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A Note on Plataea in Dr. Frazer's Pausanias

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and confusion that must have prevailed in Athens and Attica just after the departure of the Mede. What more natural than a temporary resort even to election at such a juncture? Appointment by the ordinary methods of that date, but from the whole body of eligible citizens (ἐξ Ἀθηναίων πάντων)

instead of κατὰ φυλάς from candidates elected by the demes, is still more easily intelligible. Many of the demes were probably still ἀνάστατοι, and their organisation in confusion.

E. J. BROOKS.

A NOTE ON PLATAEA IN DR. FRAZER'S PAUSANIAS.

As the question of the accounts of the Battle and of the Siege of Plataea in Herodotus and Thucydides respectively is one of considerable historical importance, and one, moreover, with which I have some first-hand acquaintance, I should like to say a few words as to certain views which Dr. Frazer has put forward on some very important points in the two narratives. Were it merely a question of the conclusions which he and I have drawn from the evidence obtainable, I should not consider it necessary to say aught on the subject. Given the evidence, other students, who have not first-hand knowledge, can form a capable judgment. But when those who have first-hand knowledge differ as to the evidence, it is desirable that the reasons for difference should be in so far as possible sifted. I think, I confess, that such differences as do exist in the present case, have arisen from a misapprehension on Dr. Frazer's part of the real nature of this evidence. It would demand almost superhuman care to avoid such misapprehensions in a work of the magnitude of Dr. Frazer's Pausanias, where the amount of material under review is so vast and so complicated.

The notes to which I am going to refer are in vol. v., § 2 of the Pausanias.

1. *The three Passes on to the Field of Battle.*

- (1) On the Athens-Eleusis-Thebes route (Dryos Kephalaë).
- (2) On the Athens-Plataea route.
- (3) On the Megara-Plataea route.

With regard to the second of these, Dr. Frazer says that he follows me with some misgivings. He says that on the Austrian map, as well as on the French survey, the route to Plataea from Athens diverges from the Athens-Eleusis-Thebes route, not as I state it does, south of Eleutherae, but that it goes through the Dryos-Kephalaë Pass,

and then diverges west along the line of the present loop-road to Kriekouki.

The French survey I have not got by me. I have the map of the Austrian survey, viz. :—

The well-known Austrian map of Greece, revised by Kiepert, 1885, scale 1 : 300,000.

Which shows

- (a) The road *via* Dryos Kephalaë.
- (b) Another road branching from this south of Eleutherae, going to Vilia, and then over Pass No. 2 to Kriekouki.

But more than this, at the north end of this Pass No. 2, a little west of Kriekouki, are the tracks of wheels deeply worn in the limestone rock pointing right into this pass, and marking plainly the route of the Plataea-Athens road.

2. *The νῆσος.*

I seem to have half convinced Dr. Frazer of the existence and identity of the νῆσος. I need not now repeat the description of it given in the monograph the Royal Geographical Society published for me. I do not think that anyone who had once stood at the point on the side of Kithaeron, where the streams part, and looked down on to the νῆσος I have indicated could doubt for one moment that it is exactly the piece of ground Herodotus describes, and exactly as he describes it (ix. 50). Dr. Frazer raises two difficulties :—

- (1) He says the streams do not unite until far down in the plain.

That was true at the time I was at Plataea. But in the alluvial plain the water-courses are liable to rapid and frequent changes of bed. Leake's map (Northern Greece) shows that these streams did join one another in his time close to the foot of the νῆσος indicated.

- (2) Dr. Frazer says that this *vḗstos* is thirty stades at least from the Asopus, and that 'to meet this last difficulty Mr. Grundy is driven to suppose that Herodotus was here speaking, not of the Asopus, but one of its tributaries, which rises ten stades from the island so-called.'

I was not, however, driven to this supposition by that difficulty; but by a much more serious one, viz., Herodotus' description of the second position of the Greeks.

In ix. 25, he speaks of the Greeks being near the Spring of Gargaphia and the *τεμένος* of the Hero Androcates, which was at least from one and a half to two miles from the Thespian Asopus, and then says at the end of the chapter, οὔτοι μὲν νυν ταχέεντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

This 'Asopus' must have been the stream A 1 in my map; the stream to which I refer the measurement of ten stades in relation to the island.

It was the commonest thing possible in our own country and elsewhere before the days of accurate maps for the name of a well-known river to be applied to several of the streams which form its head waters. The Thames is a notable case in point. In my paper on Plataea, I ascribed the so-called mistake to Herodotus. I should now be more inclined to believe that the Plataeans did actually call A 1 the Asopus. It is one of the head streams of this river, and is much closer to Plataea than the others.

3. *The tombs of those who fell in the Battle.*

Dr. Frazer ascribes to me the opinion that the rock graves near which the Megara road must have entered Plataea, are the tombs of those who fell in the battle. He refers to p. 7 of my monograph. The opinion

there expressed is that of Dr. Merethides. I confess, however, that the language in which I stated that opinion might mislead the reader as to my own view. My impression is that a cemetery either previously existed or grew up round the site of the graves of those who fell in the battle. As to their position, Pausanias is singularly clear. Speaking of the road from Megara, he says κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑσοδὸν μάλιστα τὴν ἐς Πλάταιαν τάφοι τῶν πρὸς Μήδους μαχεσαμένων εἰσὶ.

The position of the pass and of the ground in relation to it determines the line of the road, which passes close by these rock graves. I do not think anyone acquainted with Greek history would be likely to assert seriously that the whole of those slain in the battle were buried in such graves. As a fact, in discussing the topography of the battle-field, my interest did not lie in determining who was or was not buried in these rock tombs, but in discovering the locality to which Pausanias so clearly points as having been the site of the burial of those who fell in the battle.

(4) *The Siege of Plataea.*

I have indicated the north-west portion of the site, as cut off by what is called, as it seems to me, somewhat misleadingly, the lower cross wall, as having been the fortified city which was the object of attack in the siege. Dr. Frazer objects that the remains of this cross wall belong to a later date. That I have never doubted, but I think the fact that he mentions, viz., that all the walls on the site are eleven feet in thickness, would point to the later walls having been erected on the site of earlier ones, on those lines, that is, where the surface rock had been previously levelled for the reception of the earlier wall foundations.

G. B. GRUNDY.

ἄγαν AND μέγα, ἄπαντα AND LAT. MONS.

REFERRING to Mr. Fay's courteous reply touching *ingens* (*Class. Rev.* Feb. 1898, page 17 f.) I wish to make a few remarks.

I thought that all students of philology knew that 'a large number of scholars recognise' the certainty 'of the existence of the gradation' Skt. *a* | *ma*, Gk. *a* | *με*, of which I hold that there are no certain examples. It seems, however, that for

certainty I must substitute 'plausibility,' or 'probability,' so that Mr. Fay after all agrees with me. But we differ, in that he seems to live in hopes of being able to say 'certainty' some day.

The extension of meaning of Ger. *untar* to 'zwischen' is no evidence for the identity of the fundamental meaning of Skt. *mādhya*s with that of Skt. *ādhas* or Eng. *under*.