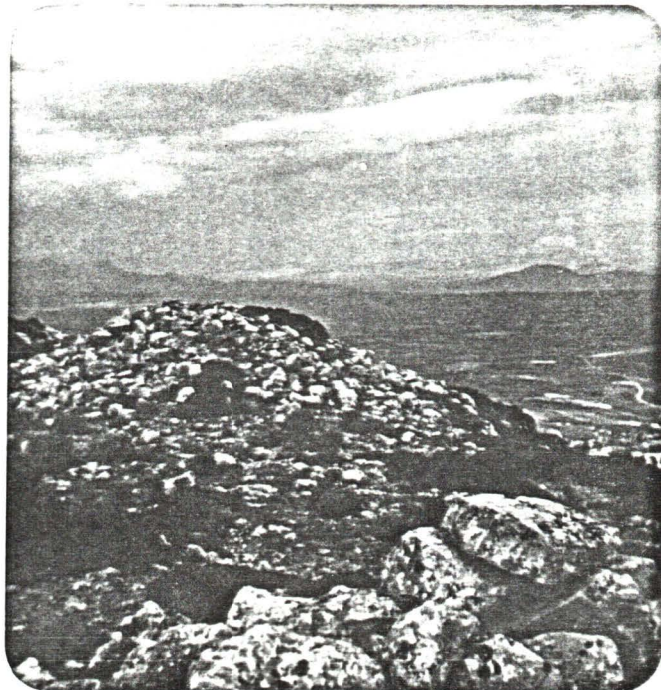
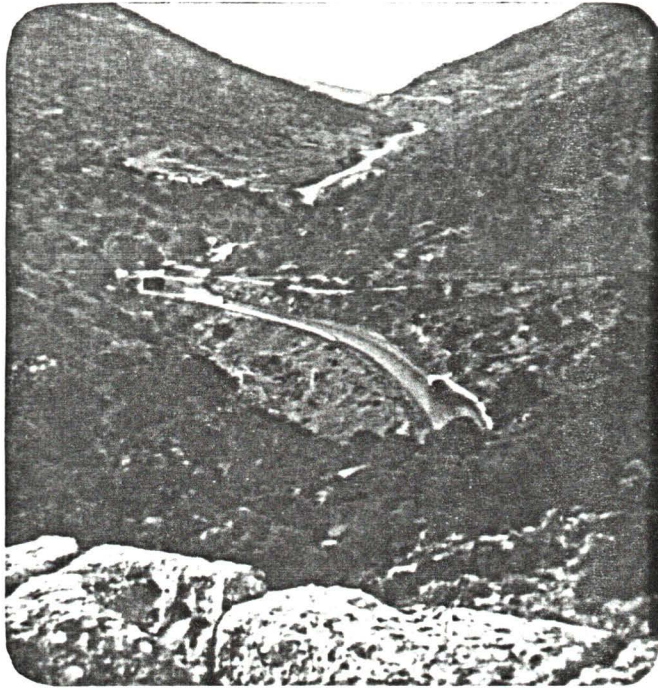
1. Kithairon sunrise.
2. The Plataian Plain from the summit of Kithairon.
3. Modern and ancient roads to Thebai wind up to Kiafa, seen from Gyphtokastro. The ancient road to Plataiai leaves left of centre.
4. Palaioi Anemomyloi, from the southeast tower base to the northwest tower base and the Plataian Plain.
5. Polygonal blocks at Palaioi Anemomyloi.
6. Modern Erythrai, the ancient battle field (479 B.C.) and Helikon from the southeast on Karoumpalo Road. A road centre leads to Gargaphia Spring.
7. Erythraian Hagios Athanasios Church from the east at the entrance of Erythrai right and the restricted military area left. Nearby is the traditional site of Hysiai.
8. At Plataiai, a woman with dove honours Plataian men and arms.
9. At Plataiai, Hagios Nikolaos Church.
10. A widow makes ready her candles for the church.
11. At Plataiai, Panagia Eleousa Church, its walls entirely built of ancient blocks.
12. At Plataiai, the old olive-press.
13. At Plataiai, within the ancient walls the Hagios Modestos (left) and Hagios Demetrios (right) Fresco on the north wall of Hagia Triada Church.

14. At Plataiai, the third tower north of the highway, in the western stretch of the upper cross-wall.
15. At Plataiai, a sarcophagus above Megale Spring.
16. At Plataiai, a woman rests at Megale Spring.
17. At Plataiai, a wall west of the northwest acropolis runs north and south.
18. At Plataiai, a section of the lower cross-wall.
19. At Plataiai, the fourth tower from the west in the lower cross-wall.
20. At Plataiai, Byzantine Church II.
21. At Plataiai, a section of the northern wall west of the round tower.
22. From Plataiai, opening lines of the Edict of Diocletianus, now in the National Museum of Athenai.
23. At Plataiai, a conglomerate marble base *in situ* in the central northern area of the ancient city.
24. At Plataiai, the excavations at the precinct of Zeus Eleutherios.
25. At Plataiai, an inscription *in situ* near the altar precinct of Zeus Eleutherios reads ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΑΣ.
26. At Plataiai, an ancient tumulus southeast of the eastern walls near the site of rock-hewn graves.
27. At Plataiai, Hagia Triada Monastery.
28. At Plataiai, a sepulchral stele at Hagia Triada Monastery reads ΕΥΠΡΑΞΙΔΗΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ (IG 7, 1700).
29. From Plataiai, a relief, now in the Museum of Thebai, of a youth anointing himself.
30. From Plataiai, one of two stone tripods now in the

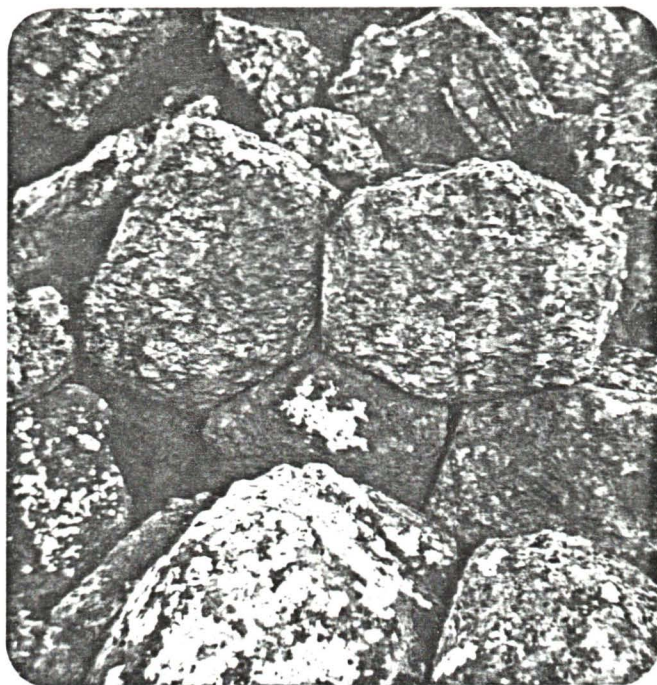
Museum of Thebai.

31. Ancient Erythrai and Pantanassa Church.
32. Daphne seen from the southwest on Darimari Mountain.
33. Ruins at Metoche (Skolos) west of Daphne.
34. Tzabaras Spring.
35. The River Asopos, the Attico-Boiotian boundary.
36. The Haunted Cliff.
37. Hagios Basileios Church and Harbour.
38. The Morea Bridge and the ancient Plataiai-Thebai road.
39. A *kalyba* by the ancient Plataiai-Thebai road.
40. Alepotrypi Spring.
41. The eastern Kontita Spring.
42. The Medieval Tower and nearby ruins of Pyrgos.
43. An inscription from the south wall of the Medieval Tower reads ΦΛΑΒΙΑΝ ΝΕΙΚΑΡΕΤΗΝ Ο ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ ΤΗΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ
Ψ(ηφίσματι) Β(ουλήσ) Δ(ήμου) (IG 7, 1678).
44. Hagios Demetrios Church.
45. Hagios Ioannes Church.
46. A red-figured vase by the Pan Painter depicts the death of Aktaion. (Photo courtesy of Boston Museum of Fine Arts.)
47. Karydi Road looking north.
48. The ancient Thebai-Athenai road looking south to Kithairon.
49. Old Bridge carries the ancient Athenai-Thebai road.
50. Plataian youth.





Plates 5 and 6

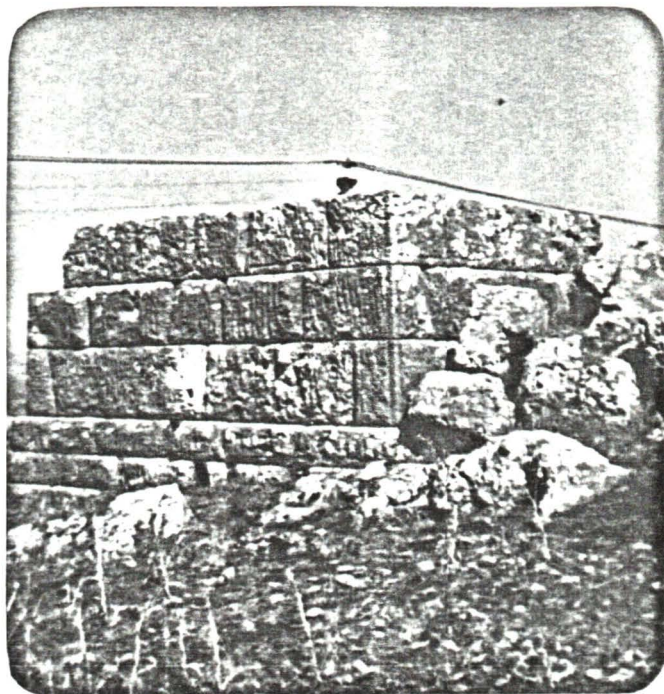


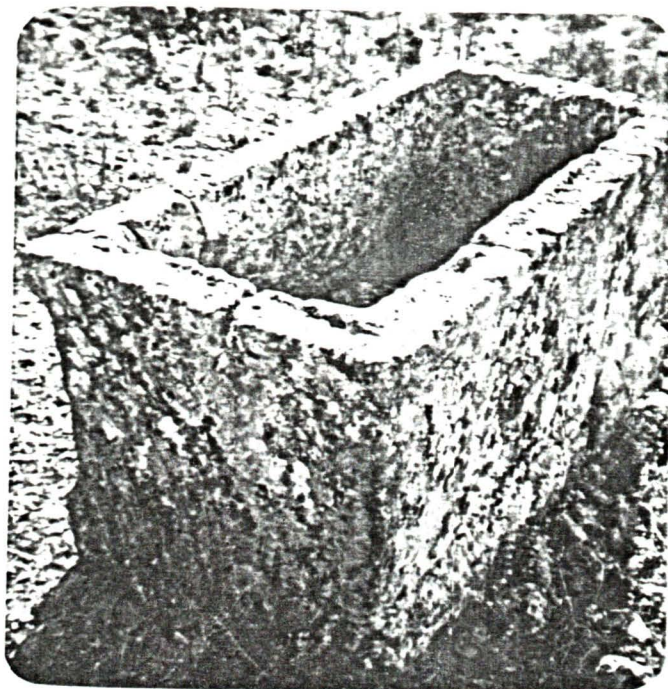


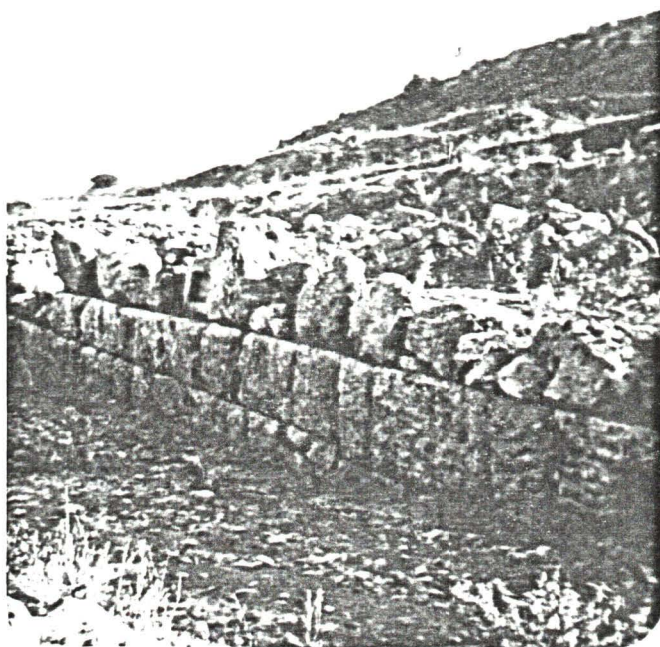
Plates 9 and 10

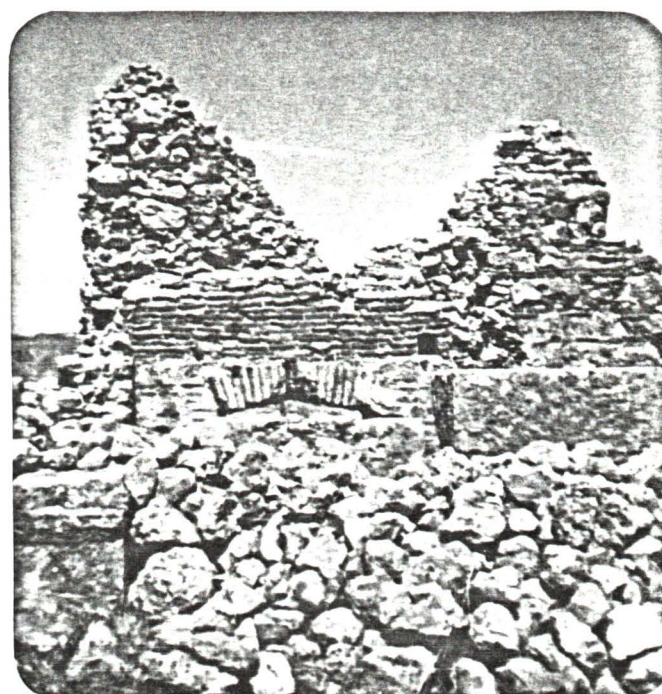
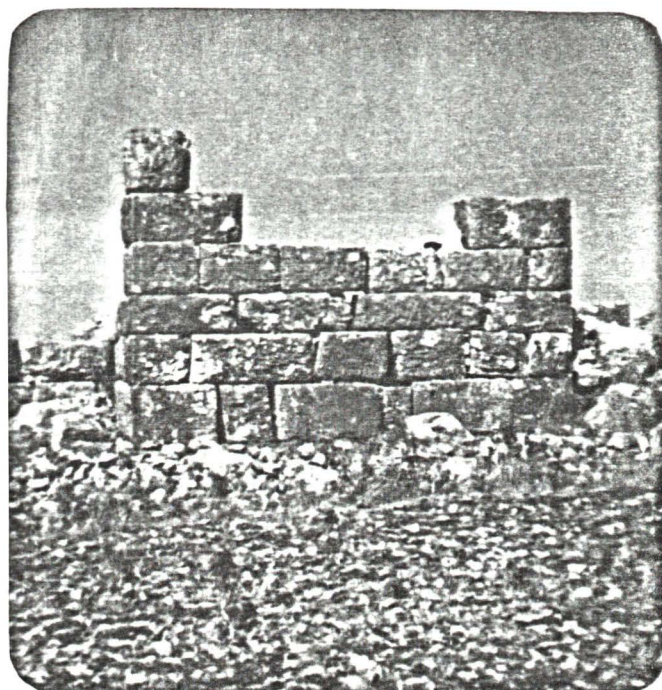




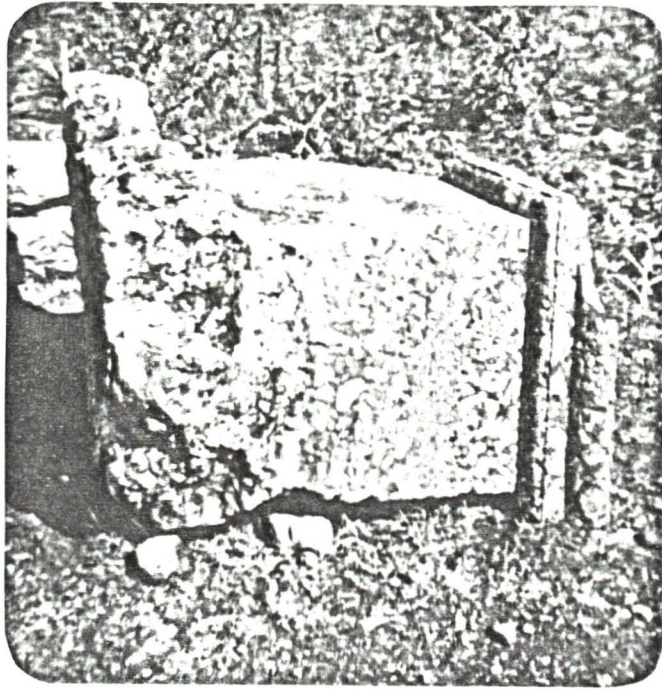


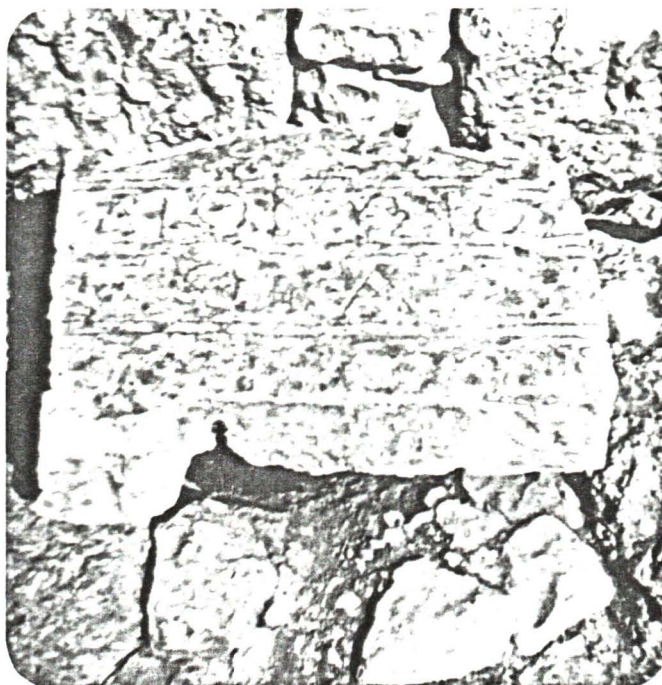




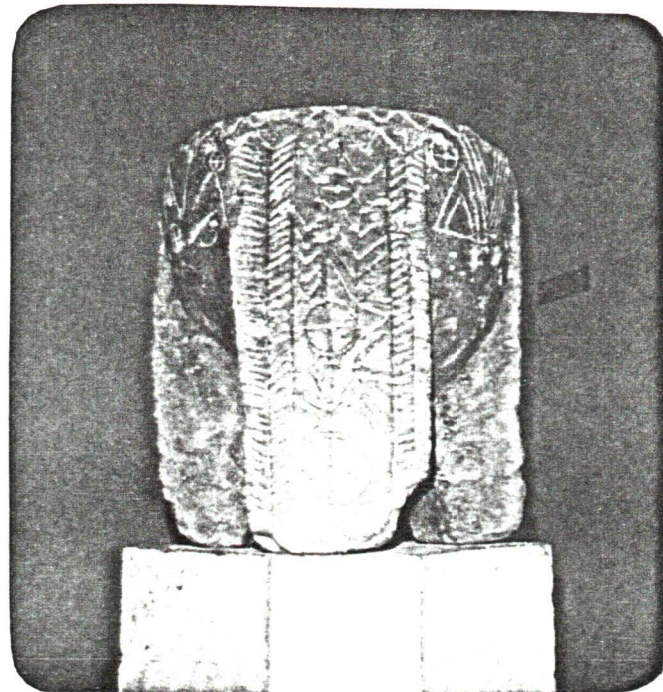


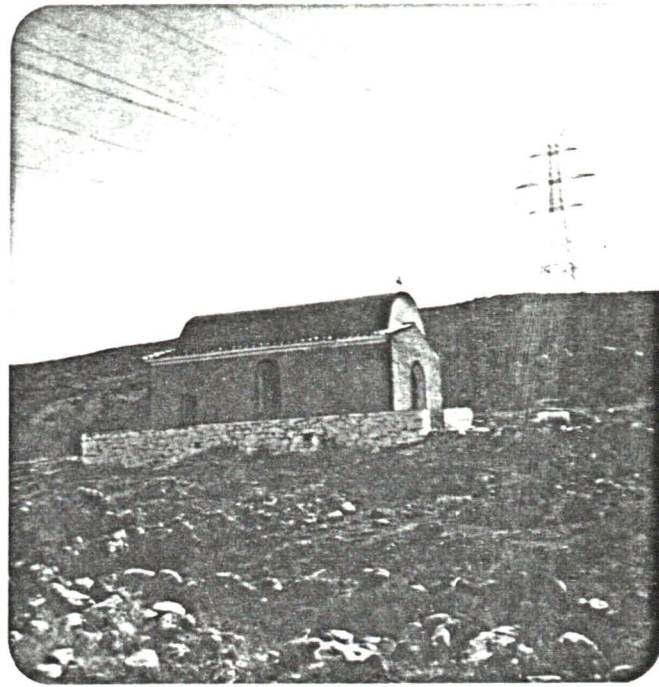


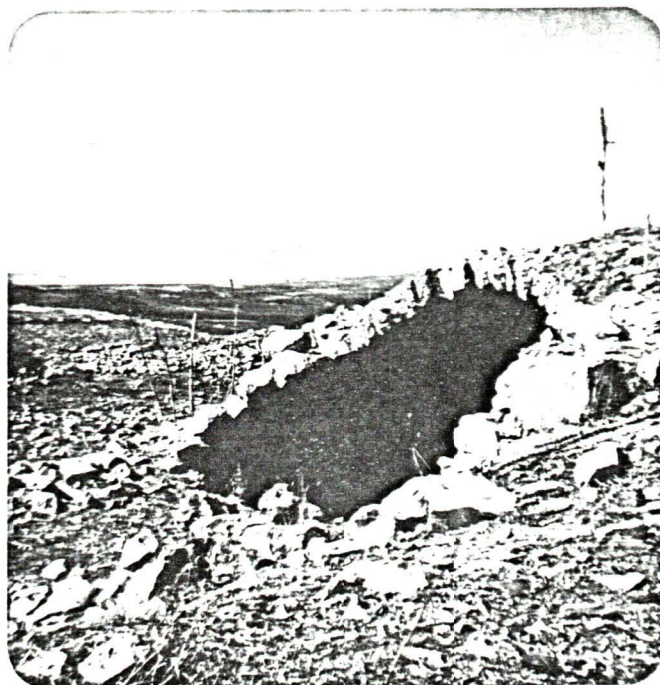


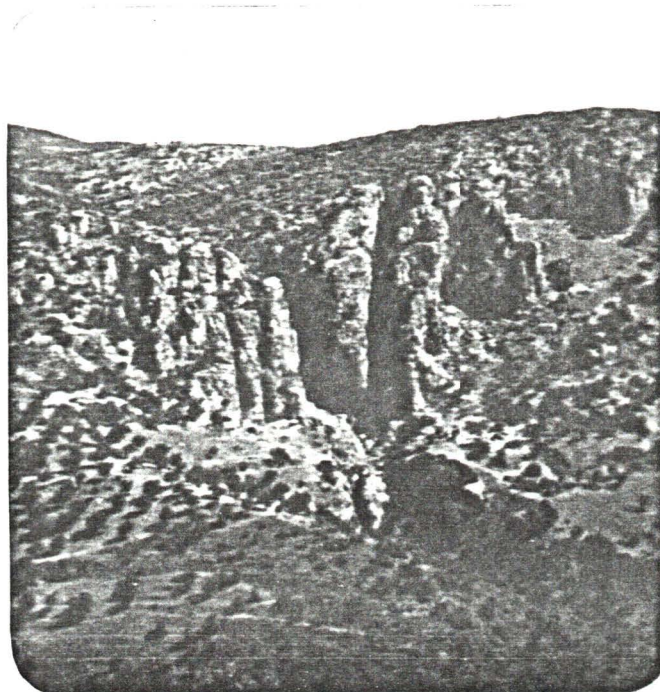


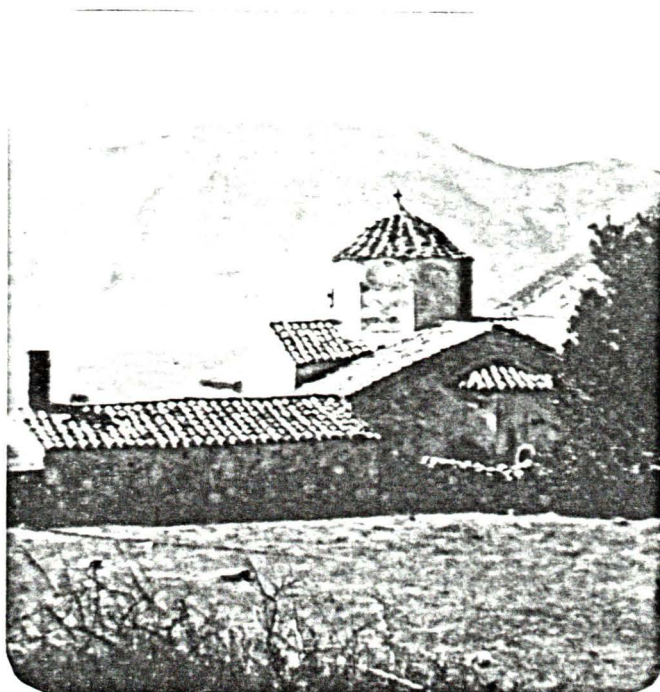


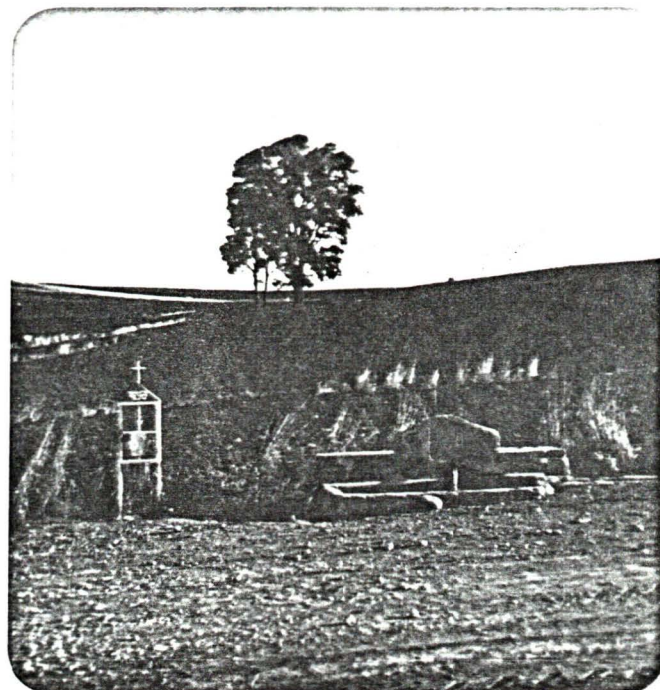
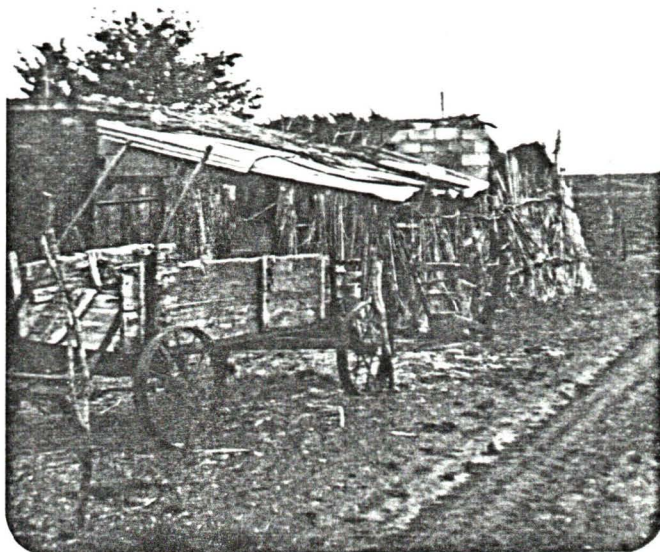


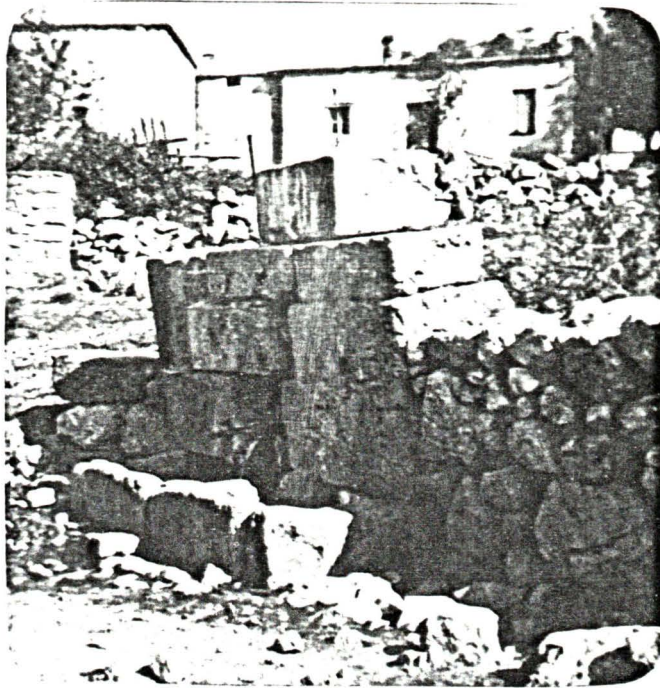


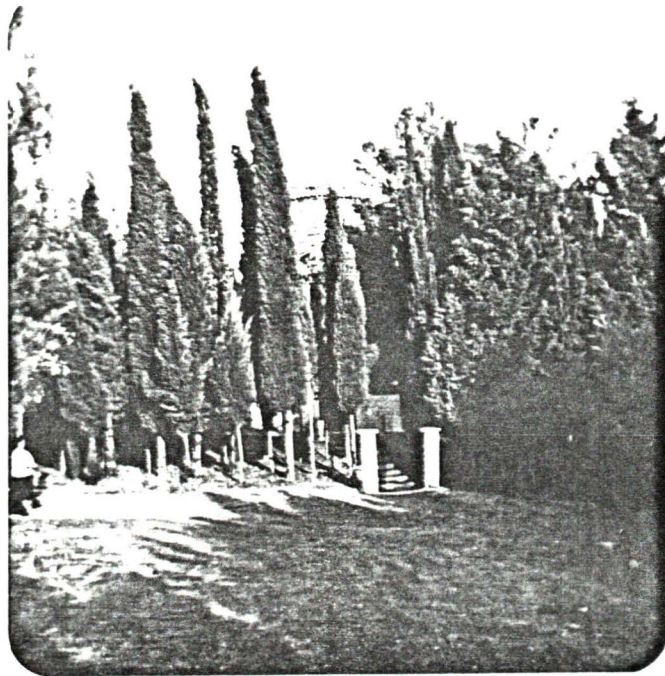
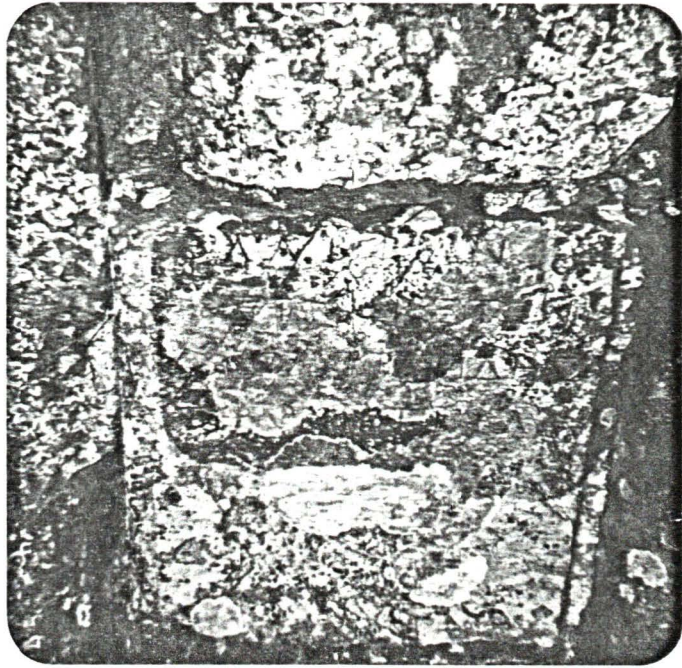


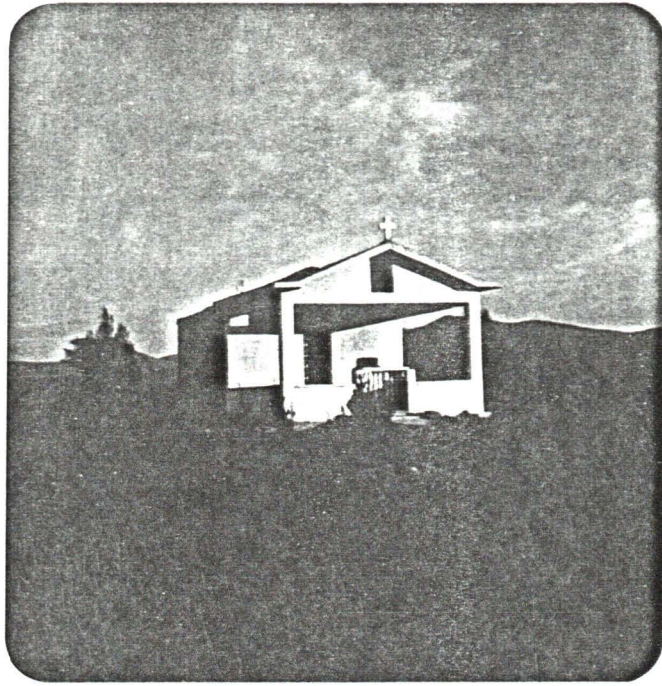


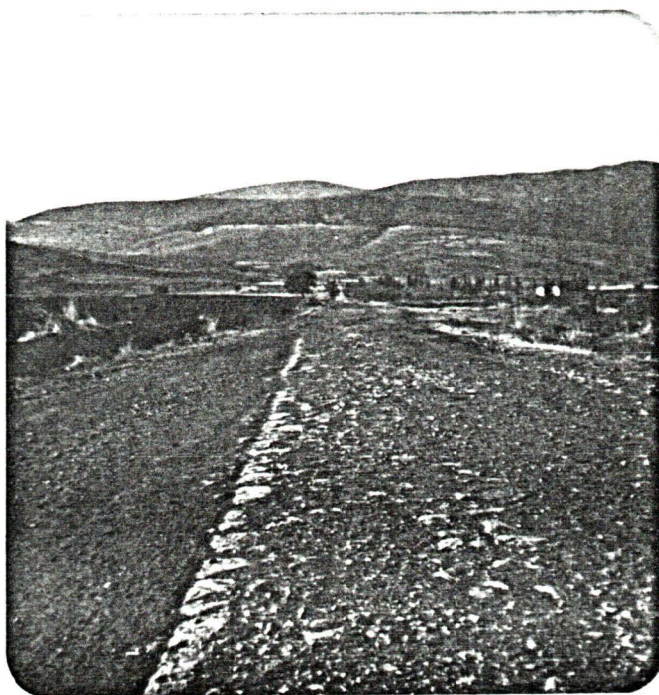




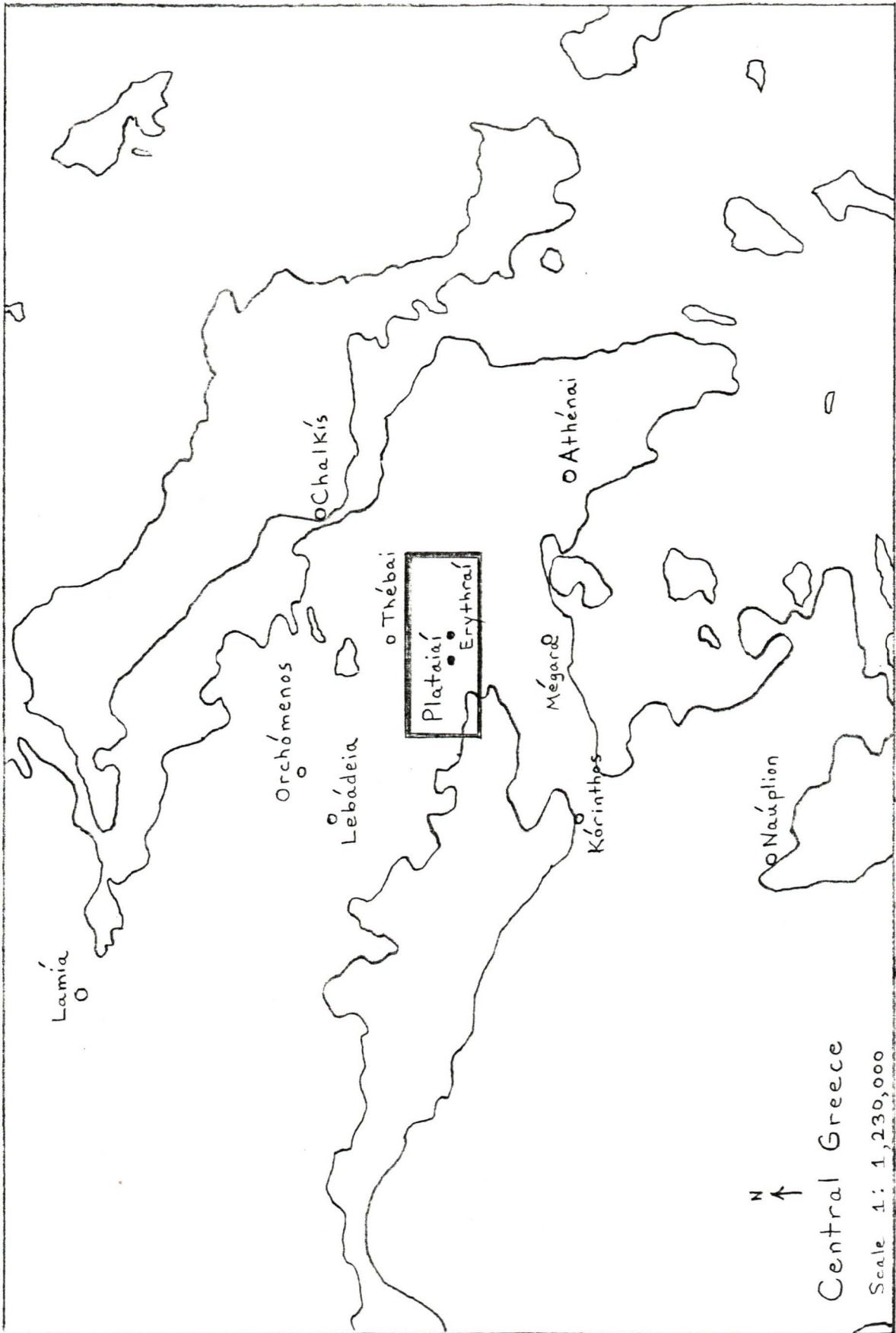


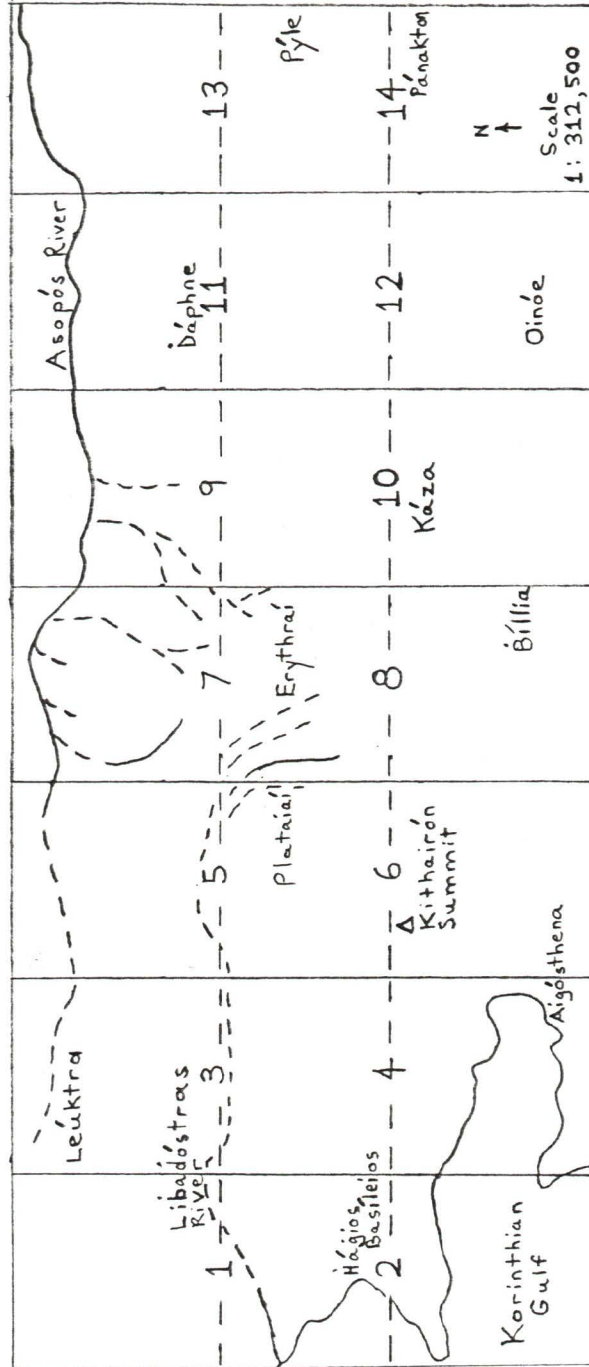












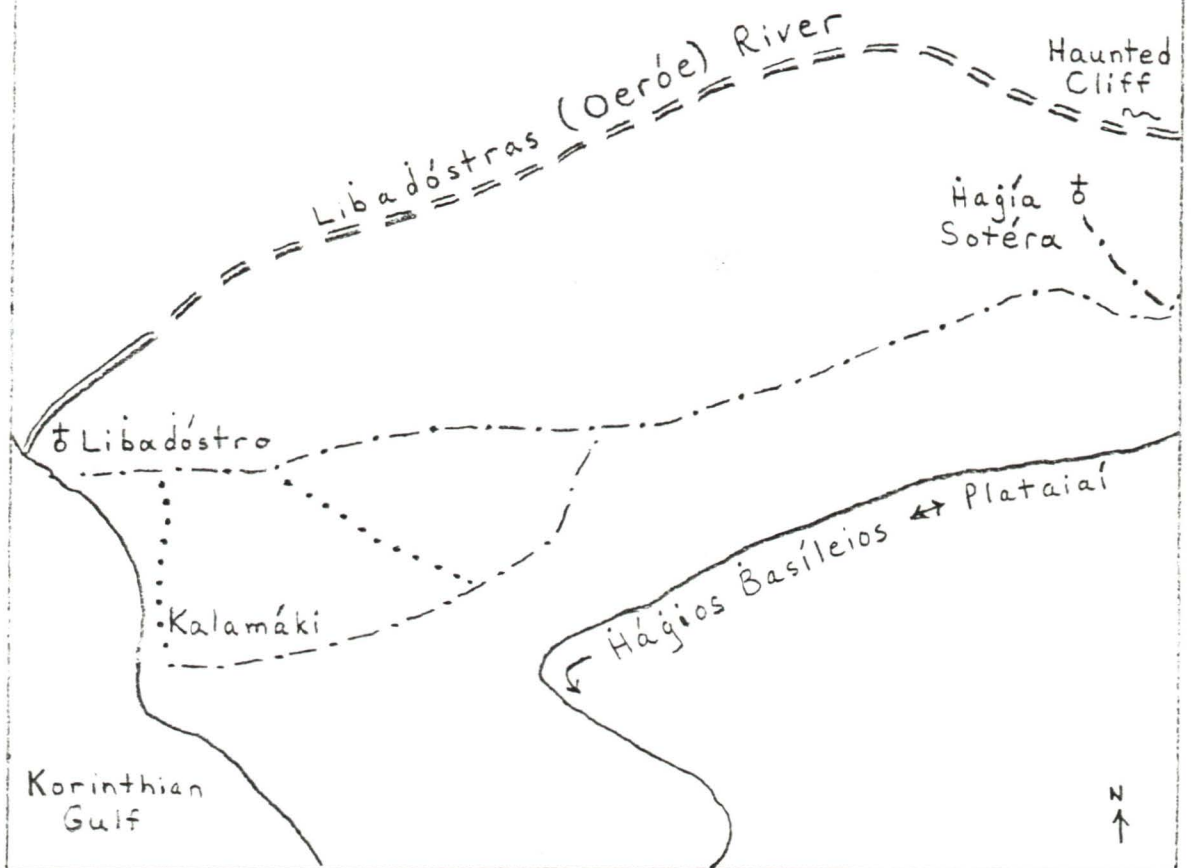
Map Section Guide

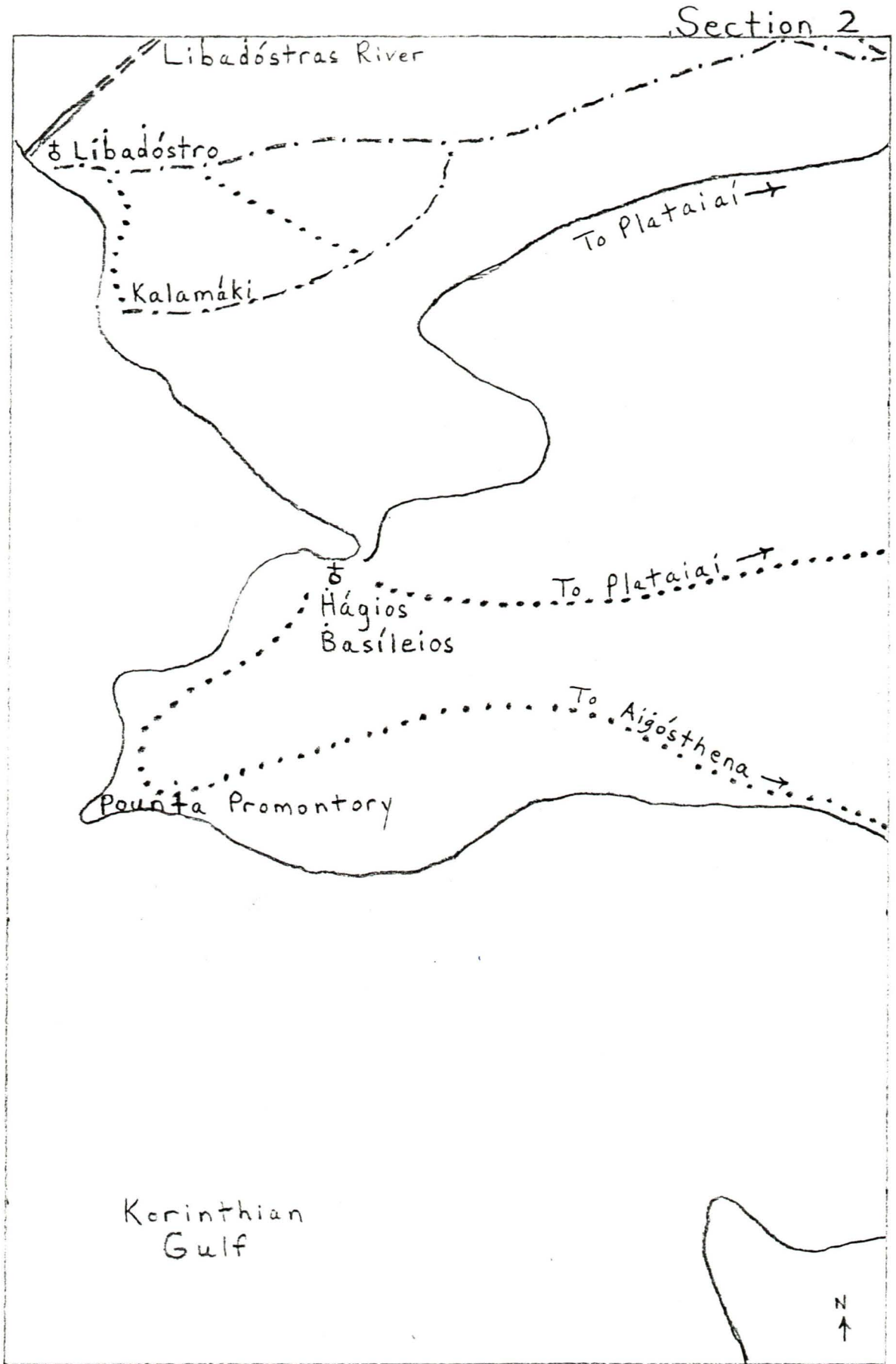
Section 1

Scale
1:62,500
1 inch = 1 km.

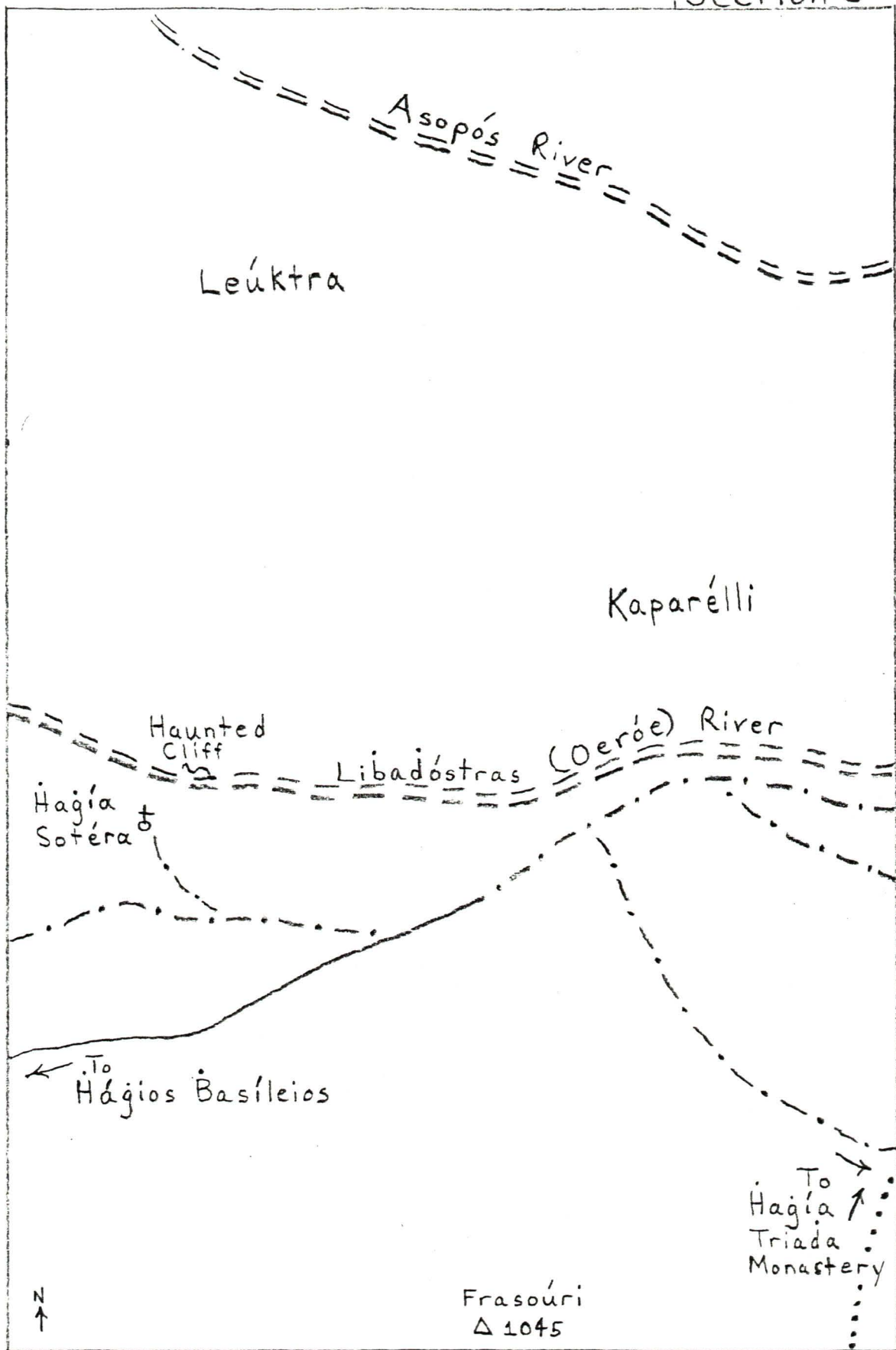
Asopos
River

Leúktra

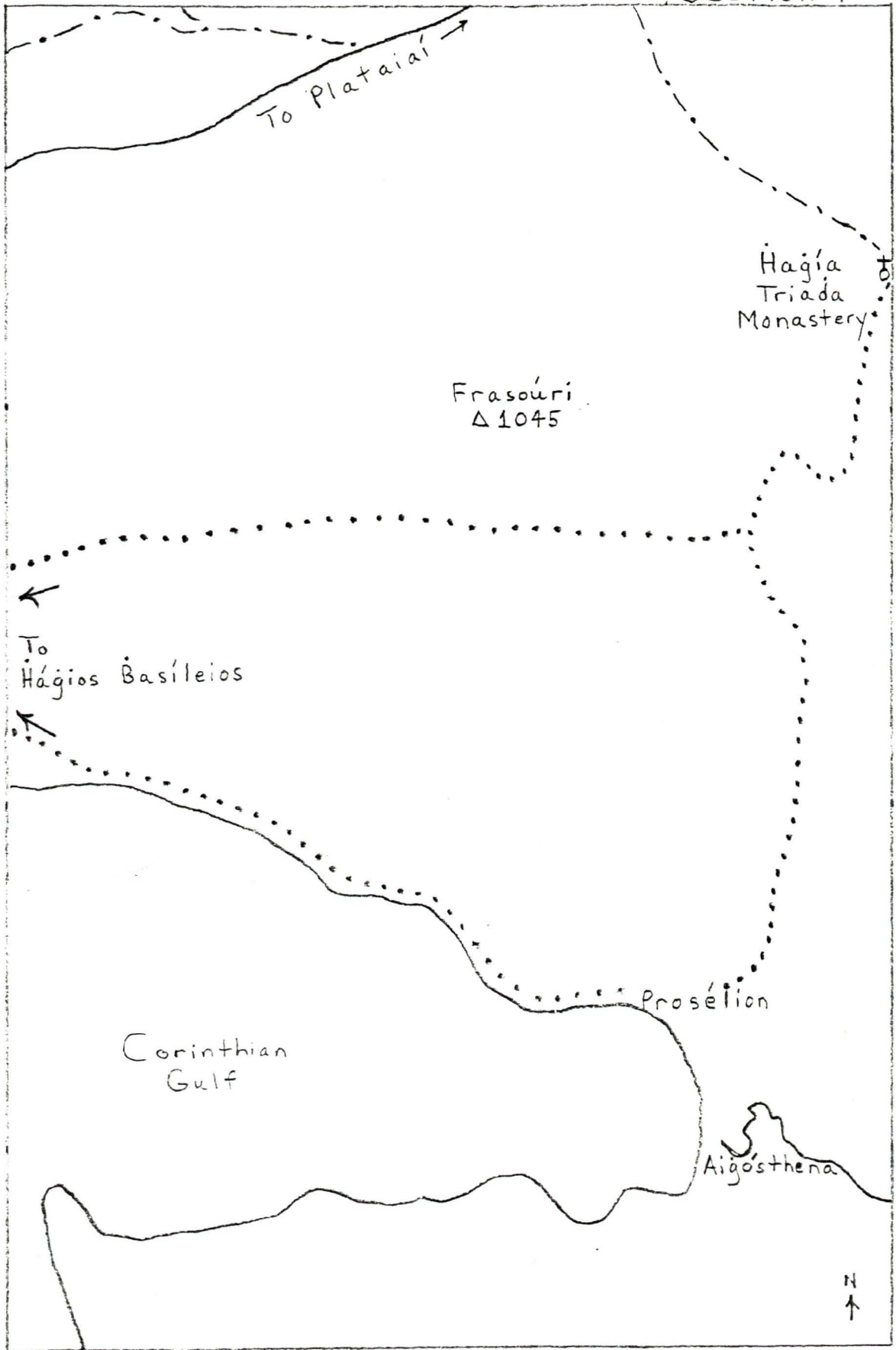




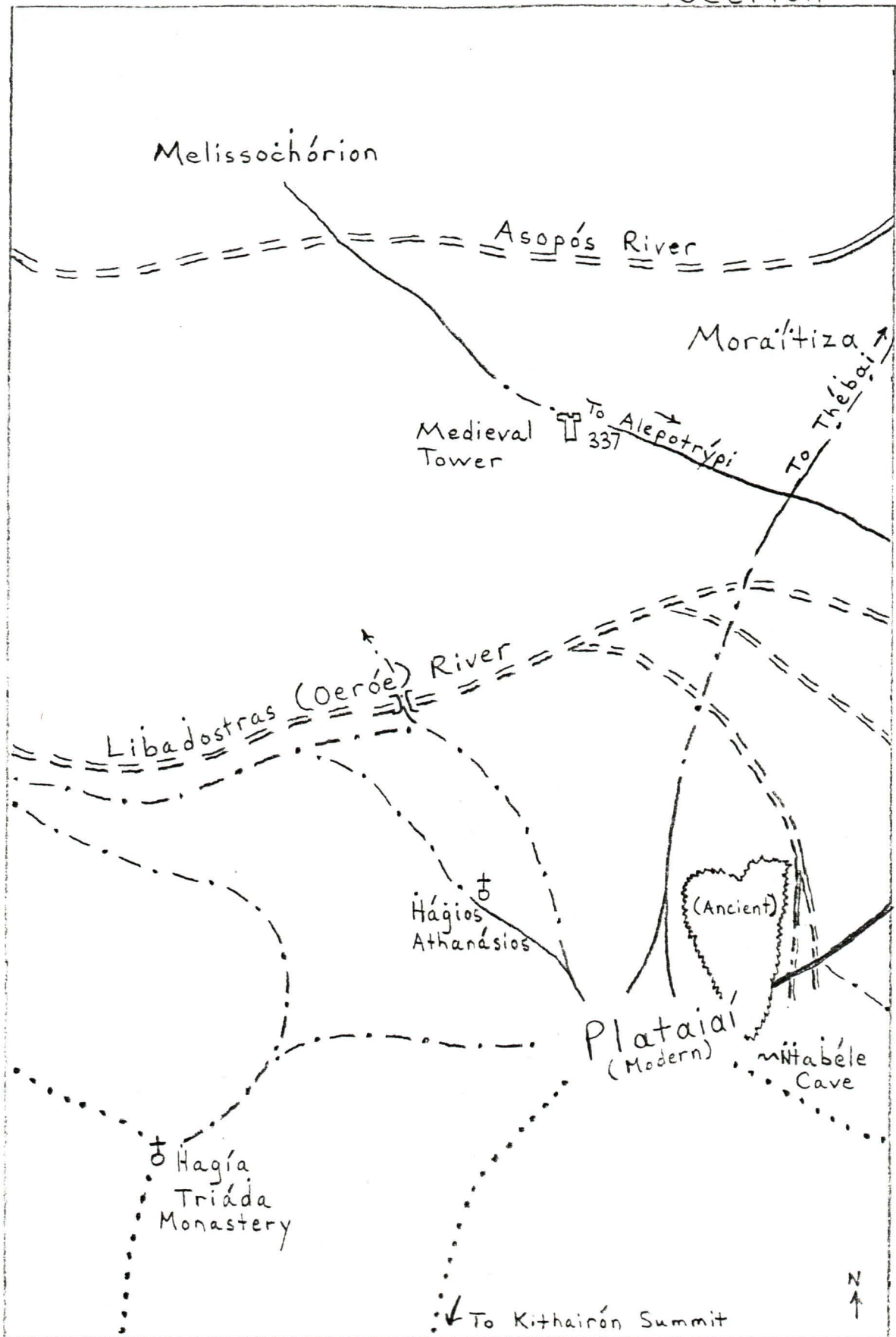
Section 3

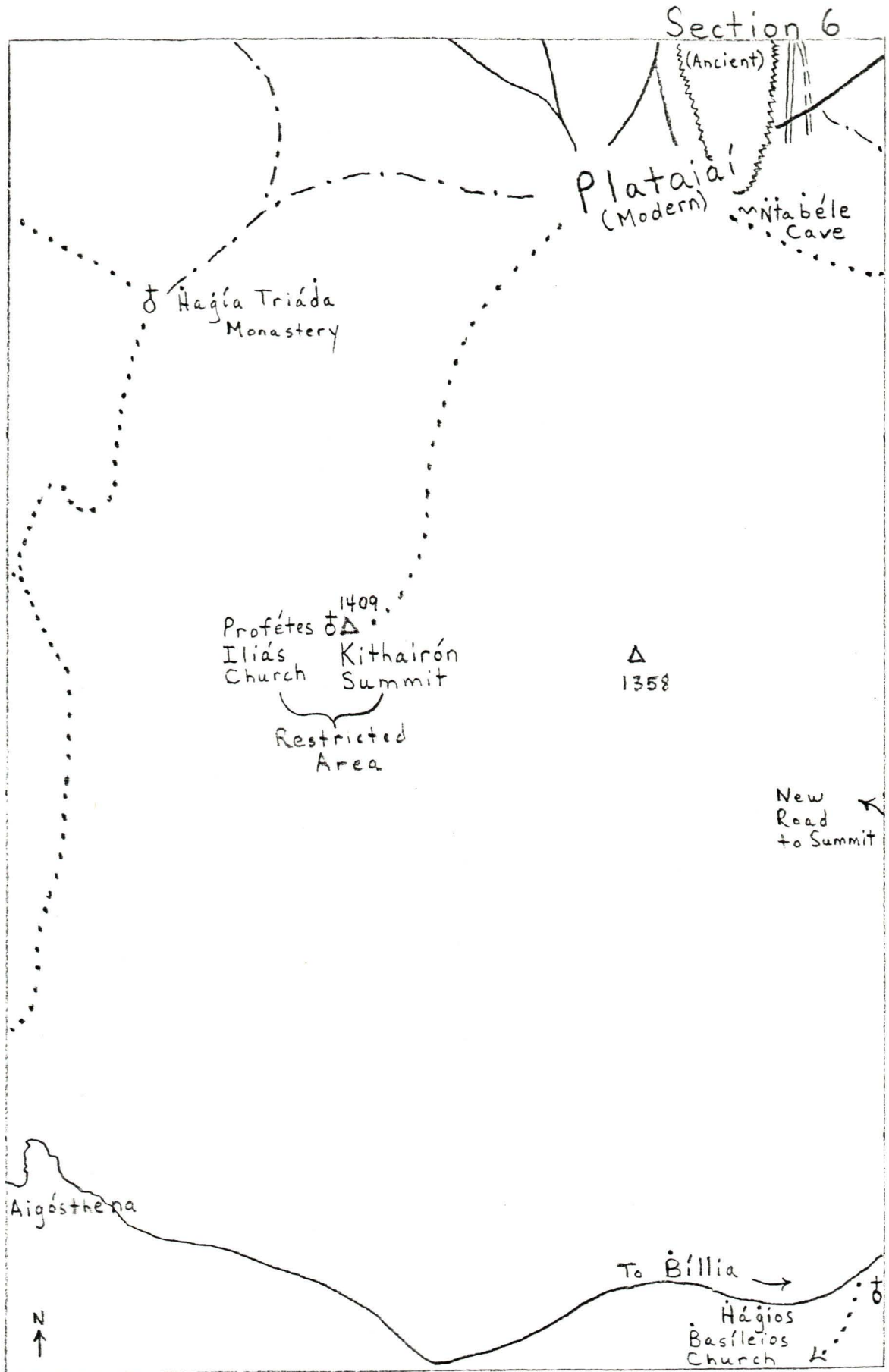


Section 4

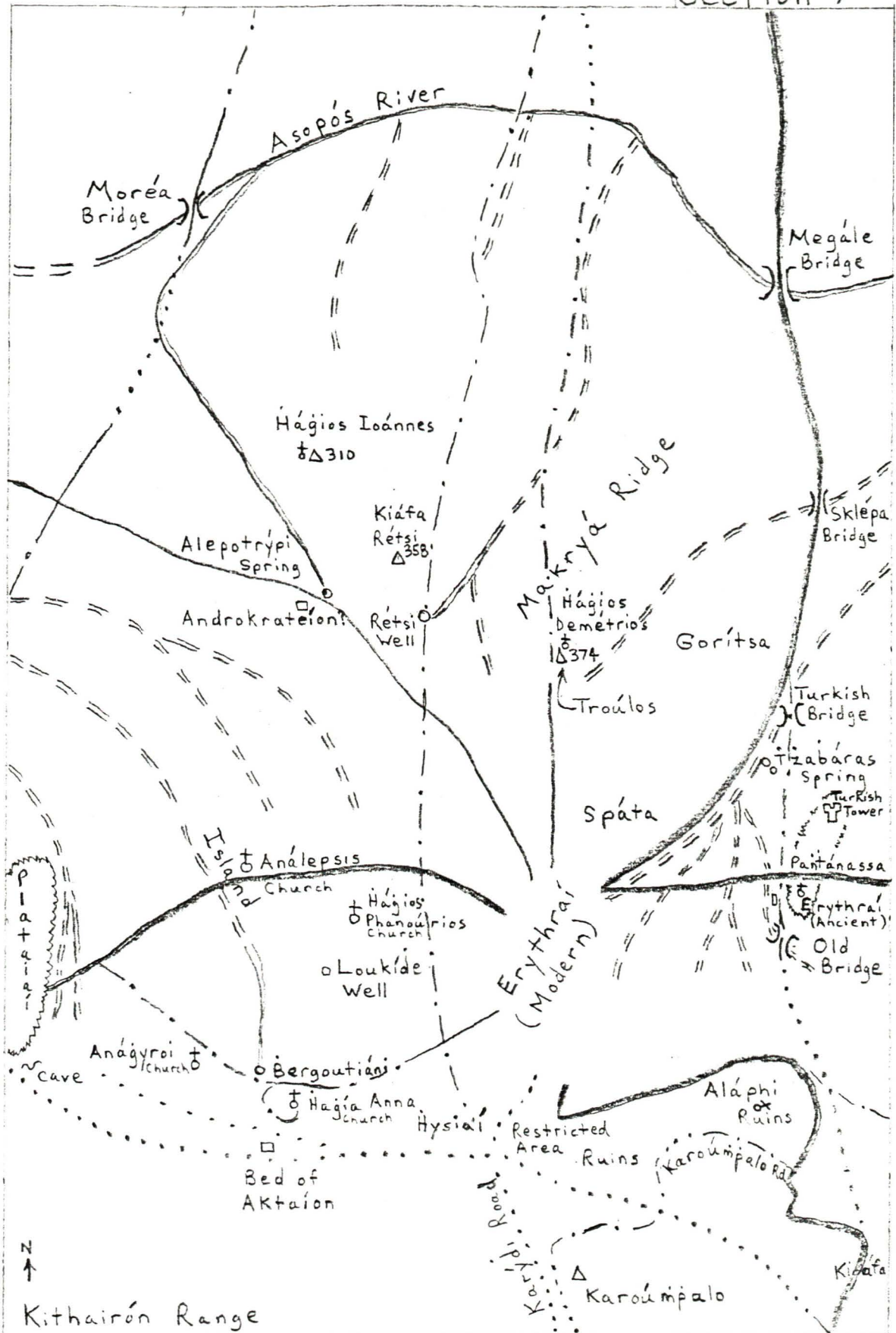


Section 5

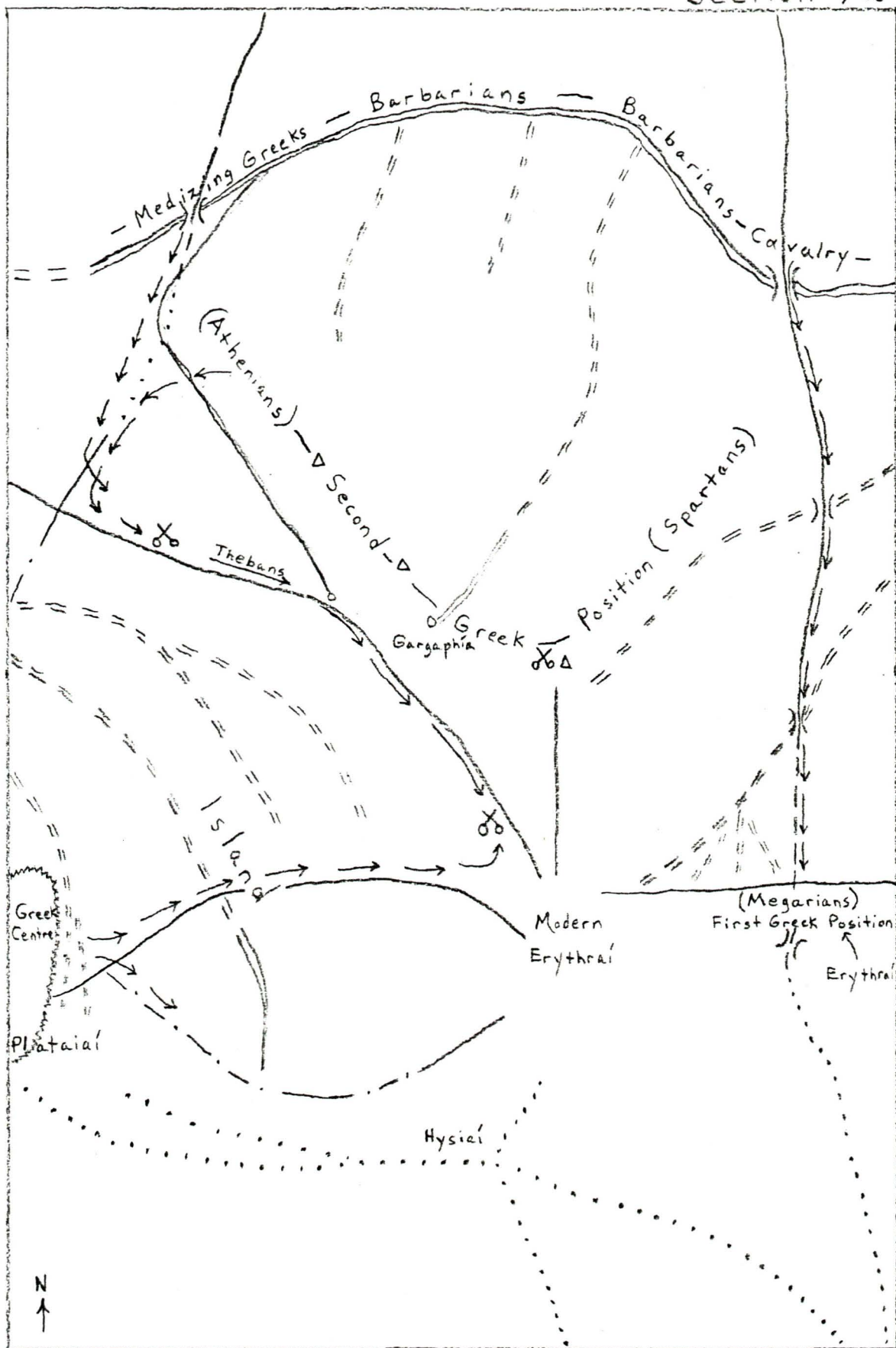




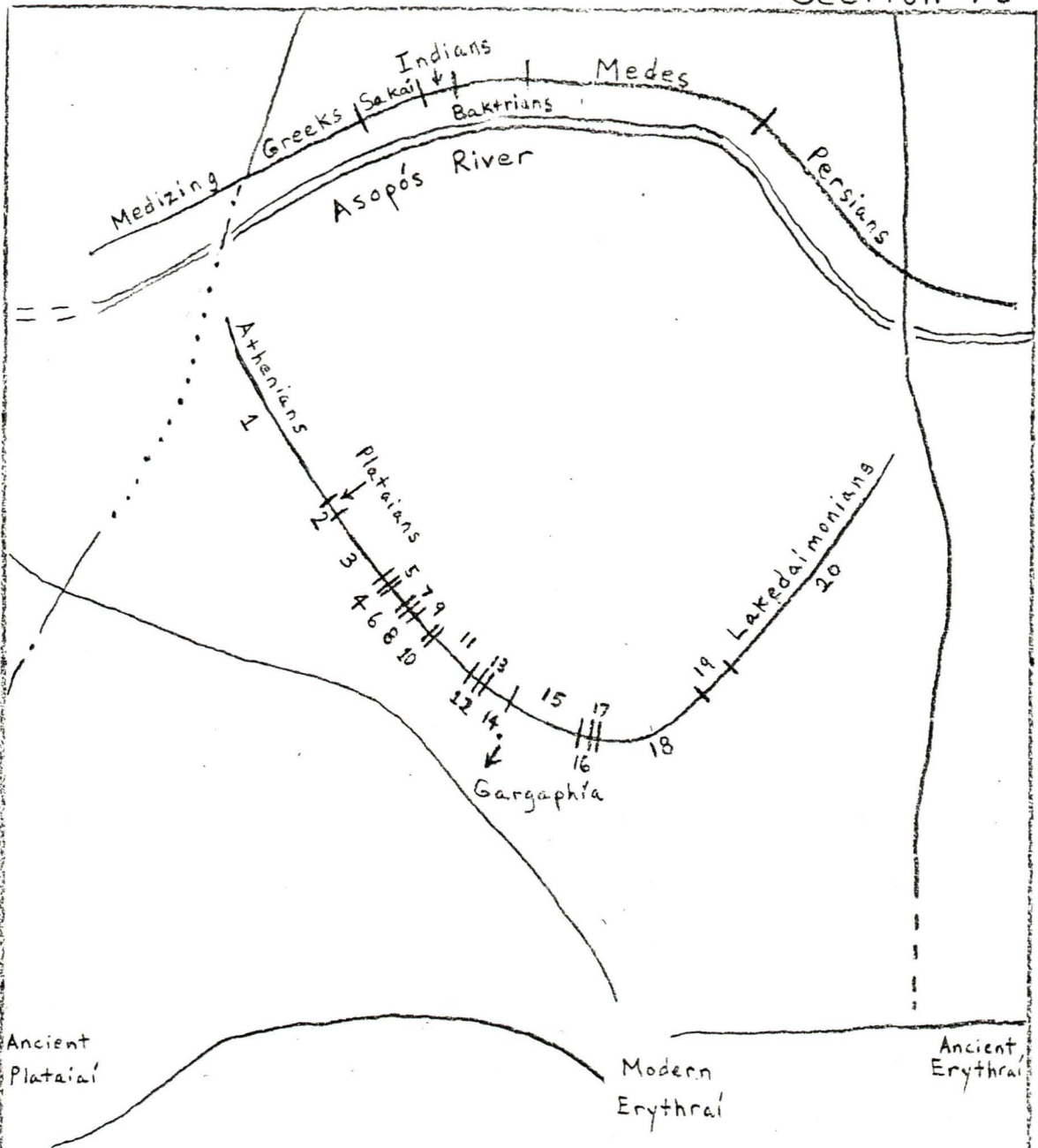
Section 7



Section 7a



Section 7b

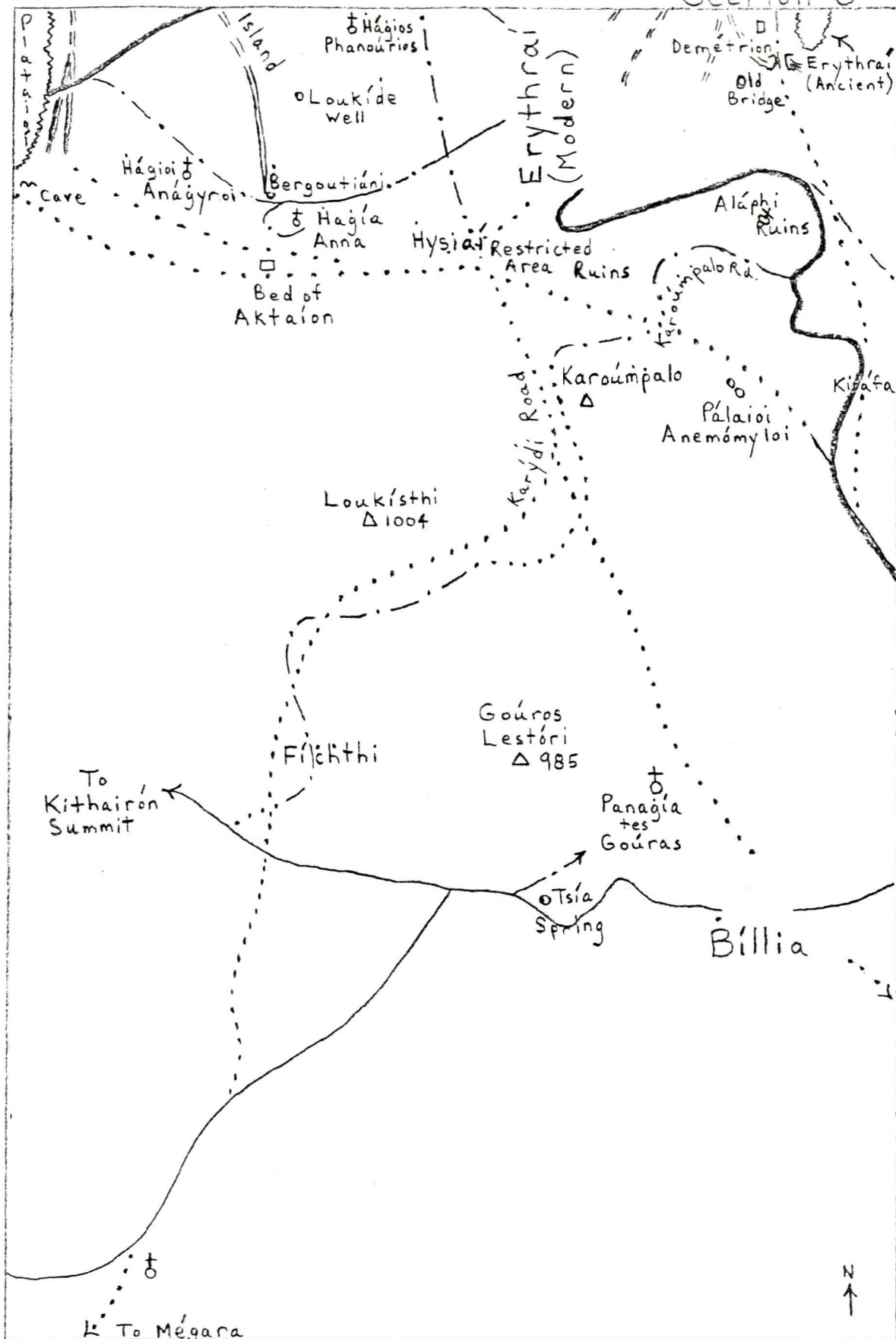


Allied Greeks in Second Position (479 B.C.)

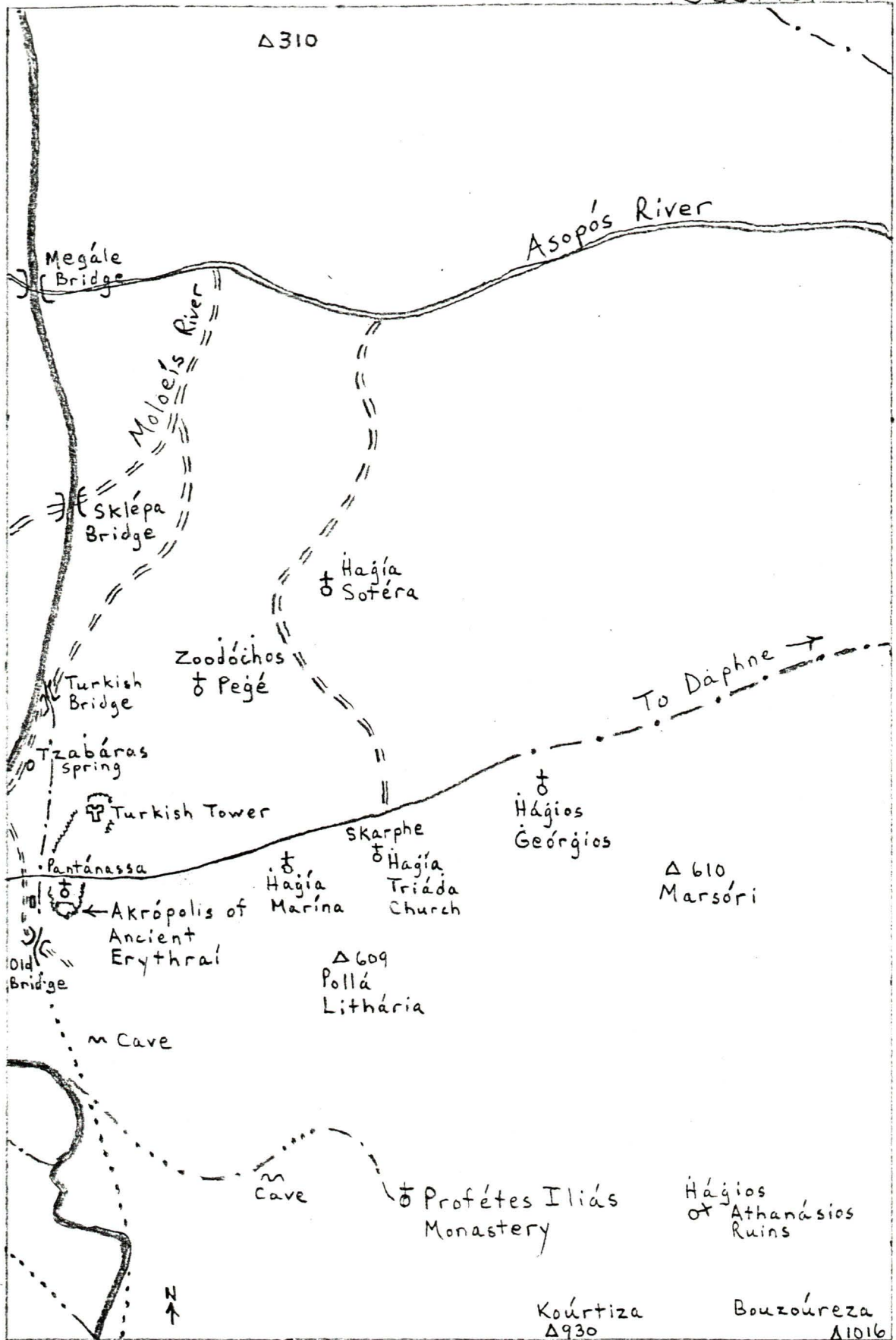
- | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Athēnai | 8. Chalkis | 14. Troizēn |
| 2. Plataiai | 9. Erōtria & Styra | 15. Sikyonia |
| 3. Mēgara | 10. Hermiōne | 16. Arkadian Orchōmenos |
| 4. Aigina | 11. Phliasia | 17. Potidaia |
| 5. Pāle | 12. Mykēnai & Tiryns | 18. Kōrinthos |
| 6. Leukādia & Anaktōrion | 13. Lōpreon | 19. Tōgea |
| 7. Ambrakia | | 20. Lakedaimonia |



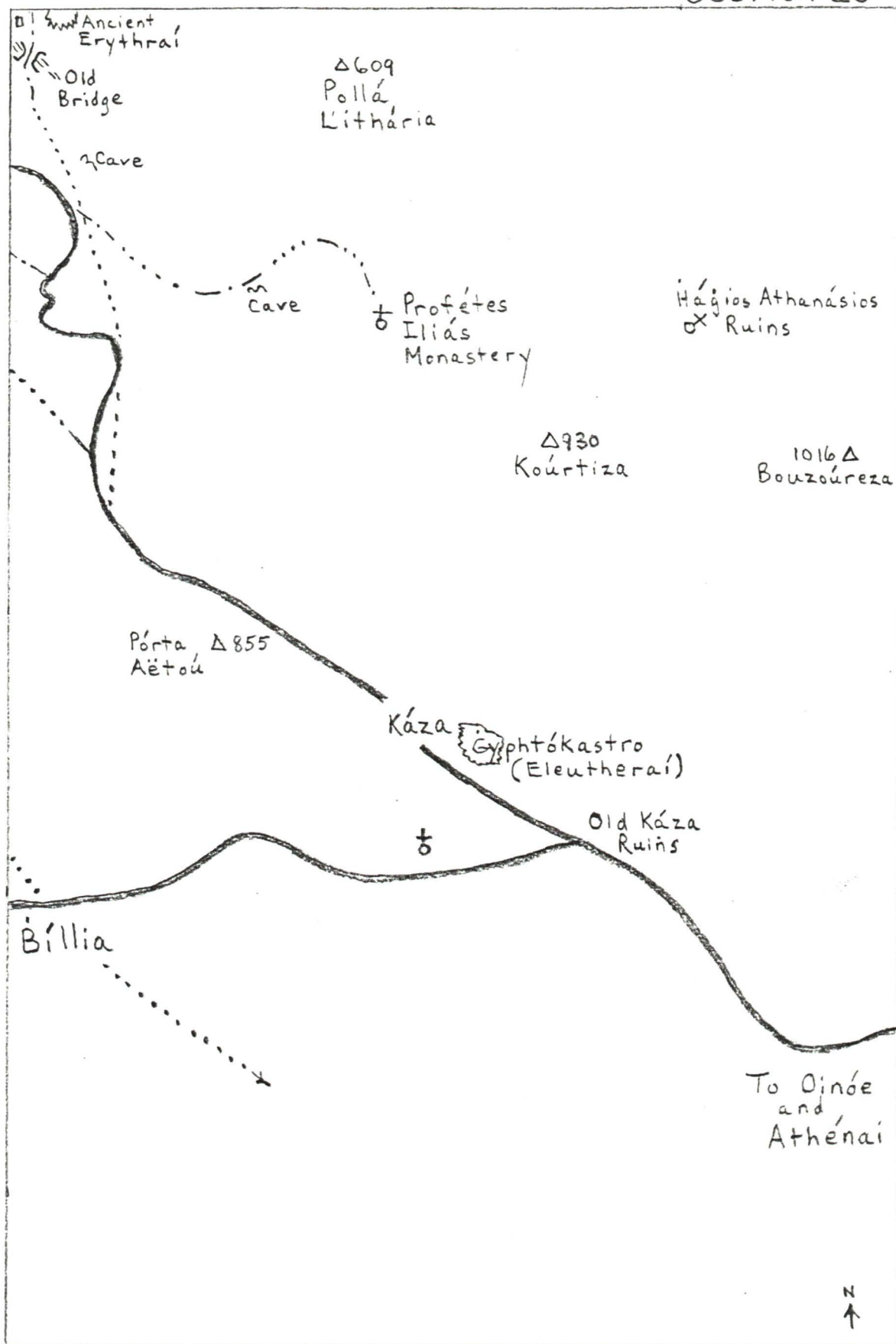
Section 8



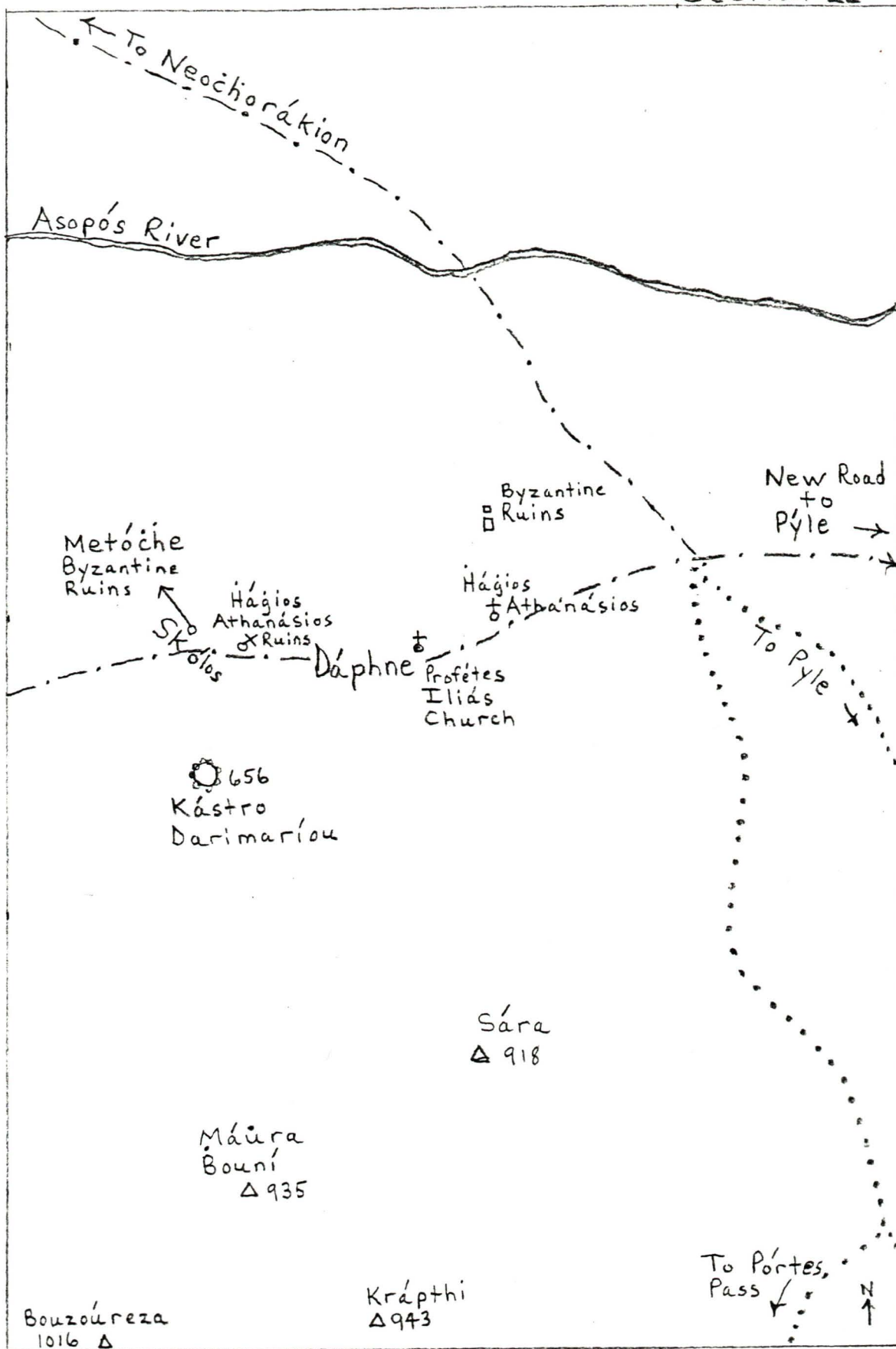
Section 9



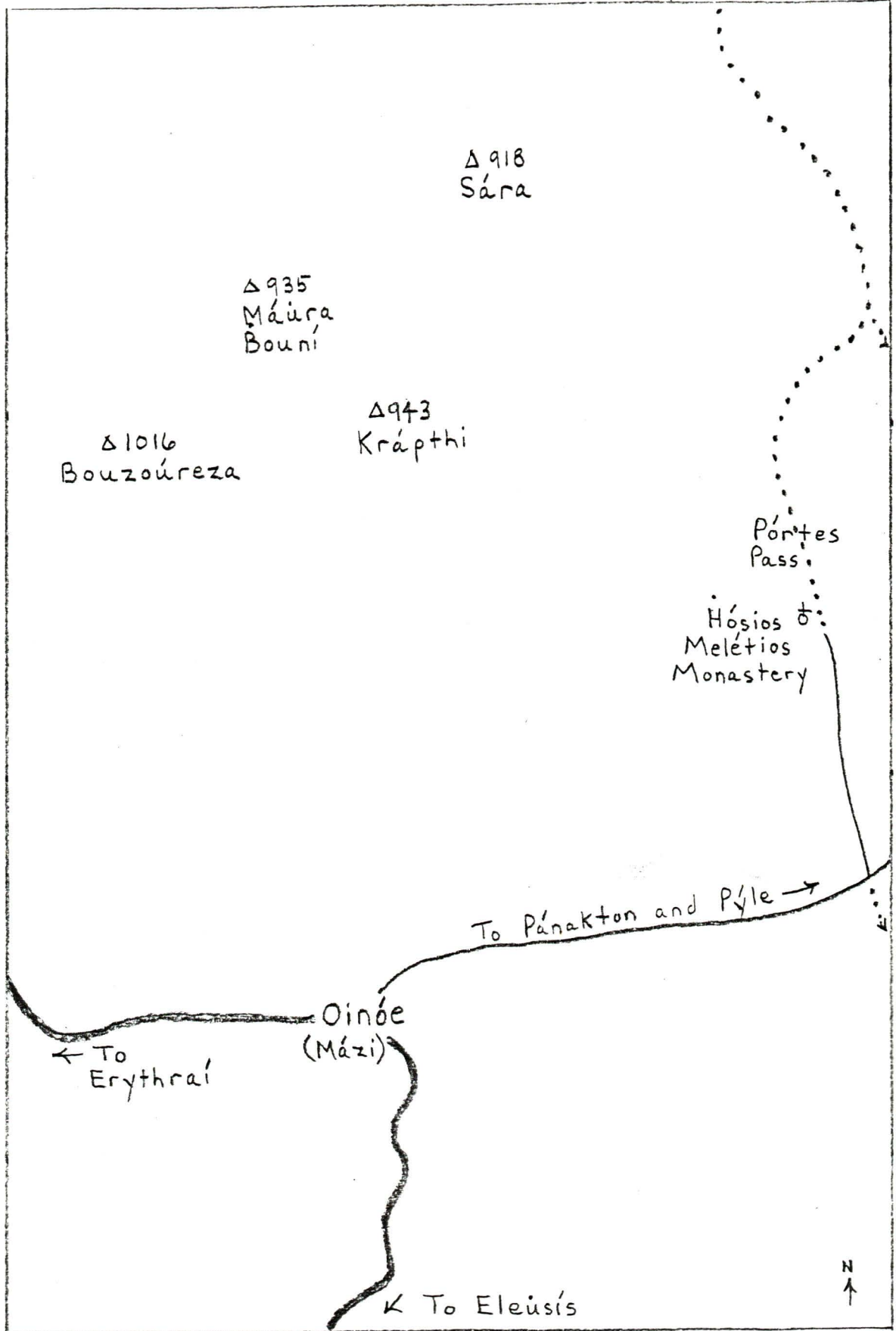
Section 10



Section 11



Section 12



Δ 918
Sára

Δ 935
Máúra
Bouni

Δ 1016
Bouzoúra

Δ 943
Kráphti

Pórtes
Pass

Hósios
Melétios
Monastery

To Pánakton and Pýle →

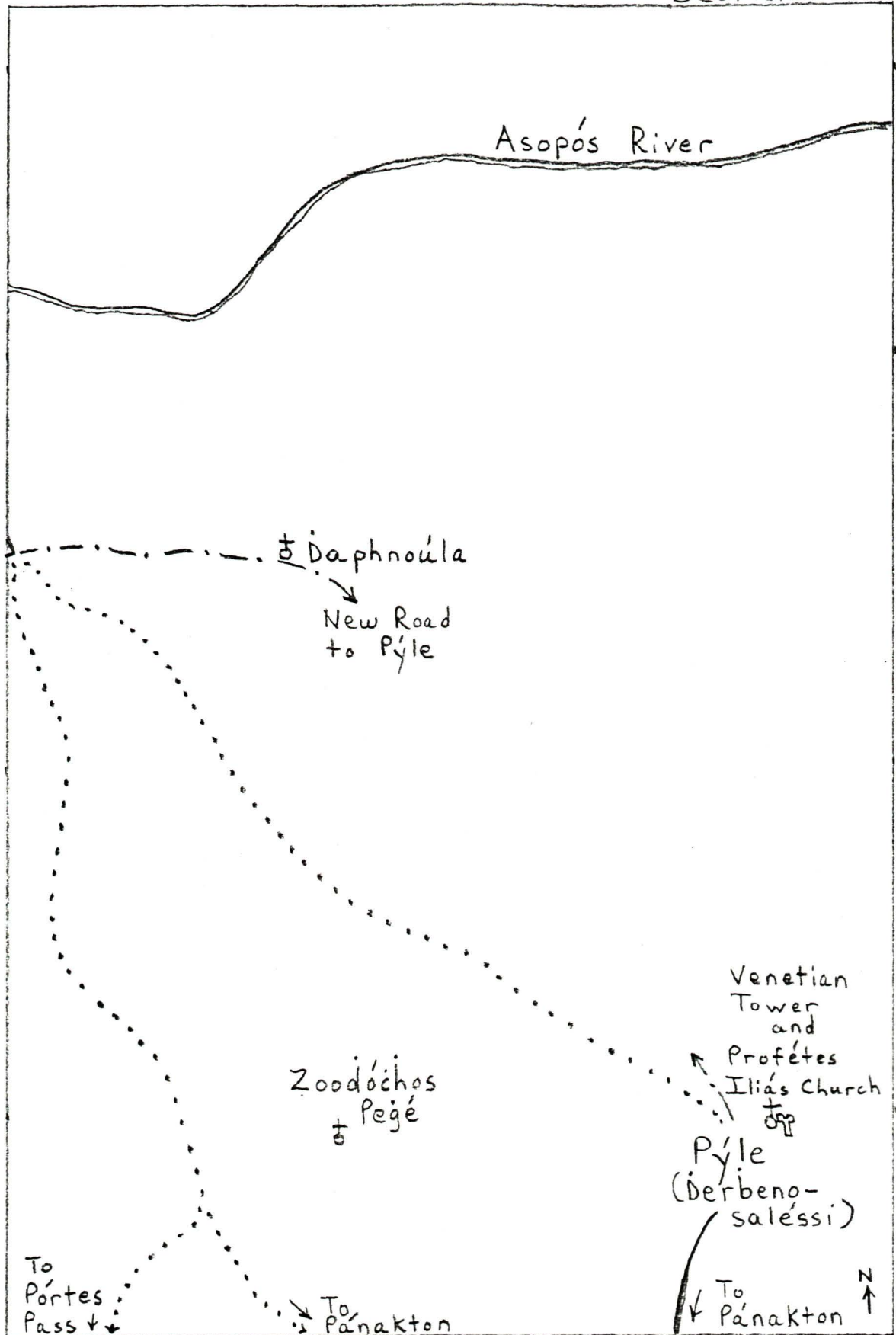
← To
Erythraí

Oinoe
(Mázi)

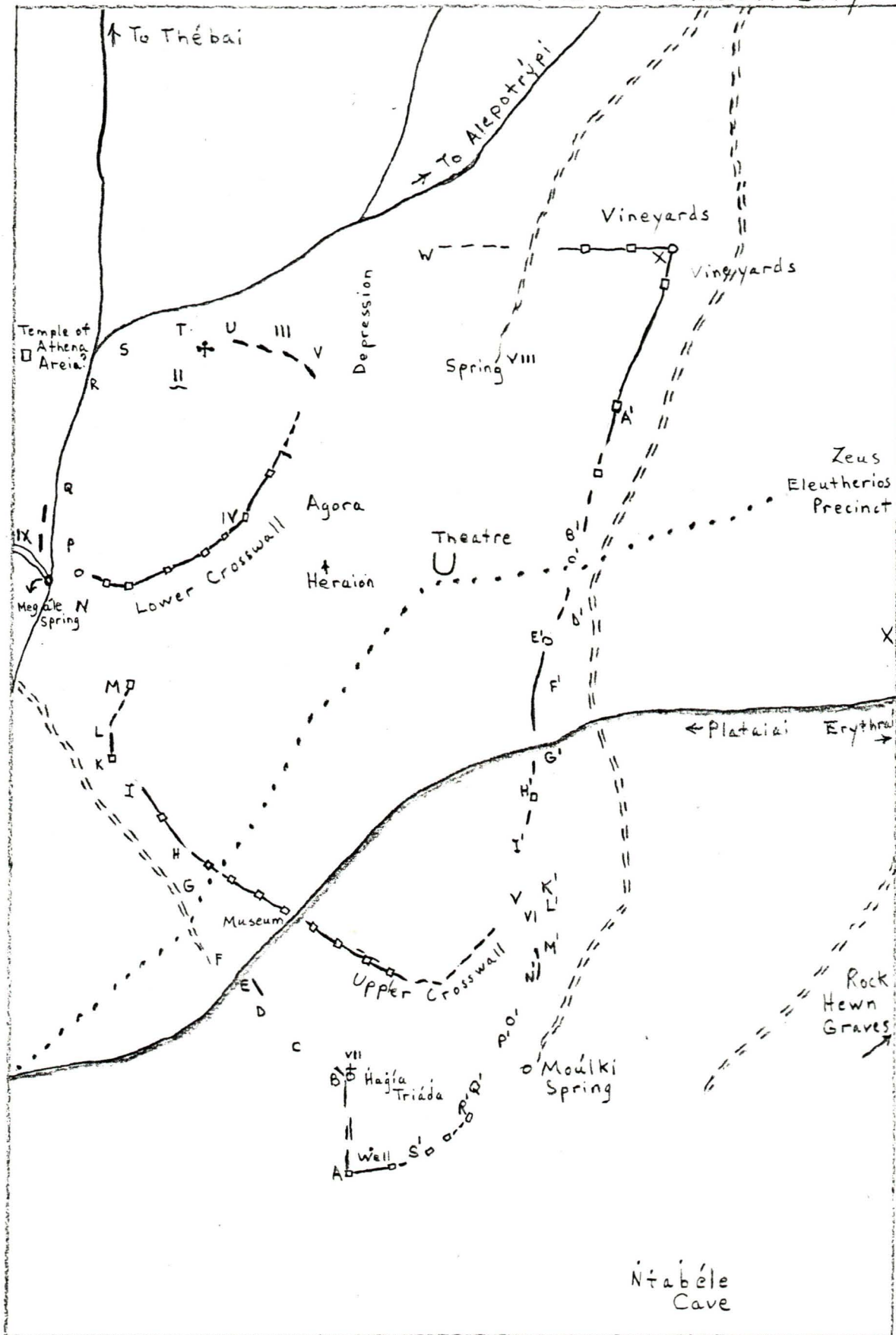
← To Eleúsís

N
↑

Section 13



Plataiai-Ancient City



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PLATAÏKA: The Topography and Remains of the
Region of Plataiai, with an Historical
Introduction.

Author



Signature

ROBERT O. HUNTER

Name

February 15th, 1978

Date