

T E I R E S I A S

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WORK IN PROGRESS

49I.0.01 A.Yu. Mozhajsky (Moscow State Pedagogical University), *In the Footsteps of M.S. Koutorga, the First Russian Explorer of Boiotia*

Introduction

This article is devoted to the work of the famous Russian researcher of Greece, Mikhail Semyonovich Koutorga (1809-1886), who made a scientific journey to Greece in 1860-1861 and in 1874 published some of the results in the volume work "Plataiai: an Excerpt from a Journey to Greece" in the "Russkiy Vestnik" journal. This work is little known in Russia and, probably, practically unknown abroad. It presents not only the results of juxtaposing the terrain with the course of the battle of Plataiai in 479 BC, but also a wealth of factual material on the topography of the Plataiai region, as well as on the etymology of a number of geographical names. This work indicates that regarding Boiotia, the Russian science of the 1860s-70s took into account the latest research, and Koutorga himself outlined a number of areas for further research on Plataiai.

Education, Scientific Views and Career

Before turning to the results of Mikhail Koutorga's scientific work, we will provide a brief description of his education and career achievements. According to the Russian researcher V.P. Buzeskul, who wrote an essay on the development of Greek history in the 19th and early 20th centuries, M.S. Koutorga is "the first distinguished and completely independent Russian

researcher in the field of Greek history” (Buzeskul 2005, 363). At the beginning of the 20th century, when Buzeskul wrote these words about Koutorga, his merits had already been appreciated, and a prominent Russian researcher and translator from ancient Greek F.G. Mishchenko wrote about Koutorga that he “united in himself the passion of a humanist, the erudition of the seventeenth-century Hellenists, and the critical tact of a scientist of our time” (Buzeskul 2005, 363).

Koutorga was educated, first at St. Petersburg, then at the University of Dorpat, and later abroad, where he attended lectures by such researchers as August Boeckh, Leopold von Ranke and Friedrich Ludwig Georg von Raumer. Such comprehensive training allowed him to perceive the “critical method” of European historical science (Skvorcov 2009, 126). Indeed, in Dorpat, Koutorga examined the foremost works on the history of Greece and Rome (Madisson 1956, 27-29). For example, in one of the examinations, Koutorga was asked about Barthold Georg Niebuhr’s theory (Madisson 1956, 28). Abroad, Koutorga attended lectures, visited museums and worked in libraries in Copenhagen, Vienna, Munich, but most of all in Berlin (Madisson 1956, 29-32). In addition, the works of the French historian François Guizot, under whose influence Koutorga developed a theory of class struggle in relation to the history of Athens (Madisson 1956, 26), had a significant influence on the young Koutorga. Foreign and Russian researchers point out that some pages of Guizot’s “On Democracy in France” (*De la démocratie en France*) could well have been written by Karl Marx, who recognised Guizot as one of the authors of the class theory (Tanshina 2016, 122; Triomphe 2002, 84). Koutorga was developing this theory in Russia since the 1830s.

After returning from abroad, M.S. Koutorga began teaching at St. Petersburg University in 1835. In 1838, he defended his doctoral dissertation, became a Professor, and in 1848 was elected a corresponding member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. In 1869, Koutorga left St. Petersburg University and moved to Moscow, where he taught until 1874, after which he continued his scientific activities on his estate (Frolov 1999, 161-163).

Koutorga devoted his major works to various issues of the Greek history of the archaic and classical periods, many of which were published in French and German. This all made his name known abroad.¹ References to M.S. Koutorga’s works can be found in the writings of many Western scholars, including George Grote, who remarks in his “History of Greece” that “Professor Koutorga of St. Petersburg has traced out and illustrated the fundamental analogy between the social classification, in early times, of Greeks, Romans, Germans, and Russians” (Grote 1852, 62). Grote recognises Koutorga’s contribution to the history of Attica; at the same time, however, it seems to Grote that a number of generalisations on other issues in Koutorga’s work “*Essai sur l’organisation de la tribu dans l’antiquité*” are based on unreliable sources.²

It should be noted that M.S. Koutorga opposed hypercriticism in research. So, according to him, the latest writers “not only reached, but also exceeded the extreme limits of wisdom in their so-called critical searches”;³ and further, “We think that the history of the ancient period

¹ See: Koutorga, M. *Essai sur l’organisation de la tribu dans l’antiquité*. Paris, Typ. de Firmin Didot frères, 1839; Koutorga, M. *Beiträge zur Erklärung der vier ältesten attischen Phylen*. Bulletin de la classe historico-philologique de L’Académie des sciences de St. Petersburg. VIII. 1851, 87—96; Koutorga, M. *Essai historique sur les trapézites ou banquiers d’Athènes précédé d’une notice sur la distinction de la propriété chez les Athéniens*. Paris, 1859; Koutorga, M. *Mémoire sur le parti persan dans la Grèce ancienne et le procès de Thémistocle / par M. de Koutorga*. Paris : [s. n.], 1860; Koutorga, M. *Recherches critiques sur l’Histoire de la Grèce pendant la période des guerres Médiques*. Paris, 1861; Koutorga, M. *Examen de la dissertation de Richard Bentley sur l’authenticité des lettres de Thémistocle*. Paris, 1861.

² Grote himself does not give reasons for his position, confining himself to the following words, “Respecting the early history of Attica, however, many of his positions are advanced upon very untrustworthy evidence” (Grote 1852, 62).

³ Rus: не только достигли, но и перешли крайние пределы мудрствования в своих так называемых критических разысканиях.

of Greece is not so unreliable as writers devoting themselves to its study now see it; that the historians' narratives contain truth, based not on oral tradition, but on genuine historical monuments; that since ancient times, writing existed in Greece, and it provided historians with the opportunity to acquire positive data; and that the examination of the most ancient events confirms these propositions, but does not disprove them at all. We have not come to this conclusion by means of abstract considerations and without developing any hidden thought, but by the careful analysis of Hellenic historians, trying to find in their texts the meaning they themselves conveyed, and explaining their testimony with similar phenomena from other nations" (Koutorga 1894-1896, 19-20).⁴

Publications about Boiotia

We now turn to Koutorga's research conducted in Greece, namely in Boiotia. Koutorga's scientific journey across Greece was carried out in 1860-1861. M.S. Koutorga presented the results of his study of Boiotia and its border regions in two papers. The first one was written in French and published in the journal "Revue archéologique" (Koutorga 1860, 390-395). A.L. Walker and H. Goldman note that this publication by Koutorga was the first detailed description of Halae (Walker, Goldman 1915, 423). As for the fact that Halae belongs to Locris or Boeotia, the ancient authors tell us only the fact that, originally Locrian, it later became part of Boiotia. Having compared the accounts of the ancient authors (Hom. Il. 2, 507-508; Strab. 9.2,14; 9.2,19; Paus. 9.23,7), the researchers suggest that Halae joined the Boiotian union at the time of Epaminondas (Walker, Goldman 1915, 420-421).

However, if this French-language article by Koutorga was known to the European reader, the Russian-language work "Plataiai: an Excerpt from a Journey through Greece", published in the "Russkiy Vestnik" journal edited by M. Katkov, remained unknown outside Russia. Meanwhile, this is a very thorough work, which was perhaps in advance of its time. Let us make an attempt to understand what M.S. Koutorga described and trace whether he was right or wrong in his conclusions.

On the first pages of his work, Koutorga pays tribute to the travellers and scholars who visited and described Greece, or conducted research in this country before him: "In the last thirty years, Greece has been filled with travelers from all countries of Western Europe, even America, who wanted to put their multifaceted research to an on-site test. I was one of them, one of the very few Russians who had spent a long time in Greece with a scientific purpose and tried get to know her in every detail" (Koutorga 1874, 440).⁵ Further, Koutorga remarks that even before travelling around Greece, he published several works about the period of the Greco-Persian wars and, therefore, in Greece, he tried to study the topography of Plataiai, Thermopylae and Marathon, and the description of Plataiai is the first excerpt from his journey (Koutorga 1874, 442).

⁴ Rus: мы думаем, что история древнейшего периода Греции не в такой степени недостоверна, как смотрят на нее теперь писатели, посвящающие себя ее изучению; что в повествованиях историков содержится истина, основанная не на изустном предании, а на подлинных исторических памятниках; что с древнейших времен существовала в Греции письменность, доставившая историкам возможность приобрести положительные данные; и что рассмотрение древнейших событий подтверждает эти положения, несколько их не опровергая. Мы дошли до этого мнения не путем отвлеченных соображений и не развивая какую-либо затаенную мысль, а внимательным разбором эллинских историков, стараясь отыскать в их известиях тот именно смысл, который они сами разумели, и разъясняя их показания подобными же явлениями у других народов.

⁵ Rus: Греция наполнилась, в последние тридцать лет, путешественниками из всех стран западной Европы, даже Америки, желавшими поверить на месте свои многосторонние разыскания. К числу их принадлежал и я, один из весьма немногих Русских пробывший продолжительное время в Греции с ученою целью и старавшийся узнать ее в подробности.

Leaving Athens for Plataiai for the first time, Koutorga was sure that to achieve his goal (to study the course of the battle *in situ*), he would only have to apply Herodotus to the current state of the terrain, which seemed to have already been well studied (first of all by Stanhope (Stanhope 1835) and Leake (Leake 1835, 323-367)). However, as the author notes, it turned out that the topography of Plataiai “has not yet reached the degree of certainty desirable for such a famous area” (Koutorga 1874, 443).⁶ Moreover, Koutorga stresses that Herodotus describes the terrain in detail and, if Leake and Stanhope failed to find the most important subject – the so-called Island – it does not mean that Herodotus used this expression incorrectly, “One can’t help but think that they themselves were mistaken and that it is necessary to re-examine the topography of this part of the Viotia. The Island still exists today, and all the places mentioned by Herodotus can be found exactly where he indicates them” (Koutorga 1874, 444).⁷

Passes through Kithairon

On pages 445-446, Koutorga speaks of passes through Kithairon, and his information is very accurate. The researcher mentions two passes. The first is Kaza (the Kaza pass), through Eleutherai, which connects Plataiai with Eleusis. Koutorga notes that it is suitable for a large army, and Herodotus (9.39) mentions that the Athenians call it Oak Heads (Dryoskephalai), and the Thebans call it the Three Heads (Treiskephalai). This is confirmed by Thucydides (3.24), who “says that the road through Kithairon and Oak Heads led from Plataiai to Athens.” Using visual observation, Koutorga explains the name Three Heads, since “the mountain in which the road runs looks as if it were covered by three peaks, if you look from the village Kriekouti.”⁸ Koutorga believes that it was through this pass that the Greek army moved with their large supply transport before the battle of Plataiai.⁹

Some of the later researchers share Koutorga’s view that it was precisely this pass through Kithairon that bore the name Dryoskephalai in antiquity. For example, Ober shares Edmonson’s¹⁰ view that the Kaza pass is Dryoskephalai and “the Eleutherai road was probably used to supply the Greek troops before the battle of Plataea” (Ober 1985, 119-120). The second pass, mentioned by Koutorga, “is steep and difficult, it goes from Megara through the village of Villia, to Kriekouti” (Koutorga 1874, 446).¹¹ Koutorga probably mentions a pass later known as the Hammond’s Road pass, although a variant of the Lestori Road pass is not excluded. On the one hand, Lestori Road just comes from the village of Villia, but on the other hand, the path along Hammond’s Road is closer to Megara. It is difficult to decide which road Koutorga has in mind because Lestori Road also merges with Hammond’s Road and emerges

⁶ Rus: еще не достигла той определенности которую желательно приобрести для столь знаменитой местности. Our own research of this area conducted in 2006 and 2015, then published in 2017 (Mozhaysky 2017a, 33-50), show that the controversial issues of the battle of Plataiai remain to this day.

⁷ Rus: невольно рождается мысль, что они сами ошиблись и что необходимо вновь исследовать топографию этой части Виотии. Остров существует поныне, и все места, упоминаемые Геродотом отыскиваются именно там где он их указывает.

⁸ Rus: гора в которой пролегает дорога представляется, со стороны деревни Криэкути, покрытою тремя вершинами. Koutorga notes that Leake and all subsequent researchers spell this name Kriekouki, but he always heard Kriekouti and it was the priest of the church of St. Constantine who spelled this name to him (Koutorga 1874, 446). The current name of this settlement – Erythrai.

⁹ Our study with detailed reasoning shares this position of Koutorga in that the Kaza pass had to be the main road used by the Greek army before the battle of Plataiai. See: Mozhajsky 2017a, 35-37.

¹⁰ Ober cites the unpublished Ph.D dissertation of Edmonson, C., *The Topography of Northwest Attica*, University of California at Berkeley, 1966, pp. 105-109.

¹¹ Rus: крутой и трудный идет из Мегары (Megara), через деревню Виля, в Криэкути.

from the Boiotian side of Kithairon just west of Kriekouki. Note that the researchers Burn and Pritchett argue that Dryoskephalai was the pass on Hammond's Road.¹²

On pages 446-448, Koutorga describes a road that connected Plataiai and Aegosthena in antiquity. Here, Koutorga makes an interesting observation pointing out that, indeed, all along this road "there is not the slightest trace of those artificial mountain Hellenic roads whose remains are preserved in many places in Greece and, by the way, at the Phyle fortress, in Attica, not far from Viotia borders and the ruins of Plataiai" (Koutorga 1874, 447).¹³ What Koutorga means by "artificial" Hellenic mountain roads is clear from the beginning of his work, where he mentions that ancient Greeks "overcame their mountains, arranging artificial roads everywhere and laid wheel-ruts in the rock, which are visible even now in several places, a prototype of modern railways" (Koutorga 1874, 441).¹⁴ Thus, Koutorga records the traces of such a road near Phyle long before Wrede's reports (Wrede 1924, 157-161; Wrede 1934, 31; Ober 1985, 185).

Despite the fact that Koutorga did not find any traces of the artificial road connecting Plataiai and Aegosthena, on the basis of ancient authors, in particular Pausanias (9.3,7), who states that a carriage could travel along Kithairon from the Asopos river to the top of the mount, the Russian researcher concludes that there was originally an artificial road here as well.

Location of Sphragidion

The second interesting remark Koutorga made is about the place where the monastery of Agia Trias stood, at the foot of Elatia, the main peak of Kithairon. Here, it occurred to Koutorga that the monastery of the Holy Trinity probably occupied the site of some ancient sanctuary. He believed that from Pausanias and Plutarch's texts (Plut. Arist. 11), it can be concluded that there used to be a sanctuary called Sphragidion (Σφραγίδιον). Here, in the cave of the nymph Sphragitides there was an oracle, and Plataiai's citizens used to perform solemn processions to this place.¹⁵ Pausanias (9.3,9) indicates that the sacred images were transported from the Asopos River to the very top of Kithairon and then descended to Sphragidion by only 15 stadia, which amounts to about 2670 m. According to Koutorga, "all this perfectly agrees with the location of the monastery of the Holy Trinity: both the distance from the top of Kithairon and the caves occupied by the monks, and finally even the fact that the square where the monastery stands is the only flat place in all of Kithairon where pilgrims could gather and make sacrifices"¹⁶ (Koutorga 1874, 448). Koutorga also remarks that if Leake and Stanhope had travelled the same way, they would have come to the same conclusion.

¹² Burn 1977, 96-97; Pritchett 1957, 20-21; 1965, 120; 1980, 190-191. This route was described by Hammond (1954, pp. 103-122). The end of this road lies to the north of the Villia valley and the road was carriageable from the Parasopia to the Villia valley in Attika.

¹³ Rus: нет ни малейшего следа тех искусственных горных эллинских дорог которых остатки сохранились во многих местах Греции и между прочим у крепости Филы, в Аттике, недалеко от границ Виотии и самих Платейских развалин.

¹⁴ Rus: одолели свои горы, устроив повсюду искусственные дороги и проложив в камнях еще и теперь заметные в нескольких местах колеи, прототип железных дорог нашего времени.

¹⁵ Koutorga speaks about the cave of the nymph Sphragitides in the singular, whereas most modern authors, following Plutarch and Pausanias (Paus. 9.3,9 – πέντε που μάλιστα καὶ δέκα ὑποκαταβάντι σταδίου νυμφῶν ἐστὶν ἄντρον Κιθαίωνιδων), speak of the sanctuary of the Kithaironides nymphs in the plural. On the features of the cult of the Kithaironides nymphs, see Pache 2011, 43; Larson 2001, 19-20; Schachter 1986, 185-186.

¹⁶ Rus: все это превосходно согласуется с местоположением монастыря Св. Троицы: и расстояние от вершины Киферона, и пещеры занятые монахами, и наконец даже то обстоятельство, что площадь где стоит монастырь есть единственное на всем Кифероне ровное место, где могли собираться богомольцы и совершать жертвоприношения.

If we take into account the fact that the researchers of whom we know did not suggest any clear location of Sphragidion, Koutorga's assumption is, in our opinion, very important. We will further provide an extensive quotation about this road and the monastery:

“The Aegosthena path starts at the western end of the village of Kokkla, where the road from the village of Kaparelli adjoins it, and winding along a very steep, sometimes dangerous, mountain slope, comes to a small, but flat area. There, in a wild location, at the foot of Elatius, the main peak of Kithairon, stands a very small and equally poor monastery of the Holy Trinity (Ἁγία Τριάς). The few monks living in the Trinity greeted me with calm politeness, like people not used to foreign visitors. But when the guide told them that I was an Orthodox Russian, or as the Greeks say, ‘*Russo Christiano*’, they suddenly changed, welcomed me with utmost sincere, although a little patriarchal cordiality and even invited inside their dwellings.

Looking at this rocky and deserted place, surrounded by mountains and devoid of any vegetation, seeing the monastery not only without buildings, but almost without any kind of structures, since the monks' cells are mountain caves, I was struck by the self-sacrifice of hermits who had settled in such terrible solitude” (Koutorga 1874 , 447).¹⁷

This monastery exists nowadays in the same place and is called Μονή Ἀγίας Τριάδος Πλαταιῶν. It is located about four kilometers along the road from modern Plataea (Kokkla at the time of Koutorga) at an altitude of 580 meters above sea level. In our opinion, the modern road connecting Plataea and the monastery roughly repeats Koutorga's route. However, there is another interesting thing. Indeed, Google Earth Pro shows that the distance between the top of Kithairon, where the church of Prophet Elijah is located, and the monastery amounts to 2,660 meters, which is absolutely consistent with Pausanias and the distance measured by Koutorga. Considering these data and Koutorga's testimony about the caves in which monks lived at his time, the site occupied by the monastery becomes the most likely candidate for the location of Sphragidion. We can add other arguments in favour of this identification. In this respect, the research in the framework of the German school of historical geography of the ancient world or “antike Landeskunde” is indicative. Ruschenbusch studied the geographical and demographic characteristics of 700-800 poleis in the Aegean region of the classical period. His research showed that 80% of the poleis under study had a maximum area of 100 km², and the number of their male citizens was about 800 (Ruschenbusch 1985; 1991). Thus, a “chora” or territory of 100 km² maximal is equivalent to a radial territory of 5-6 km (Bintliff 1999, 43; Bintliff 2012, 215-218). Using GIS and available archaeological data, Farinetti stated that along the foothills of Kithairon there would have been at least two other settlements to the east of Plataiai (ancient Hysiai and ancient Erythrai, according to historical sources, which could be represented by the archaeological evidence at modern Erythrai and Daphni) (Farinetti 2001, 189-190; Mozhaevsky 2017, 38-39). However, to the west of Plataiai, the location of the monastery of the Holy Trinity ideally fits into the site of precisely this polis. We believe that this place requires further study in order to fix the possible location of ceramic material and carry out a geological examination. However, these studies may not have the desired effect, because, as we managed to find out, the extensive construction work that took place during the 20th century, especially after the devastating earthquake of 1981, has significantly altered its original terrain.¹⁸ According to the information from the website of the Thebes and Livadeia

¹⁷ Rus: Эгосфенская тропинка начинается у западной оконечности деревни Коккал, где к ней примыкает дорога из деревни Капарелли, и постоянно подымаясь по весьма крутому, иногда опасному, склону горы, доходит до небольшой, но ровной, площади, на которой, в диком местоположении, у подошвы Элатий, главной вершины Киферона, стоит весьма малый и столь же бедный монастырь Святой Троицы (Ἁγία Τριάς). Не многие монахи, живущие в Троице, встретили меня со спокойною вежливостью, как люди не привыкшие к иноземным посетителям. Но когда проводник сказал им что перед ними православный Русский, или как говорят Греки, Руссо Христиано, то они вдруг изменились, приняли меня с самым искренним, хотя несколько патриархальным радушием и ввели даже внутрь своих жилищ. Смотри на эту каменистую и пустынную местность, окруженную горами и лишенную всякой растительности, видя монастырь не только без зданий, но почти без построек, так как монашескими кельями служат горные пещеры, я был поражен самопожертвованием отшельников, поселившихся в таком ужасном уединении

¹⁸ www.imtl.gr/?page_id=21502

Metropolitan, its history has been scarcely studied until today, but its founding dates back to Byzantine times. Information about the monastery's history during the post-Byzantine period is limited. During the 20th century a new nunnery was set up to meet the needs of a new katholikon and other auxiliary buildings inside an enlarged enclosure. Given the limited information about this place in the 19th century, Koutorga's story can also be regarded as previously unknown in the Western world description of the monastery.

Modern maps do not show the road from the monastery to the top of Kithairon – Elatia (or the Prophet Elijah – Προφήτης Ηλίας), but this road definitely existed because at the very top, at 1297 m, there is a post-Byzantine church of Prophet Elijah, which existed at the time of Koutorga. There should have been some communication between this church and the monastery in the middle of the 19th century. One can walk from the monastery to the church of St. Elijah now, as modern tourist routes show.¹⁹ Thus, Koutorga's route from Plataiai to the monastery and even to the top of Kithairon is understandable, but it is difficult to provide the exact identification of Koutorga's route from the top of Kithairon to Aegosthena. Koutorga reports that “a mountain path that goes to the very top of the main ridge and then goes down to the Halcyone Sea, as the ancients called the eastern part of the Gulf of Corinth. This road once connected Plataiai with Aegosthena (now Germano), and in ancient times it was undoubtedly more convenient and better arranged than now” (Koutorga 1874, 446-447).²⁰ The only safe guess is that the road from Plataiai to the top of Kithairon – Elatia through the place occupied by the Holy Trinity Monastery is an ancient one. Koutorga himself emphasises that according to Pausanias (9.3,7), from the river Asopus to the very top of Kithairon, a solemn procession was moving with carriages (τὰς ἀμάξας). The Greek history researchers of the second half of the 19th century could have been interested in the following remark made by Koutorga, as mentioned above: as soon as the Greek monks learned that Koutorga was an Orthodox Russian, they changed their attitude towards him for the better, and even showed him their dwellings. Not only was Orthodoxy a key factor in the attitude of the monks towards Koutorga. Russia played a significant role in the liberation of the Greeks from Ottoman rule. Among the monks there were apparently men contemporary with the Battle of Navarino in 1827 and the subsequent events that lead to the liberation (Mozhaysky 2017b). Since 1769-1774, when the First Archipelago (Morea) expedition of the Russian fleet to the shores of Mainland Greece took place, the Greeks had regarded Russians as liberators. This attitude can be traced in traditional Greek songs and ballads of the late 18th to the first half of the 19th centuries, such as the ballad “The Death of Yioryiaki and Pharmaces”, where we find the following lyrics, “The Moscovite perhaps will march to save us ere it fall”,²¹ or in the earlier song “θα έρθει ο Μόσκοβος” (“Moskovos will come”) (Alexiou 2002, 284).²² Thus, Eastern Orthodoxy and the tradition of Greek monks looking favourably on Russia and Russians, together with the previous historical events, allowed Koutorga to explore the monastery with its caves in detail and relate the place to ancient Sphragidion.

The Sanctuary of Demeter

Further, Koutorga briefly refers to the west of the Plataiai region, where “between mounts Kithairon and Kotroni lies a beautiful low valley, curving slightly further south and extending

¹⁹ http://www.topoguide.gr/mountains/attiki/advs_kitheronas/kitheronas_churches.php

²⁰ Rus: горная тропинка, которая восходит на самый верх главного кряжа и спускается потом к Алкионийскому морю, как древние называли восточную часть Коринфского залива. Эта дорога соединяла некогда Платэи с Эгосфенами (ныне Германо), и без сомнения была в древности более удобна и лучше устроена чем теперь.

²¹ The songs of Greece, from the Romaic text, edited by M. C. Fauriel, with additions. Translated into English verse, by Charles Brinsley Sheridan. London, 1825. - P. 92.

²² I first learnt about this song from Ephor Emeritus of Bocotian Antiquities Dr. Vassilis Aravantinos.

almost to the Gulf of Corinth”²³ (Koutorga 1874, 449). The Russian traveller notes that during his stay here in June, the river Oeroe, which irrigates this valley, was filled with water, and there is a good road from Kokkla to Kaparelli across the river and the valley. According to Koutorga, this road existed in antiquity and linked Plataiai with Lefktra and Thespieae.

On pages 449-451, Koutorga provides a geographical description of Plataiai. The most valuable information, in our opinion, is that Koutorga mentions a hill, called Lapotripa in his time, where he saw the remains of an ancient Greek temple. Before its northern slope, on a flat “plateau apparently arranged by hand, the remains of an ancient Greek temple, in which a small Christian church was later built and which is now also destroyed, are preserved” (Koutorga 1874, 450).²⁴ Further, the author continues the story, saying that “the ruins, now called Sesina Lapotripa, consist of a foundation and part of the wall, around which a large number of four-sided stones of Hellenic work are scattered.”²⁵ After these lines, Koutorga says that he hopes to prove that Lapotripa was the ancient Argiopian area (Αργιόπιος χώρος) (Hdt.9.57), and the ruins he saw are the remains of the famous Temple of Eleusinian Demeter, “near the sacred enclosure of which, Hellas was saved” (Koutorga 1874, 451).²⁶

Let us attempt to locate the Lapotripa hill mentioned by Koutorga. To do this, we will make use of the French *Carte de la Grèce* of 1852, published 8 years before Koutorga’s journey. It holds the hamlet of Alepotrapi, located slightly to the northeast of Kriekouki. The name is very similar to Koutorga’s Lapotripa. Besides, on the French map, near Alepotrapi there are ruins of a temple (see **Fig. 1**). We believe that it was these that Koutorga took to be the remains of the Temple of Eleusinian Demeter. According to Koutorga, “Lapotripa lies to the east of the Island, in the direction of Rech’, washed by a river at its foot, and still preserves the remains of an ancient temple on its top, which is apparently part of the Temple of Eleusinian Demeter” (Koutorga 1874, 464).²⁷ The most important point is that Koutorga distinguishes the ancient Greek remains from the small ruined Christian church, which had been built at the same place. Accordingly, he definitely saw ancient remains there, and not just a destroyed Byzantine church.²⁸ I should say that, for all we know, this place has not yet been proposed as a potential location of the Temple of Demeter by the other authors. The proposed locations include: near the foundation of a large Byzantine church about a six mile walk east of the Vergutiani spring, southeast of Plataiai (Hunt 1890, 467-469); the site of the church of Agios Demetrios (Grundy 1894, 33-35; 1901, 496); near Kriekouki (Pritchett 1957, 27-28; Wallace 1985, 97-99 though different from Pritchett).

²³ Rus: между горами Кифероном и Котрони, лежит прекрасная низменная долина, изгибающаяся несколько далее на юг и простирающаяся почти до Коринфского залива.

²⁴ Rus: очевидно искусственно устроенной площади, сохранились остатки древнего греческого храма, в котором в последствии заложена была маленькая христианская церковь, теперь также разрушенная.

²⁵ Rus: развалины, называемые теперь Сесина Лапотрипа, состоят из фундамента и части стены, вокруг которых лежит разбросанно большое число четырехгранных камней эллинской работы.

²⁶ Rus: близ священной ограды коего совершилось спасение Эллады.

²⁷ Rus: Лапотрипа лежит на восток от Острова, в направлении к Речи, омывается у подошвы речкою, и сохраняет еще и теперь на своей вершине остатки древнего храма, которые очевидно принадлежат храму Элевсинской Деметры. The location of the Island in the interpretation of Koutorga, as well as the Rech’ spring will be discussed below.

²⁸ Koutorga had a clear idea of the various styles of ancient Greek masonry. This can be seen not only from the description of Plataiai, but also from his French-language article, where Koutorga describes the ruins of the southern side of Halae and says that “Le mur, dont l’appareil rappelle ceux de Larymne et de Messène, est construit en pierres carrées; il se termine de chaque côté par une tour ronde” (Koutorga 1860, 393).

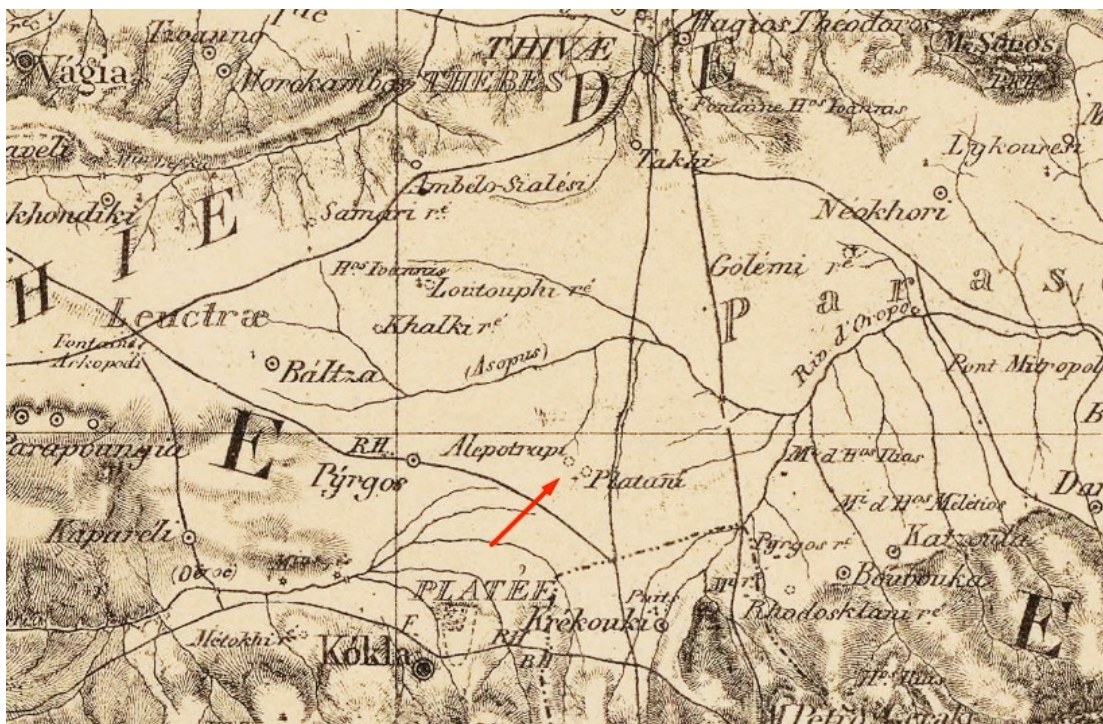


Figure 1: Fragment of Carte de la Grèce (1852). <https://gallica.bnf.fr> Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

On pages 451-452, M.S. Koutorga speaks of the condition of Plataiai in antiquity in relation to water resources. Koutorga notes that in ancient times there should have been much more water in this region than during his stay, since the battle took place in the driest season, but there was enough water for the army of one hundred thousand warriors. Now, Koutorga notes, there would be hardly enough water even for half this number. The Russian explorer saw only the rivers of Asopos and Oeroe (and Koutorga calls them “streams”). Koutorga accounts for the fact that Leake and Stanhope placed many creeks and streams flowing into the Asopos and Oeroe, as well as the flow of the Oeroe through Kithairon on their maps, because these travellers visited the area in late autumn and winter. Pages 453-455 of Koutorga’s work are devoted to the Asopos river and provide an interpretation of the location of the river close to the findings of modern explorers.

The Gargaphia Spring

Further on pages 455-469, the issue of the location of the Gargaphia spring, mentioned by Herodotus (Hdt. 9.49; Paus. 9.4.2), is discussed. Koutorga is convinced that the ancient Gargaphia is the Rech’ – in his day the most water-abundant of all the Plataian springs. Koutorga describes his location as follows, “We have already mentioned that the southern or Plataiai bank of the Asopos is elevated; it goes along the river like a terrace constituting the extreme point of Kithairon. Under its steep slope, in the northeastern corner of the area of Plataiai, directly north of the Kriekouti village, in the hilly part of the area, or at Herodotus’ Foothills, is the spring, now called Rech’, which is the deepest of all the springs in the district of Plataiai.” (Koutorga 1874, 455).²⁹

²⁹ Rus: Мы уже сказали, что южный или Платейский берег Асопа возвышен; он сопровождает реку в виде террасы, составляющей крайнюю оконечность Киферона. Под его крутым склоном, в самом северо-восточном углу Платиды, прямо на север от деревни Криэкути в холмистой части области или Предгорий Геродота, находится ключ, называемый ныне Речь, самый изобильный из всех ключей Платейского округа.

Koutorga's text provides a few clues to the location of this spring: "Herodotus says that the Greek army entered Plataiai and pitched camp in the Foothills, and later, having received orders to occupy the Island, headed from there to the Plain; since the Spartans, being in the Foothills, were near the Gargaphia spring and the sacred enclosure of Androkates, both the spring and the enclosure were also located in the hilly, or eastern part of the northern strip of Plataiai, that is, to the east of Lapotripa. The position of the Rech' spring is in excellent agreement with both the locality described by the historian and all other details described by him" (Koutorga 1874, 457).³⁰ And further, "Turning to our topographical question, it is impossible not to be surprised at the accuracy with which Herodotus is able to outline the terrain in just a few words. The Gargaphia, according to his description, flowed out on flat ground, between low hills; indeed, the Rech' spring is located on a flat, rather wide place, in a kind of valley, between the hills of Kithairon; before it, to the north there is a steep, but not high, slope of the river terrace, behind it to the south, there is a row of hills, gradually rising to the village of Kriekouti" (Koutorga 1874, 458).³¹

Stanhope, Goettling (Goettling 1851, 136) and Leake do not provide the contemporary names of the springs they identify with the ancient Gargaphia, and it is impossible to determine what locality they have in mind. In this respect, Koutorga's study is particularly interesting, since he does give the name of the contemporary spring, the Rech'. As for the name Rech' itself, Koutorga explains that this "is not a Greek name, but a Slavic one; it generally means streaming water or a river, and serves as a testimony to the presence of the Slavs in this area" (Koutorga 1874, 458).³² The description of the appearance of the spring is as follows, "Rech' is lined with squared, perfectly worked stones of Greek fabric; to the southeast, quite close to it, there still lie many similar stones, the only trace of an ancient building. We believe them to belong to the temple of Androkates, which judging by Herodotus' mentioning, stood at the very spring of Gargaphia" (Koutorga 1974, 458-459).³³ Based on this description, this is likely the same spring that is mentioned by Leake, since he mentions, "The last <Asopos> has its origin in a fountain which I examined on my former visit, and found even in that dry season as well supplied with water as the Vergutiani. It is encased, like that source, in an artificial basin covered with squared stones of ancient fabric" (Leake 1835, 332-333; cf. Pritchett 1982, 95). However, this cannot be asserted with certainty, and Koutorga's evidence appears more detailed and preferable.

The Island

Pages 460-463 of Koutorga's study are devoted to the location of the "Island", mentioned by Herodotus, where the Greek troops moved over to from Gargaphia. Since this is a key point in Koutorga's study, we will provide an extensive fragment:

³⁰ Rus: Геродот говорит, что эллинское войско, вступив в Платэиду, расположилось станом в Предгории, и что потом, получив приказание занять Остров, направилось от-туда в Равнину; а так как Спартанцы, быв в Предгории, стояли у ключа Гаргафии и у священной ограды Андрократа, то следовательно и эти ключ и ограда находились также в холмистой, или восточной части северной полосы Платэйской области, т.-е. на восток от Лапотрипы. Положение ключа Речи превосходно согласуется как с местностью описываемой историком, так и со всеми прочими сообщаемыми им подробностями.

³¹ Rus: Обращаясь к нашему топографическому вопросу, нельзя не удивляться точности с которой Геродот умеет в кратких словах очертить местность. Гаргафия, по его описанию, вытекала на ровной земле, между низменными холмами; действительно ключ Речь находится на ровном, довольно широком месте, в роде долины, между пригорками Киферона; пред нею на север крутой, но не высокий склон прибрежной террасы, за нею на юг ряд холмов, постепенно возвышающихся к деревне Криэкути.

³² Rus: имя не греческое, а славянское; оно означает вообще текущую воду или речку, и служит свидетельством о пребывании Славян в этой местности.

³³ Rus: Речь обложена четырехгранными, прекрасно обтесанными камнями, эллинской работы; на юго-восток весьма близко от нее лежит еще и теперь много подобных камней, единственный остаток древнего здания. Мы относим их к храму Андрократа, который судя по способу как Геродот об нем упоминает, стоял у самого ключа Гаргафии.

“Directly to the west from the village of Krickouti and to the south-east from the ruins of the city, almost in the middle between this village and the ruins, but closer to the latter, there is a spring called Vergutiani, from which a stream of the same name flows. Shortly after, the stream is lost in the ground and disappears; but at the foot of Kithairon, at the beginning of the Plain, in a locality called Konopijtsa, it appears again as a spring or, as they say now in Greece, kephalarion, Κεφαλάριον. At that very place, it divides into two arms, of which one, full of water, flows directly to the west, the other, with little water and more grooving, flows first to the north, then turns to the west, finally merges with the first one, not far from the place called Kolona. The space between these two arms of the river is the one that was called the Island in ancient times. This place is surrounded by water on all sides, and it really looks like an island on the solid ground; it lies right under the ruins of the city of Plataiai, and the road from Plataiai to Thebes runs through it. It is down this road that periegetes Pausanias³⁴ once walked and the Plataians besieged by the Lacedaemonians³⁵ escaped by night. As we have said, the direction of this road could not change because it has only one end in the north, through the low valley formed by the two terraces of the Plataian region and irrigated by a nameless tributary of the Asopos river. The present Island finally agrees with the ancient one in its distance from the spring of Rech’ or Gargaphia: striving to measure this distance in an approximate fashion, I set off from the Thebes road in Konopijtsa and arrived riding at a walking pace to the Rech’ in half an hour, which equals ten Herodotus’ stadia <...>

The island now consists of three islets, of which the eastern and largest is called Konopijtsa, the western one is Nisi, and the middle one is Tripotami; the first two are high and dry, the third one is low. Tripotami has the shape of an irregular triangle, and there is a swampy, marshy place, impassable even in the month of June; it was apparently formed later resulting from the negligence of the residents and carelessness in the cultivation of the land, for there is no doubt that all three parts had once been joined together and constituted a whole. This late disintegration accounts for the fact that only one of the three islands lying together is called Nisi, Νησί (derived from νησίον), while the others have been given different names. The word Nisi originally stood for the whole Island; later, when Tripotami was formed and, because of that, Konopijtsa split from the whole, it was preserved only for the western part <...>

Opposite Nisi and the southwestern corner of Tripotami, near the bank of the Oeroe, not long ago there was a kephalarion which was abundant in water and flowed into the river, but has now dried up. A priest from the church in Kokkla told me about it, and its former place was shown by one of my guides, an old resident of this village. The Oeroe river does not have a common name now and is called differently in different places, partly after the villages it flows through, namely: the Konopijtsa, the Nisi, the Kolona, the Kaparelli, the Livadhostro.” (Koutorga 1874, 461-463).³⁶

³⁴ Paus. 9.4.3.

³⁵ Thuc. 3.24.

³⁶ Rus: Прямо на запад от деревни Криэкути и на юго-восток от развалин города, почти в середине между сею деревнею и развалинами, но ближе к последним, находится ключ Вергутьяни, из коего выходит ручей, называемый также сим именем. После весьма короткого течения, ручей теряется в земле и исчезает; но у подножия Киферона, при начале Равнины, в местности называемой Конопийцею, он выступает снова в виде ключа или, как говорят теперь в Греции, кефалария, Κεφαλάριον, и, при самом выходе, разделяется на два рукава, из коих один, полный водою, направляется прямо на запад, другой, едва струящийся и более протачивающийся, идет сначала на север, потом поворачивает на запад, наконец сливается с первым, недалеко от местности именуемой Колонною. Пространство заключающееся между этими двумя рукавами речки и есть то самое которое носило в древности название Острова. Это участок *окруженный со всех сторон водою*, и представляющийся действительно *как бы островом на твердой земле*; он лежит прямо под развалинами города Платэй и через него проходит еще и теперь дорога из Платэй в Фивы, по которой шел некогда пириигит Павсаний и спасались ночью Платэйцы осажденные лакедемонянами. Направление этой дороги не могло, как мы уже говорили, измениться потому что она имеет на севере один только исход, через низменность образуемую двумя террасами Платэйской области и орошаемую безымянным притоком реки Асопа. Нынешний Остров соответствует, наконец, древнему и своим расстоянием от ключа Речи или Гаргафии: желая хотя приблизительно оное измерить, я отправился от Фиванской дороги на Конопийце и, ехав шагом, прибыл к Речи чрез полчаса, что равняется десяти стадиям Геродота <...>

Остров состоит теперь из трех островков, из коих восточный и самый больший называется Конопийцею, западный Ниси, средний Трипотами; оба первых возвышены и сухи, последний напротив, низменный. Трипотами имеет вид неправильного треугольника, и есть топкое, болотистое место, непроходимое даже в июне месяце; он очевидно произошел в последствии от нерадения жителей и небрежности в обрабатывании земли; ибо нет сомнения что все три части были прежде соединены и составляли целое. Этим поздним распадением объясняется обстоятельство что из трех вместе лежащих островков только один носит название Ниси, Νησί (происходящее от νησίον), прочим же приданы другие имена. Слово Ниси означало первоначально весь Остров; в последствии же, когда образовалось

It should be noted that on his return, Koutorga shared the information about Nisi with Professor Johann Christian Felix Baehr, who published Koutorga's text about the island in a volume on Herodotus (Herodoti Musae ed. Baehr. Lips. 1861. in 8. vol. IV, pag. 298). Following Koutorga's description, we tried to put the above-listed names on a modern map (Fig.1). When an object had many names, then we first gave the ancient Greek name, then Koutorga's name, and then the name used by western researchers, e.g. Gargaphia, Rech', Retsi. The names of modern settlements are given in the following order: Koutorga's version, the western equivalent, the modern name, e.g. Kriekouti, Kriekouki, Erythrai. Note that a number of names can be located more or less accurately. This includes the Rech' spring, since Retsi is found and located in Pritchett (Pritchett 1982, 94-95 Fig.4) and Wallace (Wallace 1982, 184-186; 1985, 97,100). Vergutiani is also familiar to the researchers and is on Edmonson's map (Edmonson 1964, Fig. 1). The exact location for Konopijtsa, Tripotami and Nisi presents some difficulty, but Koutorga's description allows for some rough representation of their location.

Slavs in Boiotia

Koutorga also notes that the word Konopijtsa, as well as Rech', is of Slavic origin and denotes the place where they go to water horses.³⁷ Here it has to be noted that in the Valley of the Muses, ancient Askra was later given the Slavic name of Zaratova, which happened probably between the end of the 6th and 8th centuries. Thus, the local Greco-Roman population of Boiotia at that time received a significant Slavic infusion. Professor Bintliff's publications show the continuity of the settlement in the Valley of the Muses from the time of Hesiod to the Slavic Zaratova, Panagia in the 13th-17th centuries, and modern Askra (Bintliff 1996; 2000; 2006). There is practically no material evidence of the Slavic presence in Boiotia. Among the 100,000 pottery fragments, included in the database of the Boiotian project, there is only one fragment of Slavic ceramics ("Slavic ware"), found at the site of the ancient city of Hyettos. However, a few places in the Peloponnese and Thessaly (such as Argos, Olympia, Sparta, Messini, Tiryns, Isthmia, Corinth and Demetrias) provide some material that can be associated with the Slavs. Nevertheless, in modern scholarship there is still discussion about "Slavic ware", regarding how all this pottery can be associated with the Slavic intervention in Greece. Professor Vroom notes that the findings show that Slavic ware was used during the Byzantine period, along with better quality material made on a potter's wheel. This evidence has led a number of researchers to conclude that the distribution and use of Slavic pottery in the Peloponnese probably reflect a peaceful co-existence of the Slavs with the Greek-Roman population rather than a forced intervention and Slavic occupation (Vroom 2004, 319). Against this background, it appears strange at first glance that only one fragment associated with the Slavs has been discovered in Boiotia. However, this is quite explicable. The mixed Slavic-Greek peasant population could have occupied many places of the early Byzantine era in Boiotia, but their pottery culture is generally unrecognised among numerous late Roman fragments (Bintliff

Трипотами и через то отделилась от общего целого Конопийца, оно удержалось только для западной части <...>

Против Ниси и юго-западного угла Трипотами, близ берега Оэрои, находился еще не очень давно кефаларий, который был изобилан водою и вливался в речку, но теперь высох. Об нем говорил мне священник церкви в Коккалах, а бывшее его место показал один из моих проводников, старый поселянин этой деревни. Река Оэроя не имеет теперь общего имени и называется в разных местах различно, частью по деревням которые она протекает; именно: Конопийца, Ниси, Колонна, Капарелли, Ливадостро.

³⁷ It should be noted that Koutorga cannot have mistaken similar sounding Greek names for Slavic, for he accurately pointed out the Slavic roots of these two words. Despite the fact that in Boiotia there are no other toponyms with these Slavic roots, they exist in other regions of Greece. Vasmer gives an example of 'Ρέτσανη (slav. Rěčane – river dwellers) in Thessaly, 'Ρετσιανὰ in Epirus, 'Ρέτσινα in Aetolia-Acarnania (Vasmer 1941, 60, 75, 102). The toponym "Konopijtsa", quoted by Koutorga, is derived from two Slavic words: konjъ – "horse" and pit'(pitъ) – "to drink". Vasmer lists the following similar toponyms: Κονιάκος in Phocis, Κονιάρη и Κονισκός in Thessaly, Κόνισκα in Aetolia-Acarnania, Κόνιτοκα in Epirus (in Ioannina), Πιάνα in Arcadia, which is possibly derived from a cognate for pitъ – pijanъ (drunk), etc. (Vasmer 1941, 37, 71, 92, 109, 116, 157).

2012, 385). Slavic people came with their pottery, but quickly adopted the regional sub-Roman tradition³⁸. It is possible that some quantity of “Slavic ware” was made in Boiotia after the invasion of 6 BC, but it is difficult to detect it from amongst the abundance of pottery items from other periods. The toponymy of Boiotia speaks of the powerful presence of Slavs in the region, although there are fewer Slavic toponyms compared to other regions including neighboring Phocis. Vasmer revealed 22 names for Boiotia (Vasmer 1941, 118-120). Trombley rightly believes that this list is incomplete, and it can be extended with some toponyms and even family names from Cadaster of Thebes (c. 1050-1100 A.D.) (Trombley 2000, 998-999; 1006-1007).

Though the Slavic language, the names of villages and persons had become increasingly Hellenised since the 8th century, even in the Ottoman archives from the 15th to 17th centuries Slavic toponyms for the Boiotian settlements can be found. Professor Bintliff links the toponym Harmena (a settlement close to the ancient city of Haliartos) with the Slavs (since Harmena is probably an early Slavonic name denoting church) (Bintliff 2000, 145). It seems that Harmena was abandoned in the 17th century, and its Greek-Slavic population moved to another village Mavrommati Harmena (1 km south), which, in turn, was also abandoned in the 19th century, when the population merged with the Albanians in the village of Mavrommati (Yorgi). Among the Boiotian villages which appear in the Ottoman records there are other Slavic toponyms. For example, the village of Dobrena, which was located in the south-west of Boiotia close to Parasopia. The root “dobr” is Slavic, “dobro” means “good”, “kind”. Despite the fact that this village is listed in the Turkish archives as Albanian, its name is Slavic and reflects the earlier history of this place.

Koutorga’s information about the Slavic toponyms Rech’ and Konopijtsa reveals to us the hidden landscape of the Slavic names that were still used by the population of Parasopia. If the Slavic names of some villages were known to researchers, the underlying layer of the names of streams, springs, and hills remains practically unknown. Here we see that the population of Kokkla and Kriekouki in the middle of the 19th century used the old Slavic names for the terrain dating back to the early Byzantine period. This is despite the fact that, according to Koutorga, “the current inhabitants of both villages, Kriekouti and Kokkla, are of Albanian descent and very few of them understand Greek”³⁹ (Koutorga 1874, 467). The second important point is that since the Slavic names for the spring and the minor terrain features remained here, there should have also been a village of the early Byzantine time which preceded Kokkla and Kriekouki. Some researchers believe that there is no written evidence for the existence of a settlement on the site of ancient Plataiai in 7-10th centuries, and surface finds are inconclusive (Konecny, Aravantinos, Marchese 2013, 46). However, as the same researchers claim, Plataiai retained its name during these dark centuries, a bishopric existed at Plataiai and this makes it at least probable that habitation continued there as well. In our opinion, the Slavic toponyms discovered by Koutorga add argumentation in favour of the existence of a Greek-Slavic settlement in Plataiai in the 7th to 10th centuries, since Plataiai with its walls (in particular, the third-century AD acropolis walls fortified during Justinian times) was the best place to settle in this area, and the toponyms “Konopijtsa” and “Rech’” belonged to the area adjacent to Plataiai. As for the 11th to 13th centuries, Plataiai shows the signs of settlement activity: ceramics and the presence of small churches. Most significantly, excavations on the acropolis revealed several sections of the walls that had been constructed with liberal application of mortar and the debris between them contained medieval pottery (Aravantinos, Konecny, Marchese 2003, 310-314; Konecny, Aravantinos, Marchese 2013, 47). These walls are located tangentially to the ancient city grid.

Another important detail should be noted. The name Plataiai was known to Turkish Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror in the 15th century, because, according to Kritovoulos, in 1458 Sultan

³⁸ Cf. Trombley 2000, 998.

³⁹ Rus: нынешние жители обеих деревень, Криэкути и Коккал, албанского происхождения и весьма не многие из них понимают по-гречески.

went through Boiotia and Plataiai, looking all over the Hellenic sites, examining them carefully and gathering information about them all (Kritovoulos 1970, 137)⁴⁰. Apparently, the site associated with ancient Plataiai was well known at this time. This fact testifies to a strong historical tradition known to the local population (Attica and Boiotia). Accordingly, there is a possibility that some of the mixed Greek-Slavic population still inhabited the Plataiai region, perhaps at the very site of ancient Plataiai through the time of Mehmed the Conqueror.

The Spring of Artemis

On page 466, Koutorga considers the location of the spring of the goddess Artemis, located near a rock called the Bed of Aktaion (Ἀκταίωνος κοίτη). Leake (Leake 1835, 333) and Bursian (Bursian 1862, 247) believed that Vergutiani was that spring. Koutorga opposed this view. According to him, since Vergutiani is the source of the Oeroe river, if it were the spring of Artemis, Herodotus would have paid attention to it, but he did not. In addition, according to Koutorga, identifying the spring of Artemis with Vergutiani contradicts the text of Pausanias (9.2.3), who says that to the right of the road from Megara to Plataiai there is a spring, and, if you go a little further, a rock, which is called the Bed of Aktaion.⁴¹ According to Koutorga, “The road mentioned here goes from the Kithairon mountain pass to the village of Kriekouti, where it joins the military road going from Eleutheraï, and then it goes straight to the city of Plataiai. To the right of it, in the village, there is now a spring, very water-abundant; it still preserves the beautiful stone patterns with which it was decorated in antiquity. This Kriekouti spring corresponds well with the description of Pausanias, and therefore we believe it is the spring in which the goddess was bathing”⁴² (Koutorga 1874, 466). According to Edmonson, however, the spring of Artemis is the spring Vrysi Vasilikis on the lower slopes of Gouros Lestori (elev. 985 m.) approximately 1.5 km. west of Villia on the modern Villia-Aigosthena road (Edmonson 1964, 154).

The Description of Plataiai

Pages 468-470 are devoted to a brief history of Plataiai and the name of the city. In addition, Koutorga gives a review of the descriptions of Plataiai that were made before him by Dodwell, Leake, Visher, Bursian and William Mure of Cardwell.

Unfortunately, Koutorga makes a mistake by taking the southern wall of the city for the wall of ancient Plataiai, which had existed before they were destroyed during the Peloponnesian War and notes that “since it is known that the original city was completely destroyed, it is very likely that the traces of the structures extending farther south behind the present walls already existed in almost the same condition during the construction of these walls”⁴³ (Koutorga 1874, 470).⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Cf. Gregorovius 2009, 635.

⁴¹ τοῖς δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων ἰοῦσι πηγὴ τέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον πέτρα: καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἀκταίωνος κοίτην.

⁴² Rus: Названный здесь путь идет от горного Киферонского прохода к деревни Криекути, где соединившись с военной дорогой, ведущей из Элевтер, направляется прямо к городу Платеям. Направо от нея, в самой деревне, есть теперь ключ весьма изобильный водою и сохранивший еще прекрасную каменную обделку, которою он был украшен в древности. Этот ключ Криекути согласуется вполне с описанием Павсания, и мы потому принимаем оный за источник в котором умывалась богиня.

⁴³ Rus: так как притом известно что первоначальный город был совершенно разрушен, то весьма вероятно что следы построений простирающиеся далее на юг за нынешними стенами были уже при сооружении сих стен почти в том же состоянии в каком они и теперь находятся.

⁴⁴ At the present stage of the research of Plataiai, it is clear that the total area of the city, surrounded by a wall dating back to 338 BC amounts to 85 ha. However, this area was reduced to 73 hectares by insertion of diateichisma or a cross-wall in the Early Hellenistic period (Konecny, Boyd, Marchese, Aravantinos 2012, 113). Koutorga mistook the diateichisma for the wall that was built after the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 BC and calls it the southern wall.

Taking into account Koutorga's mistake in interpreting the development of the city of Plataiai, we will not quote here his descriptions of the walls and the corresponding reasoning. Let us turn our attention to the following excerpt, "The remaining walls, on the western, northern and eastern sides, right along the edge of the hill, form, along with the fourth, southern side, a quadrangle, which is a separate, independent whole, different from other ancient ruins located farther south and ascending to Mount Kithairon. All four walls of this quadrangle are equipped with protruding towers of a regular shape; the main gate is located in the east, by the road leading to Athens; opposite it, in the west, inside the city, there is a large tower, of thick walls, serving something of an internal fortress; the city was not lacking in water, as it can be seen from the remains of the wells, and could therefore withstand a long siege; in short, these ruins, except for some latest alterations, represent a unity of plan and execution, that is, stone masonry, and belong undoubtedly to one period" (Koutorga 1874, 470-471).⁴⁵

We cited this passage to convey Koutorga's general impression of the ruins of Plataiai and draw the reader's attention to the remains of some building inside the city which, according to Koutorga, was a tower. Regarding it, Koutorga notes that "a square powerful citadel, which has also survived to this day, is built at the western wall against the main entrance"⁴⁶ (Koutorga 1874, 474). According to Koutorga, it was common practice in 6 BC to build such citadel-towers in the city, "According to this scheme, the fortifications in Mantinea and Messene were laid by Epaminondas, and two perfectly preserved castles, in Eleutherai and in Phyle – by the Athenians. These towers are still visible, namely in Messene to the side of the monastery of Vourkano, in the northeast corner in Phyle, directly opposite the main entrance, and in the centre of the fortress in Eleutherai; the latter is remarkable since it is partly built of multifaceted stones" (Koutorga 1874, 472).⁴⁷

What did Koutorga see and take as the ruins of a square citadel? Those could be the remains of a large temple, which the researchers allegedly identify as the Temple of Hera (Washington 1891; Konecny, Aravantinos, Marchese 2013, 141-144) or the ruins at the site of the supposed theatre (Konecny, Aravantinos, Marchese 2013, 144-146), which is less likely because the place is located closer to the east wall. The ruins at these places could have been better seen on the

And he considered those remains of the walls that extend further to the south to have been ruined earlier, in the Peloponnesian War.

⁴⁵ Rus: Сохранившиеся до сих пор стены идут, на западной, северной и восточной сторонах, прямо по краю возвышенности, и образуют, вместе с четвертою, южною стороною, четырехугольник, который составляет отдельное, самостоятельное целое, отличающееся от других древних остатков расположенных далее на юг и восходящих к горе Киферону. Все четыре стены сего четырехугольника снабжены правильными выступающими башнями; главные ворота устроены на востоке, у дороги ведущей в Афины; против них, на западе, внутри города, возведена обширная, сложенная из толстых стен, башня, служившая как бы внутреннею крепостью; город не лишен был, наконец, воды, как показывают остатки колодцев, и мог следовательно выдерживать продолжительную осаду; словом, эти развалины, исключая только некоторые позднейшие исправления, представляют единство плана и исполнения, то-есть кладки камней, и принадлежат несомненно одному времени.

⁴⁶ Rus: устроена у западной стены против главного входа четырехугольная мощная твердыня, которая также до сих пор уцелела.

⁴⁷ Rus: По этой системе заложены были Эпаминондом укрепления в Мантинее и Мессине, и Афинянами два прекрасно сохранившихся замка, в Элевтерах и в Филе. В них видны еще и теперь означенные башни, именно в Мессине к стороне монастыря Вуркана, в Филе в северо-восточном углу, прямо против главного входа, а в Элевтерах в середине крепости; последняя замечательна еще в том отношении что выстроена частью из многогранных камней. As for Eleutherai, there really exists a building as described by Koutorga. It has a rectangular shape (16.4x11.1 m) and *polygonal* masonry (Koutorga called it "multifaceted"). This was supposed to be an earlier citadel, but it was later revealed that internal arrangements of the building resembled the floorplan of a house rather than a fort because among the finds from the orthogonal building were roof tiles, black glazed lamps and loom weights. Masonry, especially the drafted corners, is not suitable to the archaic date. The structure was perhaps a garrison building or dining hall and is most probably nearly contemporary with the building of the fort (Stikas 1938, 47-49; Ober 1985, 162; Fachard 2013, 89).

surface in Koutorga's time. However, this is our assumption, which, regrettably, cannot be confirmed.

The Temple of Hera

Without a great deal of discussion about the place where, according to ancient Greek authors, the temple of Hera was located, we will cite Koutorga's final passage regarding the possible location of the temple:

"At the northwestern wing of the ruins (Plataiai - A. Mozhaisky), below the hill on which they are located, and at the same time in front of it, a large open terrace extends as if dominating the whole plateau. On this terrace, which resembles the magnificent terrace of Heraion of Argos, also artificially levelled, and which is visible from everywhere, the remains of the foundations and many scattered ancient Hellenic stones are preserved in some places. Here, in our opinion, once the temple of the goddess Ira stood in a beautiful and so happily chosen location that the Plataians could justifiably be proud of it. The terrace is exactly 20 stadia away from the Rech' spring and, while standing on it, you can clearly understand Herodotus' news when he says that the Greeks who had not taken part in the battle and were waiting for its outcome in the sacred enclosure of the temple, on learning about the victory, moved quickly to Eleusinian Demeter and went there in two ways: one party went through the hills and hillocks of Kithairon, the other along the Plain.

At the foot of Kithairon, right under this terrace, the Oeroe river flows, here with the name of Kolona. It derives its name from several marble columns which were located on its bank and has always been covered with earth, but which, as the guide and many villagers from Kokkila assured me, having been washed away by high water, had appeared several years earlier but then had been buried again. The guide added that no building could be noticed there; only a few separate pillars were found, all lying down. It is quite possible that they were part of the Heraion and rolled down to the river after the temple had been destroyed. If the learned travellers had undertaken the task of excavating in this area, they would have been rewarded with the discovery of the columns from the building erected in the 6th century BC" (Koutorga 1874, 477-478).⁴⁸

Based on Koutorga's description, we can approximately locate on the map the place he suggests for the temple of Hera. However, we cannot be absolutely sure of the information Koutorga gathered from the locals. He did not see the columns himself. Koutorga's question about the remains of the building was very professional, but the response was that only the columns were visible. This fact raises doubts in the veracity of the information. On the other hand, this conversation referred to the erosion of the river bank, which could expose only a small part of the remains. The first association coming to mind in connection with this extract of Koutorga's description is a legend about ancient columns that were allegedly seen in the south of Russia in the bay between the North Spit and the shores of the Taman Peninsula. P. Du Brux, an amateur archaeologist (engaged in research in the 1810-1820s), recorded marble

⁴⁸ Rus: У северо-западного крыла развалин, ниже возвышенности на которой она находятся, а вместе с тем и пред нею, простирается большая открытая терраса как бы господствующая над всею равниною. На этой, отовсюду видимой террасе, напоминающей великолепную террасу Аргосского Ирэя, и так же искусственно выровненной, сохранились кое-где остатки фундаментов и множество разбросанных древне-эллинских камней. Здесь, по нашему мнению, возвышался некогда храм богини Иры в прекрасном и столь счастливо избранном местоположении что Платэйцы могли справедливо им гордиться. Терраса отстоит ровно на 20 стадиев от ключа Речи и, стоя на ней, ясно понимаешь известие Иродота, который говорит что Греки не принимавшие участия в сражении и ожидавшие исхода дела в священной ограде храма, как только узнали о победе, быстро двинулись к Елевсинской Димитре и пошли туда двумя путями: одни по холмам и пригоркам Киферона, другие по Равнине. У подошвы Киферона, прямо под сею террасою, течет речка Оэроя, под именем Колонны. Она носит это название от нескольких мраморных колонн находящихся на ее берегу и всегда покрытых землей, но которая, как меня уверял проводник и многие жители деревни Коккал, быв размыты сильным полноводием, показались за несколько лет пред сим, а потом снова засыпались. Проводник прибавил, на мой вопрос, что там не было заметно никакого здания; найдены были только отдельные столбы, которые все лежали. Весьма возможно, что они принадлежали Ирэю и скатились к реке при разрушении сего храма. Если б ученые путешественники приняли на себя труд раскопать эту местность, то вознаграждены были бы открытием колонн здания воздвигнутого в VI веке до Р.Х.

columns visible in calm weather, and laid down the location of the finding upon the map. Another archaeologist of that period, A.B. Ashik, told that A.G. Bibikov, lieutenant commander of the Black Sea Fleet, later captain of the Kerch quarantine station, tried to pull one of the columns out of the water in 1823 and 1824, but was forced to give up the idea due to lack of funds (Tunkina 2002, 240, 382, Fig. 45). Note that these columns in the south of Russia were never found, despite the efforts of other well-known researchers. In this regard, we will decline to make any further comments and only approximately locate on the modern map (**Fig. 2**) the place described by Koutorga, where, according to local residents, the columns were allegedly seen.



Figure 2: General map (following Koutorga's description). Map data: Google, DigitalGlobe.

On pages 478-479, Koutorga completes his work by describing the location of Hysiae, in the way shown by Colonel Leake and the subsequent researchers (Leake 1835, 326-329, 333; Pritchett 1957, 10; Wallace 1979, 54-55; Pritchett 1982, 88-92; Fossey 1988, 112-115; Mozhajsky 2017a, 38).

Conclusion

Having received advanced education, Koutorga became an outstanding researcher of his time, recognised both in Russia and far beyond its borders. In 1860-1861, he made a journey to Greece, for which he had thoroughly prepared, and managed to achieve significant scientific results. In Boiotia, his studies were primarily devoted to the description of Plataiai and the topography of the battle of Plataiai in 479 BC.

Below, we list, in our opinion, the most important of Koutorga's ideas:

1. Koutorga made an interesting assumption about the location of Sphragidion, placing it in the site of the modern monastery of the Holy Trinity on Kithairon.
2. His suggestion about the site of the sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter on the Alepotrapi hill and his mentioning of ancient Greek ruins are also valuable.

3. It is likely that Koutorga was the first researcher who linked the Gargaphia spring with the contemporary Rech' (Retsi) spring and who provided a detailed description of the latter.
4. Koutorga provides valuable information when locating the Island of Herodotus, where he describes the modern terrain and lists the toponyms Konopijtsa, Tripotami and Nisi.
5. Koutorga reveals to us the hidden landscape of the Slavic names that were still used by the population of Parasopia in the 19th century. In addition, the Slavic toponyms discovered by Koutorga add argumentation in favour of the existence of a Greek-Slavic settlement in Plataiai in the 7th to 10th centuries.
6. Koutorga challenged the identification of Vergutiani with the spring of Artemis as early as in the 19th century.
7. The Russian researcher also tried to locate the temple of Hera in accordance with the story of the local residents about the columns on the banks of the Oeroe river.

Thus, we have made an attempt to compare the information received by Koutorga during his stay in Boiotia with the current state of research of Plataiai. We hope this information will serve everyone interested in the history and archaeology of Boiotia.

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