

A SURVEY OF MOUNTAIN-TOP SANCTUARIES IN ATTICA

with an appendix on the  
FORTIFICATIONS OF ATTICA

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## Introduction

The existence of mountain-top cults in ancient Greece is known both from evidence in literary sources and from the discovery of actual remains. The cults of Zeus on Mt. Lykaeos and Mt. Ithome, of Apollo on Mt. Ptoon, of Aphrodite on Acro-Corinth are familiar examples. Pausanias makes numerous references to mountain-top cults (see list, Appendix I) and it is unlikely that he made any attempt to list all those in Greece. Many of the cults mentioned by Pausanias were housed in temples but others had only an altar and in some cases a statue. This latter type of worship was perhaps more widespread and was particularly appropriate to the worship of Zeus as lord of the sky and thus of the rain. Zeus is the only Greek god known to have been worshipped habitually on mountain-tops; as chief among the Olympians, he<sup>f</sup> is ruler of the universe. Nilsson describes his association with the mountains of Greece as follows:

Zeus is the god who rules over the atmospheric phenomena -- storm, rain, thunder. The rain is of more consequence than even rivers or springs; upon it depends the fruitfulness of the fields, and it is in Greece sparsely meted out, so that the inhabitants had a lively sense of its importance. Every traveller in Greece will have noticed how the clouds swiftly gather around the highest mountain-top in the neighborhood. In a short time the sky is covered with clouds, the roar of thunder is heard, and the rain pours down. Up there upon the mountain-top dwells the cloud-gatherer and the flinger of the thunder-bolt, who sends rain and therefore also grants fertility. Every such hill-top and every town has its Zeus....\*

No systematic archaeological investigation of the mountain-top cults in Greece has yet been undertaken, and a thorough exploration of every mountain peak on the Greek mainland and in the islands would obviously be an impossible task. Investigation of a restricted area is, however, possible and for this purpose we undertook an exploration of Attica's mountain peaks in the spring of 1954.

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\* M.P. Nilsson, A History of Greek Religion, Oxford, 1925, p. 113.

We had hoped to investigate the entire area of ancient Attica from the Kerata range on the west through the foothills of Parnes to the modern village of Skala Oropou (anc. Oropos) on the north and across to the sea on the east and the south, but we were unable to examine fully the northwestern area (for chart of explorations, see Appendix II).

Attica is a region generously provided with mountains but only three of these rise to any great height, Parnes, Pentelikon (commonly referred to as Penteli) and Hymettos. In his description of Attica's geography, Strabo (IX, 399) writes, "Of the mountains, those which are most famous are Hymettus, Brilessus, and Lycabettus; and also Parnes and Corydallus". Pausanias (I.32.1-2) writes:

The mountains of Attica are Pentelicus, where are quarries; and Parnes, where wild boars and bears may be hunted; and Hymettus, which produces the best food for bees.... On the Attic mountains are images of the gods. On Pentelicus there is an image of Athena, on Hymettus an image of Hymettian Zeus; and there are altars of Showery Zeus and Forseeing Apollo. On Parnes is a bronze image of Parnethian Zeus and an altar of Sign-giving Zeus. There is another altar on Parnes, on which they sacrifice, invoking Zeus now as the Showery god, now as Averter of Ills. There is a small mountain called Anchesmus, with an image of Anchesmian Zeus.

Brilessus has been identified with Penteli (Theophr. Frag. VI.3.43; Thucydides II.23); thus, both Strabo and Pausanias mention the three great mountains of the Attic plain. Lycabettus and Anchesmus have been identified with the low ridge which divides the Attic plain from north to south and Korydallus with the higher ridge to the west between Athens and Eleusis (see pp. 11, 28). In addition to these mountains of Attica there are the individual peaks of the Mesogaia, the upland mass of the Lavreotiki, the three peaks north of Penteli and the highlands northwest of Marathon.

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\*\* For the boundaries of Attica, see: L. Chandler, JHS XLVI, 1926, pp. 1-21, Pl. I.

Hymettos

The long bare ridge of Hymettos runs north-south from the Marathon-Sounion crossroads to the sea, enclosing the Attic plain on the east and the fertile plain of the Mesogaia on the west. The north ridge is fairly continuous up to the summit (elev. 1027.1 m.)<sup>1</sup> and then slopes south to drop off steeply above the Pirnari Pass. The south ridge, known as Waterless Hymettos,<sup>2</sup> extends south in a broken line (highest elev. 774 m. at the north) ending in the low hills of Cape Zoster. Hymettos' western slopes, violet-pink at sunset, are a familiar landmark in Athenian topography. Today numerous city suburbs cluster below these slopes which have always stood guard over Athens within easy walking distance of the inhabitants. For the ancient Athenian clouds on Hymettos portended rain, wind and storm<sup>3</sup> and this weather prognostication is still invariably true.

Thus, Hymettos is likely to have been associated with Zeus as rain-god and is the appropriate location for an altar of Zeus Ombrios (Paus. I.32.2). It is interesting that pilgrims still resort in times of drought to the chapel of Agios Elias on the eastern slope above ancient Sphettos (elev. 508 m.)<sup>3</sup><sup>4</sup>. The exact location of this altar to "Showery Zeus", however, has been fixed one-half mile north of the main peak by the excavations of Mr. Blegen in 1923-24 and Mr. Young in 1939.<sup>5</sup> At this point there are two natural hollows some 8-10 m. below the surface of the ridge and in the smaller basin to the west (no trace of ancient remains was discovered in the east hollow) a large deposit of pottery and some crude foundations were uncovered.

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1. E. Curtius and J.A. Kaupert, Karten von Attika, Berlin, 1881, Bl. IV, VIII. Elevations quoted throughout this paper are those indicated on the Karten.
2. Theophrastus, Opera v.III, ed. Wimmer, Leipzig, 1862, Frag. VI.1.20.
3. Ibid., Frag. VI.1.20 & 24, 3.43.
4. A. Milchhöfer, Karten text v. ii (1883), p. 32.
5. C.W. Blegen, AJA XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 10-28.  
R.S. Young, AJA XLIV, 1940, pp. 1-10.

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The foundations of an apsidal house or pit were found at the north end of the hollow together with a great mass of pottery including numerous complete small pots stacked inside each other and arranged in rows. The building has thus been identified as a storehouse for votive offerings at the shrine uncovered to the west. Here wall foundations forming a square 6 x 3.20 m. with a door gap at the south, a pile of stones suggesting an altar to the east and two or three paving stones in situ mark the enclosed altar of Zeus Ombrios. Sherds inscribed Δ and Διός Ζεῦς make this identification sure. Many other inscribed sherds were found in this area, chiefly on small cups or skyphoi of the seventh century and are among the earliest known examples of the Greek alphabet. A large stele<sup>6</sup> discovered here with four lines of illegible inscription still preserved, <sup>and</sup> cuttings at the top for the feet of a small bronze statue, possibly that of Zeus Hymettios. The pottery finds include a majority of late geometric and sub-geometric ware, some classical and Hellenistic sherds and numerous lamps of the Roman period, dating as late as the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Thus, the shrine could well have been in use in Pausanias' time.

Some 31 m. away from this sanctuary of Zeus were uncovered two rows of stones 2 m. apart and 4.80 m. long and a sherd deposit including nothing later than the seventh century. A block of limestone roughly inscribed HEP and an inscribed sherd which may bear the name Herakles suggest that this area might have been an early altar to this hero whose sanctuary on top of Mt. Oita, the location of his famous funeral pyre<sup>7</sup> (Herodotus 7.28, Livy 36.30), has recently been excavated. Herakles was worshipped in the Megarid (CIG sept 1.213 and Ep 1890 p. 35), in the Marathonian tetrapolis where Panhellenic games were held in his honor

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6. Many of these cups are on view in the Geometric Room of the National Museum (at present not yet open to the general public) and other pots and inscribed sherds can be seen in the work-rooms of the Agora.
7. For excavation summary, see: BCH XLIV, 1920, pp.392-3 and XLV, 1921, p. 523.

in the fifth century, and in the Mesogaia (CIA 2.603). The identification of this shrine on Hymettos is by no means certain; some other local hero may have been worshipped here in conjunction with Zeus. But from the pottery evidence it is certain that this shrine had gone out of use long before Pausanias' day and it is unlikely that this sanctuary can be connected with the worship of Apollo, whose Ionian roots bring him in rather late upon the Attic scene. Pausanias' reference to Apollo's altar gives no hint as to its proximity to the altar of Zeus.

In search of this Apollo sanctuary and possibly some other sanctuary unknown to Pausanias, we examined the ground of the entire ridge from north to south. On the first peak (elev. 362.4 m.) above the Sounion-Marathon crossroads and north of St. John the Hunter's monastery we picked up some miscellaneous sherds and pieces of tile. These were lying on the peak around a concrete survey marker and further on along the ridge. Only two of the sherds showed traces of reddish-black glaze; the others are coarse unglazed ware.

Continuing south toward the main peak, we reached the highest point in the lower north ridge of Hymettos above Liopesi on the south-east and Cholargos on the west.<sup>9</sup> This peak (elev. 782<sup>26</sup>.2 m.) is crowned by a rounded knoll, approx. 8 m. across at the base and 2.5 m. high, which was recently the site of a modern gun emplacement. It is impossible due to the disturbance caused by this construction to tell whether this knoll is artificial and, if so, whether any of it is ancient. Many sherds and a few pieces of tile were found in an area about 10 m. in diameter around the knoll. These include many pieces of black glazed ware, a few pieces with reddish glaze, innumerable pieces of plain ware and several fragments of a large wine amphora with blackish-red and

8. L.R. Farnell, Greek Hero Cults, Oxford, 1921, pp. 108-9.

9. This peak is easily accessible from either side; path marked on Karten passing just south of peak from Triada north-west of Liopesi across to road running into Athens.

light red glaze in a pattern of wide stripes and circles on the outside buff slipped surface (Pl. IVa, five sherds on right-hand side). A tiny black-figured sherd with traces of white paint, several pieces of ribbed jugs with black glaze on both surfaces, a small rolled horizontal cup handle (Pl. IVa, center below double handle of amphora), a fragment of the base of a black glazed bowl with a row of stamped dots on the inner glazed surface (Pl. IVa, left-hand side below amphora handle, outside surface shown), another black glazed sherd with stamped tongue pattern the on inner surface and a fragment of relief ware glazed on both sides and very worn. were found here. Plain ware finds include several pieces of large water jar among them a knob base, a sherd with vertical striations on the inner surface (Pl. IVa, upper left-hand corner) and many cooking-pot fragments, characterized by thin reddish-brown micaceous fabric blackened by fire.

One fragment of ribbed jug or oinochoe base (Pl. IVa, lower left-hand corner) can be dated to the end of the fifth century by its resemblance to similar jugs in the Agora collection. <sup>10</sup> The type was especially popular during the early years of the Peloponnesian war; the earliest examples date in the mid-fifth century and the type does not persist after the end of the first quarter of the fourth century. Undoubtedly silver ribbed jugs were its metal prototype and the ~~N~~ later black glazed clay imitations appear in a variety of sizes and were used as dipper, measure, taster or drinking cup. <sup>11</sup> The raised foot, wide deeply grooved ribs and poor quality glaze place this Hymettos example late in the series, perhaps at the turn of the century.

10. For publication and photographs of such parallel jugs, see: *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 508-9, nos. 50-52; VI, 1937, p. 280, nos. 56-60; XVIII, 1949, pp. 332-3, nos. 77-81; XXII, 1953, p. 79, nos. 44-45.  
 11. L. Talcott, *Hesp.* IV, 1935, p. 509.

The cooking-pot fragments are impossible to date although among them are two pieces of casserole rim with the inside surface flanged to receive a lid. The casserole was "the favorite cooking pot of classical Athens and indeed of the Aegean world";<sup>13</sup> its style varies only in detail from the fifth century through the second. The large piece of household plain ware with bands of vertical striations on the inside surface can be identified as part of a Hellenistic lekane, similar to Agora examples from late fourth to second century deposits.<sup>14</sup> Thus, from the datable pottery evidence we can assume that this Hymettos site was in use at least from the end of the fifth century into the Hellenistic age.

We discovered no trace of antiquities on the broad main peak south of "Elegen's Hollow" (Pl. VIIa) where one can still pick up handfuls of decorated late geometric sherds although the location of the foundation walls is difficult to make out. Following the curve of the ridge down to the south-west of the peak, we came upon a large rectangular enclosure of rough stones in a very ruinous condition. The walls are oriented south-east by north-west and enclose an area about 55 x 75 m. This structure is noted on the Karten (Bl. IV; text v. ii, p. 27) and Milchhöfer notes that it is double-wall construction with the outer wall 1.8 m. wide and the inner 1.2 m. and the two separated by an area 1.8 m. wide in which traces of cross-walls exist, best preserved at the south-west corner. The highest preserved height was 1.3 m. according to Milchhöfer; today it is slightly less and the interior walls and cross-walls can hardly be distinguished. From its appearance of once-careful and massive construction Milchhöfer identifies this structure with some military fortification of modern Greece, perhaps revolutionary, but adds

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12. For information on classical cooking pots, see: Hesp. III, 1934, pp. 466-8; IV, 1935, pp. 495, 513; XXII, 1953, pp. 94-98.  
 13. L. Talcott, Hesp. IV, 1935, p. 495.  
 14. H.A. Thompson, Hesp. III, 1934, p. 468.



that none of the villagers around Hymettos remember tales of battles or army encampments at the site. In the enclosure we picked up a few pieces of coarse pottery, two fragments with traces of red slip, and many pieces of tile. From here we continued south to elev. 703.7 above the Pirnari Pass, then turned west and climbed down a ravine into the Attic plain near Ilioupolis.

The south ridge of Hymettos is as barren and rocky as its name "Waterless Hymettos" implies. We climbed up from the low foothills above Varkiza following the path to the Vari Cave, then heading over the hill in which it lies (elev. 290.5 m.) across a valley and up the peak to the north-east (elev. 420 m.). From there we went north-west to the peak of Stravos Aetos (elev. 630 m., no name given on Karten), a craggy east-west ridge forming the second peak at the south end of Hymettos. A modern foxhole marks the summit and here we found a couple of coarse sherds and some pieces of tile. We noted no further antiquities on the ridge except one piece of tile similar to those on Stravos Aetos which we found on the way north-west toward Kiapha Drisi (elev. 639.m.). We followed the ridge north-east to Mavro Vuno (elev. 774 m.), the highest point on the south ridge, and then headed down into the Pirnari Pass.

In all, we came across five areas on Hymettos in which traces of antiquity exist. The identification of "Blegen's Hollow" with the sanctuary of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias is certain. Milchhøfer's identification of the quadrangular walls south-west of the main peak as some kind of military establishment seems likely since its purpose was obviously more serious than that of a "mammoth sheepfold" which it now resembles. Since the tiles are undoubtedly ancient (see Appendix III) this structure must date back to ancient Greece. The peak areas on which coarse sherds and tiles were found at the extreme north and south of

Hymettos' ridge are very possibly the sites of ancient watch-towers connected in a fortification system with the quadrangular walls between them. Only the north peak above Liopesi contains finds suitable for a sanctuary area. The peak commands a fine view of the surrounding plains and mountains, quite appropriate to Apollo Proopsios whose epithet (Pausanias' reference is the only known reference to this title for Apollo) may allude to the god's prophetic powers but may have had its local origin in the excellent outlook which Apollo's altar here commanded.

Little is known of Apollo's character as a mountain-god except that his earlier aspects are those of a pastoral deity. He was worshipped with Pan and the Nymphs as Apollo Hersos (of the dews) in the Vari Cave possibly as early as the sixth century, although from all the evidence it seems doubtful that worship in the cave began before the fifth century. In Epidaurus and Arcadia Apollo was worshipped as Nomios (belonging to shepherds), in Delphi as Sitalkas (protector of corn) and in Boeotia as Pornopios (avertter of locusts). His worship as solar divinity or sun-god, however, appears only in the Roman era. Apollo Proopsios, standing guard over the plains and looking into the future, was probably worshipped on Hymettos as a protecting pastoral divinity.

The date of this "Apollo" sanctuary seems considerably later than that of Zeus on Hymettos, but this can be explained by the fact that Apollo's cult is important in Athens at a relatively late date. Farnell writes that "in Attica his cult marks the Ionic settlement, and won no hold on the Acropolis nor any close association with the Zeus-Athena worship, and, cannot there fore have belonged to the aboriginal Hellenic

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15. L.R. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, Oxford, 1907, v. IV, p. 139.  
 16. AJA VII, 1903, pp. 271, 296.  
 17. L.R. Farnell, Cults, v. IV, pp. 123, 130, 136-9.

religion of the land". This observation, of course, only suggests a date no later than ca. 1150 B.C., the time of the Ionic migrations to Asia Minor, which the Ionian settlement in Attica must predate. But it is true that Apollo's only foothold on the Acropolis is in the North Slope Cave where votive tablets dedicated to Apollo by late Roman city

officials were excavated. Very probably these tablets replaced earlier ones of a similar nature particularly if the/<sup>cave</sup>was connected with the rites of Apollo Patroos, whose temple stood in the Agora, and was the scene of the oath sworn by the archons on the Acropolis. The description of the Pythian sanctuary in Euripides' Ion fits the location of the cave which must certainly have been related to the Apollo-Creusa myth and the birth of Ion. In his ancestral relation to the Ionians Apollo was worshipped in Athens as Patroos; his earliest temple in the Agora

dates from the sixth century. It is interesting that later he is worshipped here in close connection with Zeus and Athena. Possibly the initiation of this Apollo cult stemmed from the widespread Ionian influence in Athens during the sixth century. In any case, Apollo's importance in Attica is later than that of Zeus and it is appropriate that his sanctuary on Hymettos should be of a later date.

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- 18. L.R. Farnell, Cults, v. IV, p. 107.
  - 19. J.E. Harrison, Primitive Athens, Cambridge, 1906, pp. 66-76. Miss Harrison's account of the cave includes all pertinent material from the excavations of Dr. Kabbadias in 1897.
  - 20. Hesp. VI, 1937, pp. 77-115.

Turkovouni

Pausanias concludes his account of the mountains of Attica (I.32.2) with the mention of a small mountain called Anchesmos on which stood an image of Anchesmian Zeus. This mountain has for many years been identified with the range of hills (peak elev. 338.6 m.) running north-south through modern Athens from above Psychicho to end in the familiar landmark of Lycabettus. The ridge runs parallel to the north slopes of Hymettos on the east and is the only prominent range of small hills in close proximity to Hymettos, Penteli and Parnes. No other ancient reference to Anchesmos is preserved, but there seems to be no reason to disagree with Frazer and other authorities who place the site of Anchesmos at Turkovouni. Frazer chose the summit of Lycabettus as the most probable site for the statue of Anchesmian Zeus since today its peak is crowned by the modern chapel of St. George.

Actually there is a much more probable location for Anchesmian Zeus' sanctuary on the northernmost peak of Turkovouni (elev. 302.1 m., Karten Bl. V). This peak is detached from the main part of the mountain by a saddle (elev. 235.4 m.) and commands an excellent view of the entire Attic plain. On the east side of this peak stands a polygonal wall in the shape of a rough ellipse enclosing an altar of rectangular blocks 1.8 x 2.7 m. (Pls. II and III). There are traces of two lower polygonal terrace walls to the south. The altar is oriented due north and a modern concrete survey marker also stands in the enclosure to the west (Pl. VIa,b,c). We found sherds numerous in the enclosed area, particularly around the altar blocks; glazed ware and plain ware occur here in about equal quantities. The majority of glazed sherds belong to small cups or skyphoi of the late or sub-geometric type similar to

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21. J.G. Frazer, Pausanias' Description of Greece, London, 1898, p. 427.
22. For a discussion of this "typical cheap ware" of the period, see: R.S. Young, Hesp. Supp. II, 1939, p. 194 ff., esp. p. 203.

those excavated on Hymettos (Pl. IVb). The shapes include plain, horizontal and flaring rims, vertical band and rolled horizontal handles, and flat bases. The glaze varies from streaked blackish-brown and reddish-black to lighter reddish-tan on inside and outside surfaces often alternating with reserved areas. Three fragments show patterns of vertical and horizontal stripes or of stripes and dots on a light buff surface. The plain ware is for the most part fragments of large vessels such as wine amphorae with a few coarse bits of cooking pots and several pieces of unglazed miniature votive cups.

The type of pottery found in the area and the size and location of the walled enclosure identify the site as a sanctuary in use at least as early as the seventh century. The walls themselves cannot be dated absolutely on the evidence of surface sherds. On stylistic grounds alone they might date as late as the fifth or even fourth century, but the predominance of earlier sherds suggests an earlier rather than a later dating. Very possibly excavations in the area would disclose whether or not this is the shrine of Anchesmian Zeus. Apparently no publication of the walls has been made except for a photograph and brief mention in Wrede's Attika.<sup>23</sup> In any case, this sanctuary on Turkovouni is an important example of the ancient mountain-top shrine's architectural plan and is indeed the only existing structure of its type which we were able to find in Attica. The fact that the altar is to one side of the enclosure, rather than in the center, indicates that some other important object stood within the sanctuary, perhaps the statue of Anchesmian Zeus.

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23. W. Wrede, Attika, Athens, 1934, p. 29, Pl. 9.

Penteli

The long ridge of Penteli (anc. Brilessos) bounding the Attic plain on the north rises above Ekali at the west, continues up irregularly to the conical peak (elev. 1108 m.) and descends again to the east in a broken mass of hills to end in the higher peaks of the two Mavrinoras which overlook Marathon Bay to the north. We examined the entire length of the ridge in search of the site where Athena's image once stood according to Pausanias (I.32.2).

On the westernmost end of the ridge rise the two rocky peaks of Kastraki (the modern Athenian suburb at its foot is known as Kastri). These peaks are some 150 m. apart connected by a saddle, the higher peak to the south (elev. 500.6 m.) and the north peak only slightly lower. The area is enclosed by a circuit wall running just below the peaks on the north and south and dipping to the east and west to follow the contour of the saddle. <sup>^</sup> (Pl. VIII b,c)

The enclosed area is roughly elliptical in shape and extends approximately 150 m. north-south and 75 m. east-west. The wall is built of unworked stones varying in size from just under 1 m. in length to small rock chips. In its best preserved sections the wall is 2 m. wide and 1.8 m. high. There are possible remains of double-wall construction, particularly on the north side where an inner wall seems to run parallel to the outer with traces of cross-walls in the area between. The entire enclosure is thick with tile fragments and also contains a number of coarse sherds, chiefly from large wine or water jars. We did, however, find three pieces of smaller vessels with black glaze preserved on both surfaces, one of these part of a base with a groove line following the line of the inner curve and exactly similar in fabric, shape and glaze to the piece of stamped base from Hymettos' "Apollo" sanctuary (see p. 6).

24. AJA LVII, 1903, p. 300

This Kastraki wall is noted on the Karten (Bl. V) as a modern stone wall and Milchhüfer (text iv, p. 33) considers this circuit wall some post-Hellenic military construction, again perhaps connected with the War of Independence. The enclosure was certainly erected for military reasons, but the pottery and tile finds point to an earlier dating.

We found nothing further on the west ridge peaks between Kastraki and the main peak which towers above quarry gashes on both north and south. The quickest ascent to the peak is via the ancient quarry road found to the left of the modern quarry track which runs past modern quarry works above the town of Palaia Penteli on the south slopes. The road itself can be traced only as far as the "Great Cave", a huge rock cavern apparently uncovered by ancient quarry operations and later used as a Christian church (apparently a fourth century B.C. votive stele was also found here, see p. 205, Guide Bleu, 1953). From here a main modern quarry track leads up and to the right passing by another smaller rock cavern uncovered by recent quarrying operations. Here votive reliefs of the fourth century depicting Pan, the Nymphs and Hermes were excavated under debris from the roof which had fallen in, apparently in antiquity.<sup>24</sup> This Penteli cave must once have been a sanctuary of Pan and the Nymphs similar to the Vari Cave on Hymettos and the Parnes<sup>Cave</sup> below Harma. Beyond the cave quarry tracks continue up to a low saddle on the main ridge south-east of the peak. A modern footpath begins here leading up to the summit chapel (Pl. Va), but it is easier to follow an independent route up to the peak some fifteen minutes distant.

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24. AJA LVII, 1953, p. 281.

The peak area has been much disturbed recently by the erection of a chapel to Prophet Elias and previously by the building of a large radar station. The ground is strewn with sherds and tiles for some 100 m. to the south. About 150 m. below to the south-east are three preserved sections of a rough terrace wall built of medium stones (Pl. VI, d, e). Each section is approx. 5 m. long and 1.5 m. high stretching across a steep rise in the peak between rocky ledge projections. The sections must be part of a longer wall, probably not a fortification wall since the height is level with the ground behind but rather a low terrace enclosure wall. We picked<sup>up</sup> tiles and a few sherds in the area immediately above this wall but found them far more numerous further up the slope. Our pottery finds include a small black glazed oinochoe neck with beaked spout and round disks projecting on either side (Fig. 1), a fragment of black glazed ribbed jug, part of a ledge krater rim unglazed, a piece of large coarse pithos rim with mending lead attached (Pl. IVc), the knob base of a water jar and several fragments of large amphorae.

A late Corinthian vase in St. Louis offers an excellent parallel  
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 to the beaked oinochoe neck. In this example the rim handle join is decorated with a plastic female head and the body is covered with handsome Corinthian designs. Payne dates the vase in the second quarter of the sixth century and suggests that the shape of the mouth is derived from a bronze prototype. A somewhat similar oinochoe exists from the second half of the fifth century with high handle, oggee foot and beaked spout with disk on either side; it is entirely covered  
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 with black glaze and shows much slenderer proportions. The Penteli neck may date somewhere between these two examples since its squat

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25. H. Payne, Necrocorinthia, Oxford, 1931, pp. 215, 326, pl. 42.  
 26. G.M.A. Richter and M.J. Milne, Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases, New York, 1935, fig. 128.



proportions are closer to those of the Corinthian vase but there is no reason to believe that it was decorated with anything more than a simple coat of medium-thick black glaze. The fragment of ribbed jug is very similar to the type of oinochoe discussed in connection with the "Apollo" sanctuary on Hymettos (see p. 6). This Penteli example shows only part of the wall directly above the base with a curve slightly larger than the Hymettos base and the ribs more closely set together in a V-shaped pattern, or more exactly the sherd shows two groups of parallel ribs extending diagonally upward in opposite directions from an unribbed area between them which thus has the shape of an unclosed V. The narrower ribs, though deeply grooved, and thicker glaze suggest a dating for this example somewhat earlier than that from Hymettos, perhaps at the beginning of the last quarter of the fifth century. Thus, this peak area would seem to have been in use sometime during the fifth century.

Below the summit to the south-east Frazer mentions a platform hewn in the rock on which he believed the statue of Athena might once have stood. <sup>27</sup> The Guide Bleu (1953, p. 205) locates this platform on a ledge 400 m. south-east of the peak looking down to the line of the ancient quarry road. We were unable to discover the site of this platform since the ~~rock~~<sup>schist</sup> layers of rock which surround the peak break off in such a way that innumerable flat surfaces suggesting platforms exist along the south-east saddle and up to the peak. It is interesting that an unfinished colossal seated figure was discovered in one of the highest quarries this year, possibly a marble Athena, although the statue is so weathered that even its sex is undeterminable. We were unable to find the quarry where the statue was uncovered, but it seems unlikely that a statue for use in the city of Athens should be

27. J.G. Frazer, Description of Greece, <sup>II</sup> p. 420.

quarried so far up the mountain. From the numerous finds on and around the peak it seems very likely that a classical sanctuary did exist on the summit of Penteli and therefore the statue could have been intended for this area.

Along the east ridge of Penteli we found only sheepfolds and foxholes past Vajati (elev. 1008 m.) and Pirna (elev. 896 m.) down into a low saddle and up to the ridge of the Mavrinoras at the easternmost end of the range. Here two peaks separated by a saddle (elev. 694 m.) are known as Mavrinora Megali. The south peak (elev. 781 m.) slopes off to the south and is completely bare; the north peak (elev. 762 m.) falls off precipitously on all sides. Here sherds and tiles were found in a very small area on the summit. The majority of sherds were coarse ware including the base of a large vessel but we did find two small sherds with black glaze preserved on both surfaces. Some 2000 m. further to the south rises the peak of Mavrinora Mikri (elev. 675.6 m.) above the monastery of Daou Penteli and the village of Pikermi. The peak is crowned by a bare rocky knob on which we found a handful of nondescript sherds, all thin plain ware except for five small pieces with reddish-black streak glaze on the outer surface.

In all, we noted traces of four ancient sites on the ridge of Penteli. Kastraki is undoubtedly a military strongpoint similar to the quadrangular walled site on Hymettos. The north peak of Mavrinora Megali where tiles were<sup>found</sup>/far more numerous than sherds may be the site of an ancient watchtower. It commands a magnificent view over the Bay of Marathon and could perhaps be the peak from which the famous traitor's shield was flashed to the Persians (Herodotus VI.121,123-4). The sherds found on Mavrinora Mikri are so insignificant that although they may point to occupation of the site in antiquity, they can give

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28. To the west of this monastery near the church at Kalisia we noted earlier the remains of a Hellenic tower, built with large ashlar blocks, on the slopes to the north.

no real basis for its identification. Only the peak area can be considered as a possible sanctuary and from the finds, similar to those from Hymettos' "Apollo" sanctuary in including tiles and pottery of a fifth-century date, this seems more than likely especially when coupled with Pausanias' statement that an image of Athena stood on the mountain. It is a pity that no excavations took place on the peak before the installation of radar station and chapel since there is little chance of finding any actual proof for the existence of Athena's sanctuary in this much dug-up area.

If, however, Athena was worshipped on Penteli's summit, we can only speculate as to her character as mountain deity. Her cult in Attica is probably as ancient as that of Zeus but "as she was not by nature a goddess of the wilds it is rare to find the lonely mountain-top consecrated to her, as it often was to Zeus". There is no evidence for Athena's worship as a nature-goddess connected with primitive fertility rites or with any physical aspect of the cosmos. She is primarily the goddess of the arts of war and peace and her only agricultural associations are those of a civilizing function: she taught man the use of the olive and the use of the plough. First and foremost she is a political divinity, protectress of the city, worshipped on its acropolis. In this role she must have been worshipped on the Larissa of Argos, but her identity on Mt. Kynthos is less certain. The evidence for the Delian cult is late except for a sixth century stele inscribed "Athena Kynthia" found on a hill-top in Paros at the north-west of the island where Delos comes into view. Thus her cult on Delos may date before 166 B.C. when Delos became an

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29. L.R. Farnell, *Cults*, <sup>I</sup>p. 301, footnote b.  
 30. *Ibid.*, pp, 288, 314-5, 291, 293.  
 31. Att. Mitt. XXVI, 1901, p. 216.

Athenian colony. Possibly Athena here had some connection with the Delian League or with some civic rites in the Delian sanctuary. On Penteli, so close to the Acropolis of Athens, a civic function for Athena seems out of place, but her role as patron of the potter's art and sharer of Hephaistos' temple in the Athenian "Potters' Quarter" may furnish the clue to her Penteli cult. What better location than the summit of Penteli for Athena as patron goddess of the marble-cutters? Here she could stand constant guard over the quarries, close at hand to guide and protect the quarry-workers at their daily job. Perhaps she was worshipped here as Athene Ergane (the worker) since we know from Pausanias (I.24.3) that the Athenians were the first to call her by this name. The date of the peak area finds seems also to suggest some connection with the quarrying operations. Since the quarries were opened only in the early sixth century, classical rather than geometric finds are appropriate to Athena's cult as goddess of the marble-cutters, and a fifth century date for this Penteli sanctuary would coincide with the great age of quarrying under Pericles' rule.

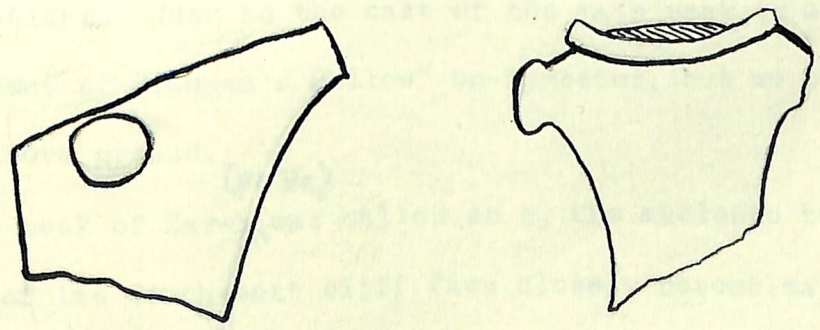


Fig. 1  
 Penteli Peak Area: Beaked Oinochoe Neck

## Parnes

The large mountain group to the north-west of Athens, separating the Attic plain from Boeotia and commanding the highest elevation (1412 m.) in Attica, has been known since ancient times as Parnes. The main mountain mass rises in rugged peaks with thickly-wooded fir slopes enclosing mountain meadows and an abundant supply of water, a fine habitat for Pausanias' bears and wild boars. A bronze image of Zeus Parnithios and an altar to Zeus Semaleos, also another altar to Zeus on which sacrifices were made sometimes to Zeus Ombrios and sometimes to Zeus Apemios, are located by Pausanias on Parnes (I.32.2). Unfortunately there are innumerable lofty peaks on Parnes ideal for praying to Zeus as sign-giver, god of showers, or averter of ills. To explore all the peaks of Parnes is a project in itself and we were only able to investigate the area of the two highest peaks and the summit of Harma's imposing cliffs. (Karten Bl. XX, XXIV).

We ascended the main peak from Agia Triada, which can be reached by bus from Athens, and followed an excellent trail up over Ornion (elev. 1365 m.) where a radar unit is now installed and across a saddle to the highest peak Ozea (or Karabola). We discovered no trace of antiquity on either peak, not even in the area disturbed by radar installations. Just to the east of the main peak is a large hollow reminiscent of "Blegen's Hollow" on Hymettos, but we could find no sherds above ground.

(Pl. Vc)  
The peak of Harma<sub>n</sub> was called so by the ancients because the contour of its south-east cliff face closely resembles a chariot. According to Frazer it was known in his day as Mt. Paganía but we could discover no name attached to it today either by the shepherds or by the inhabitants of Chasia, the village below to the south. Here we again drew a blank. This peak of Parnes rises as a sheer cliff some 350 m. above a deep gorge on the south-west side of the

mountain north-east of the fort at Phyle. We set out from Agia Triada ~~along~~ along the upper reaches of the gorge and then north-west over several peaks to approach Harma from the north-east (the most accessible route is from the north-west side above the Phyle road by which we descended to Chasia). To our disappointment the summit of Harma is a continuous sheet of jagged rock hardly suitable for any kind of altar or sanctuary. It had seemed possible to Frazer that Harma was <sup>32</sup> the likely location for the altar of Zeus Semaleos since this was the peak which the augurs watched from the hearth of Zeus Astrapaiois in Athens waiting for the lightening flash which signalled the sending-off of offerings to Delphi (Strabo IX, 398). But since our only <sup>33</sup> find on Harma's peak was a piece of early Byzantine lamp handle we can conclude that further search will have to be made for Zeus' altars on Parnes.

#### Mesogaia and Mt. Paneion

South-east of the mountains surrounding the Attic plain lies the fertile plain of the Mesogaia bounded by Hymettos on the west, Penteli on the north, the sea on the east, and on the south by several low mountain ranges and rocky hills which extend throughout Attica's southern peninsula to the Cape of Sounion. The five principal mountains which stand at the south border of the Mesogaia are Pani and Keratovouni (the west and east peaks respectively of a long ridge sometimes known as Mt. Paneion), Merenda, Charvata and Tsourgeli. To the south-west rises the peak of Olympos and Perati stands east of the plain on the north headlands above Porto Raphti Bay. These seven mountains vary in height from 308 to 649.8 m. and are easily accessible to the inhabitants below. Their rocky slopes, occasionally

32. J.G. Frazer, Description of Greece, <sup>II</sup>p. 426.

33. For parallel lamp, see: no. 1560, Pl. XXIV, Corinth IV, pt. II, 1930.

precipitous, are covered with a network of goat-trails and in the spring are bright with wildflowers. The plain of the Mesogaia is the richest in Attica with acres of vineyards and olive orchards. Since ancient times this area has been continuously populated and is the site of numerous Attic demes. Today the Athens-Sounion road leads south through five flourishing towns: Liopesi (or Paiania), Koropi, Markopoulo, Kalyvia (just south-west of the road), Keratea, before reaching Lavrion and Sounion. In such a richly agriculture area the worship of Zeus as rain-god and "lord of the Bright Sky" might well have been practiced and traces of such cults should perhaps exist on the nearby mountain-tops. It is also possible that Pan, whose cult begins in Athens early in the fifth century, was later worshipped here as god of the flocks. The etymology of Pan's name can be derived from *πάων* (the feeder), a derivation supported by an inscription discovered in Pan's temple on Mt. Lykaion. Here on Lykaion Pan presided over the Arcadian games with Zeus and possibly in the Mesogaia existed an ancient sanctuary of Pan to which the ridge of Mt. Paneion owes its name.

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The ridge of Paneion runs north-west by south-east from the peak of Pani on the west to the peak above Keratea on the east, known from its location as Keratovouni. The main mass of Pani (elev. 635.4 m., Karten Bl. XIII) runs south at right angles to the rest of the ridge, with the highest peak at the south-west end. On the north-east end, separated from the peak by a lower saddle where a white chapel of the Panagia stands, rises a lower peak above the village of Kalyvia.

The summit of Pani is rather flat, rocky and covered with low shrubs. About 50 m. north of the true peak, but at about the same

34. L.R. Farnell, *Cults*, v. V, p. 431.

35. Strabo (IX, 398) mentions a shrine of Pan near the deme of Anaphlystos which has been located in the area of modern Anavyssos in the plain south of the Paneion ridge.

level, lies an area about 20 m. across thickly strewn with sherds (Pl. VIIb,c). The western part of the area contains an ellipse of tumbled rock about 6 m. across with a hollow in the center. This seems to be the remains of foundations for a simple structure. The eastern part of the area rises slightly higher on a rock ledge covered with earth and stones. This site was first visited by Mr. Vanderpool just before World War II and at that time he thought there were signs of disturbance in the area. At the time of our first visit in early March the ground seemed to have been disturbed, though not recently. But when we revisited the site at the end of March it was quite clear that digging had been going on in the last few days since there were many small holes and piles of fresh earth in the area and also in an area some 20 m. to the north. On a third visit ten days later Miss Lowry could find no traces of further "excavation" operations but was able to ascertain from villagers at the local bus stop that illicit digging had been carried on for some time in the mountain-top area and some, at least, of the finds had been sold. As one Greek put it: "Μυστικά είναι έρω<sup>δ</sup>" , and a few days later we discovered that one of the local bus-line checkers possessed a small vase which his father had "found" on Mt. Merenda. Further inquiries into the Pani "mystika" failed to elicit any more definite information but it seems certain that the presence of an ancient site on Pani has been exploited by the villagers for several years.

Our finds in this Area #1 on Pani are for the most part fragments of small late geometric and sub-geometric votive cups with one or two handles (Pl. IVd,e, ). Glazed and plain ware were found in about equal quantities, although complete profiles were preserved only among the plain ware examples (chiefly of the miniature kantharos type). The shapes include plain, turned-out and flaring rims,



rolled and band handles, flat and ring bases; the plain ware bases vary in profile from a slight outward flare at the foot to a simple continuous curve up to the rim, and they almost invariably have rough spirals (rope-whirl marks) on the outside bottom and lines of wheel marks on the inside walls. The fabric varies from light to deep-pinkish buff and the average wall thickness is .2-.4 cm.<sup>36</sup> The glazed ware varies in color from streaked black and reddish-brown, applied on inside and outside surfaces sometimes alternating with reserved bands or in patterns of stripes and dots on a plain outside surface, to a clear glossy black finish inside and out. One piece with the latter type of glaze shows traces of polychrome decoration, a dark reddish-violet band separated from a black glaze band by a thin line of buff surface. Several fragments of large plain ware vessels were also found, among them two thin coarse blackened sherds probably belonging to cooking pots. One fragment of Roman lamp appeared too, with brownish glaze traces on the outside and red Roman wash on part of the inside surface. No tiles were discovered on the site.

About 20 m. north of Area #1 is another area containing sherds. This Area #2 is approx. 10 m. across and only slightly lower in elevation than Area #1. In the center is an ellipse of tumbled rock 2.5 m. across (Pl. VIId); sherds were found in this area although in considerably smaller quantity than in Area #1. Among them, however we picked up two sherds with graffiti incised in characters of the early Attic alphabet. We located Area #2 only on our second visit to Pani and at that time it showed signs of recent disturbance, freshly turned earth and several small pits perhaps half a meter deep.

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1939,

36. For parallels, see: R.S. Young, *Hesp. Supp. II*, pp. 101-2, and exactly similarly cups from the Hymettos collection on the Agora shelves, nos. H124, Y123, Y108, Y107; also examples in the Agora collection, esp. no. P18011 (from mid-fifth century deposit). Later fourth century examples show squatter and thicker proportions with heavier handle and rim profiles, cf. *Hesp. XXIII*, 1954, p. 85, pl. XVIII.

In fact, this area seemed to have been more thoroughly dug than Area #1, perhaps because it has a larger area of surface soil and fewer rocks. We picked up pieces of glazed and plain ware similar to the sherds in Area #1 and one piece of lamp. The sherds with incised graffiti are of miscellaneous shape; sherd no. 1 has traces of red glaze on the outside surface, and light buff fabric is .2 cm. thick and probably belonged to a small cup; sherd no. 2 is unglazed tan fabric with an incised line above the inscription, .5 cm. thick and probably belonged to a large house-hold pot.

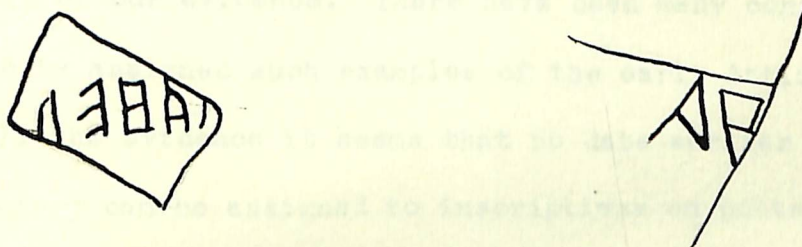


Fig. 2: Inscribed Sherds from Pani

The letters of sherd no. 1 are retrograde and only the **EBA** are legible. The tempting restoration of "Athena" is very unlikely since the theta would much more probably be circular with a cross inside and this letter is a closed eta used as either aspirate or vowel. The lines following the epsilon in our inscription also do not seem to belong to any form of N, nor to a P as part of the name "Herakles". This graffito is probably part of two words since the combination of these three vowels or the occurrence of an aspirate between them is impossible as part of one word. Thus the meaning of the graffito cannot be clarified although it may contain part of a donor's name since these were common on such votive cups.

37. See Pl. III, AJA XXXVIII, 1934.

38. See examples in Young's article: AJA XLIV, 1940, pp. 1-10.

Sherd no. 2 reads from left to right and shows an A with slanted crossbar and what is probably an angular B although part of the lower half loop is missing (this letter could conceivably be a P with a tail but this form of P does not occur on the Hymettos graffiti).<sup>39</sup> This graffito, if read AB, may well be part of an incomplete abecedar<sup>y</sup> similar to several found on Hymettos; this seems to have been a favorite form of inscription among people to whom writing was a newly acquired art.

The date of these Pani graffiti cannot be exactly ascertained on the basis of our evidence. There have been many conjectures on the date to be assigned such examples of the early Attic alphabet<sup>40</sup> but from all the evidence it seems that no date earlier than the seventh century can be assigned to inscriptions on pottery of the type excavated on Hymettos. Our graffiti were found in connection with sherds datable primarily to the late seventh century. Such letter forms as the slanted retrograde E and the A with slanted crossbar are manifestly early, but these can occur as late as the beginning of the fifth century.

To the north of Areas #1 and #2 above the saddle where a chapel of the Panagia stands rises the highest point of the north end of Mt. Paneion (elev. 469 m.). Here we found sherds in a small area disturbed by modern foxholes. The sherds are all gritty coarse ware fragments including two pieces with lightly grooved horizontal striations on the outside surface (possibly Roman combed ware) and pieces with traces of yellow lead glaze preserved (probably Byzantine or later).

39. See Pl. III, AJA XXXVIII,<sup>p. 3</sup> 1934,  
 40. See articles by Blegen and Young listed on p. , footnote 5.; also articles by R. Carpenter, AJA XXXVII, 1933, pp.1-29 and AJA XLII, 1938, pp. 58-69.

The highest point of the Paneion ridge is the peak of Keratovouni (Pl.  $\overline{\text{Vd}}$ ) on the south-east end above Keratea on the north and the plain of Anavyssos on the south. The summit is bare and rocky and has been disturbed in modern times by the erection of foxholes, six of which are still standing. Sherds were found in an area extending some 20 m. below the summit to the south, but thickest at the summit itself. We picked up several pieces of glazed and unglazed ware resembling the fragments of votive cups found on Pani, also numerous pieces of coarse ware and one piece of lamp handle. Among the glazed fragments, chiefly streaked and clear black glaze, is a piece of ring base with clear glaze on the foot both inside and out, probably belonging to a medium-sized cup or bowl.

From the peak we headed down the south-west slopes some three hundred meters to the entrance of the Pani Cave. This cave is considered by Milchhöfer (Karten text v. iii, p. 19) as the largest stalactite grotto in Attica and perhaps in all of Greece. No antiquities have ever been noted within its labyrinth of chambers and we ourselves found neither sherds nor rock-cut inscriptions in the black fairy-tale caverns deep down beyond the entrance.

#### Merenda

The rounded peak (elev. 612 m., Karten Bl. XIII) of Merenda (Pl.  $\overline{\text{Ve}}$ ) rises to the north-east of Pani and south-east of the village of Markopoulo. The summit is a single flat-topped peak from which a lower plateau section extends to the north-east and on the west rises a secondary peak (elev. 431 m.). There are two large grassy hollows at the end of the north-east plateau in which we found nothing except the traces of recent shepherds' habitation.

The peak to the west is the highest point of the ridge running west from the main mass of the mountain. A large wall of rough stones encloses the north-east, east, and south-east sides of the peak (the west side drops off rather steeply). In its best preserved sections the wall is approx. 2 m. in width and 1.6 m. high on the outer face, 1 m. high on the inner face. Both faces of the wall are fairly carefully constructed of large stones and the space between is packed with smaller stones (Pl. VIII d,e,f and Fig. 3). Sherds were found in the area within the wall, but we failed to discover any fragments of tile. The sherds are all thick gritty coarse ware with several pieces showing horizontal striations on the outer surface similar to those found on the Pani peak above Kalyvia (see p. ).

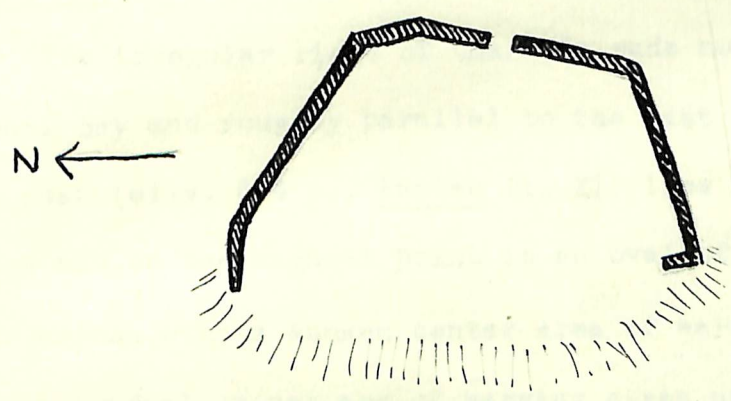


Fig. 3: Rough Sketch Plan of Wall on Merenda

On the summit of Merenda we found sherds on the west side of the peak, in a small area approx. 4 m. across in the center of which was a hole filled with rubble measuring 1.3 m. in diameter and possibly enclosed by a wall of rough stone 1m. across, although this is in a very ruinous condition (Pl. VII e). Here we picked up fragments of glazed ware similar in shape, fabric and type to that found on Pani including examples of geometric stripe and dot patterns, a piece of small ring base with a vertical ray pattern around the

foot, and two fragments of polychrome decoration showing deep reddish-violet color and clear black glaze on buff surface with

the design outlined by incision. The representation of a head<sup>42</sup>(Fig. 4)

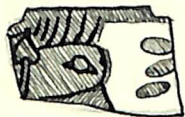


Fig. 4  
Figured sherd from  
Merenda

on one fragment may very possibly be that of a griffin or exotic bird with crest, eye, ear and part of beak preserved, a type frequent in Proto-Attic decoration. Fragments of small unglazed cups were found in about the same quantity as the glazed ware,

also numerous pieces of coarse ware including blackened sherds probably belonging to cooking pots.

#### Charvata

The irregular ridge of Charvata runs north-south above Porto Raphti Bay and roughly parallel to the east slopes of Merenda. The peak (elev. 394 m., Karten Bl. XI) lies at the north end of the ridge and on the highest point is an oval of tumbled stones about 2 m. across with a sunken center area of earth and rubble (Pl. VIII f). The individual stones are of varying sizes up to about .5 m. as the largest dimension. This oval of stones is perhaps the remains of a simple altar; the stones are bedded into the earth like a foundation socle and this type of construction does not resemble modern foxholes or sheepfolds which are almost invariably built up of small stones piled on top of the rock. Very little soil now remains on the peak and we picked up a handful of sherds only in and around the oval of stones. These include three fragments of glazed ware, one showing the rim and horizontal handle attachment of a small cup, and a few pieces of plain ware, also a small obsidian chip.

41. These rays are short rather than long, a characteristic of Corinthian, not Proto-Corinthian, skyphoi (although this fragment is probably an Attic imitation) according to R.S. Young, Hesp. Supp. II, 1939, p. 150.
42. Added color and incision are common in Attica after the mid-seventh century, see Young, Ibid., pp. 197-8.

Tsourgeli (Mavronoros on the Karten, Bl. XI)

The ridge of Tsourgeli (this name may be restricted to the headland and craggy north-east end between Porto Raphti Bay and Kaki Thalassa) runs north-east to south-west on the south-east of Charvata. The south-west end is a series of smaller pine-wooded hills which perhaps account for the name given on the Karten. The peak (elev. 403 m.) rises above the sea at the north-east and is marked by a concrete survey post. Around the base of this marker in the earth disturbed by its installation we picked up several sherds, all bits of miscellaneous coarse ware, including one piece with horizontal ribs or striations on the outside surface, possibly parallel to those found on Merenda's west peak and on the Pani peak above Kalyvia (see pp. 26, 28). We found nothing on the lower ridge to the south-west (peak elev. 368 m.).

Perati

To the north of Charvata and Tsourgeli rises the high rocky crest of Perati on a peninsula jutting out into the sea between the bays of Porto Raphti on the south and Vraona (site of anc. Brauron) on the north (Karten Bl. X). Perati's jagged ridge runs north-west to south-east with its highest peak (elev. 308 m.) toward the south-east. We ascended from the north-west by Vraona Bay just east of two pointed lower peaks on the west of the Brauron sanctuary which were later examined and found to contain no apparent trace of antiquities. On the Perati ridge we picked up sherds and tiles in a small rocky summit area/just north of the main peak. Among the handful of coarse sherds found is one piece of plain curved rim with thin red glaze on the outside surface and horizontal grooves running below the rim curve, possibly belonging to a large bowl of Roman date. Nothing was found on the actual peak area.

Below Perati to the south of Porto Raphti lies a mushroom-shaped peninsula connected to the mainland by a low sandy isthmus just north of the headland of Tsourgeli. Today the peninsula is known as Koroni (probably anc. Koroneia). Its cliffs drop off steeply into the sea except on the south-west landward side. The summit of Koroni is completely enclosed by a rough stone wall some 2 m. thick and about the same height (Pl. IXa,b) with two stretches of auxiliary wall running south-west and south-east from the summit circuit wall to the sea as extra protection from land attack. The walls are noted on the Karten (Bl. XI, text v. iii p. 8) and have been associated with the ancient deme acropolis of Prasiae.<sup>43</sup> We were able to trace the line of the circuit wall, similar to the Hymettus and Kastraki walls with remains of double-wall and inner cross-wall construction, and part of the long walls, although the area is thickly overgrown. Inside are traces of numerous crude stone house walls and the area is thick with tiles and coarse sherds, chiefly fragments of large water jars and wine amphorae.

### Olympos

The large mountain mass rising to the south-west of the Paneion ridge (Pl. V~~f~~) above the west coast of Attica's southern peninsula is known as Attic Olympos (or Skordi according to the Karten Bl. XVII). We were unable to discover the reason for this name although it may be derived from the village of Olympos below to the north; perhaps its roughly pyramidal peak was thought by early inhabitants to resemble Thessalian Olympos. The mountain dominates the Bay of Anavyssos to the south and the plain of Anavyssos to the east. The summit area has been disturbed by the installation of a

43. J.G. Frazer, Description of Greece, v. II, p. 404-5.



triangulation point marker. Sherds were found around the peak and in a fan-shaped area 20 m. in radius south from the peak; the north side drops off steeply. We picked up several pieces of black glazed ware including eight fragments of ribbed "Megarean" ware probably belonging to the same bowl with thin black glaze on the outside surface and chocolate brown glaze on the inside surface. Fragments of unglazed cups similar to those on Pani are numerous in this area, also pieces of coarse ware; among the latter are five fragments of ledge krater rim with ribbed bands running around the flat upper surface and three pieces of lamp (both rim and lamps probably Roman).

#### Mesogaia: Summary

We found traces of antiquity on each of the six prominent mountains of the Mesogaia. The finds from Pani are by far the most extensive and seem certainly to indicate the presence of an important rustic sanctuary on the summit dating at least from the seventh century and probably into Roman times. Areas #1 and #2 undoubtedly belong to the same shrine. Whether or not in the fifth century and after this Pani sanctuary included the worship of Pan we cannot say on the basis of our evidence. Earlier it must certainly have been dedicated to the worship of another god, most probably Zeus. It is possible that the name Paneion was derived merely from the existence of the Keratovouni Cave which local myth might well have ascribed as sacred to Pan without the existence of an actual shrine within. Perhaps systematic excavation of the Pani summit area would reveal the site's identity, unless illicit digging has removed all the important evidence.

The sherds from Keratovouni, Merenda, Charvata and Olympos seem also to indicate the presence of a mountain-top sanctuary in sub-geometric and later times. On the basis of our finds, however, there is no possible identification for the gods worshipped on these mountains.

44. For discussion of this type, see: H.A. Thompson, Hesp. III, 1939, pp. 451-9.

The sherds and tiles from Perati indicate the presence of an ancient watchtower, rather than a sanctuary, and perhaps the sherds from Tsourgeli's sea-dominating peak represent another watchtower, part of the same system. The walled enclosure of Koroni may be the lower fort in connection with these watchtowers, standing on the Perati and Tsourgeli promontories as advance guard posts. The area between these peaks includes the ancient demes of Steria and Prasiae, and the fact that Porto Raphti Bay is in an important military position on Attica's east coast is proved by the presence of a large modern network of trenches and pillboxes in the hills above the bay to the north-west. The sherds found on the Pani north peak above Kalyvia could only belong to a military look-out post, possibly dating from the Hellenic era, although the only recognizable sherds are of Roman and medieval date.

#### Lavreotiki

The Lavreotiki range is a broken mass of hills occupying the entire southern tip of Attica to the south-east of Olympos and Keratovouni above the coastal towns of Lavrion and Sounion. None of the hills rise to a height of 400 m. nor do any rise above the surrounding valleys and hills as an isolated peak. The slopes are for the most part covered with pine forests or cultivated fields except in the barren hills near Lavrion where ancient silver and lead deposits were mined and where a few mines still operate today. We examined the peak of Vigla Rimbari, the highest point in the north (elev. 372.2 m., Karten Bl. XVI) and the ridge (elev. 360 m.) above the village of Plaka to the northeast. To the south we climbed the peak of Prophetes Elias, the highest point in this area (elev. 356 m., Karten Bl. XIV), and the ridge to the west.

The hill of Vigla Rimbari looks out to the south-east over Lavrion and the Gulf of Thorikos; it drops off in sheer cliffs some 10 m. high on the east side but slopes off more gradually on the other sides. The top of the hill is enclosed by a wall for almost two-thirds of the way and can be traced to the cliffs at both north and south. The wall is built of rubble masonry, occasionally having very large blocks in a roughly polygonal style, and nowhere rises to a height of more than 1.8 m. (Pl. IXc,d). The wall appears never to have been much higher and was perhaps a kind of terrace wall, not for fortification purposes. Sherds and tiles were found within the area and the presence of numerous mine shafts inside the walls and in the ground outside suggests that this may be the site of an ancient mining settlement. The sherds are chiefly fragments of coarse domestic ware with the exception of one small piece with clear black glaze on both surfaces. Eight small flint chips were also found in the area.

We found no trace of antiquity on the ridge above Plaka and nothing on the summit of Prophetes Elias now crowned by a modern chapel to Zeus' successor. Along the lower ridge to the west we noted coarse sherds and two miscellaneous pieces of black glazed ware, probably belonging to some ancient settlement in the area since the slopes are too low to be the location of sanctuaries to mountain deities or watchtower posts.

#### Marathon Area

North of Penteli and west of the lower Marathon plain rise three main peaks, Dionysovouni, Aphorismos and Agriliki. They are geologically northern spurs of the main mass of Penteli (marble is quarried on Agriliki today) and the country beyond them to the north-west,

Mines are all  
modern. Wall  
did rise higher  
& was submitted  
to a fort! see  
Plat. Cratell  
Dionys  
1177.

- Much obsidian  
to be found here  
too

35

north to Marathon Lake and west to the plain below Tatoi, is extremely mountainous with an elevation in several places of over 400 m. But these north-west hills are flat and for the most part wooded or cultivated, presenting no likely peaks for the location of mountain-top sanctuaries.

The ridge of Dionysovouni (Stamatavouni or Dionysos on the Karten Bl. XII, XIX) runs just north of Penteli and roughly parallel to it above the Dionyso-Rappendoza Pass. The mountain derives its name from an ancient sanctuary of Dionysos at Ikaria located at the foot of the mountain's south slopes. We set out from the south at the village of Dionyso and climbed up the wooded slopes to the ridge which is also partially covered with scrub pines. A triangulation point marker crowns the rocky peak (elev. 649 m.) and its installation has disturbed the ground over a considerable area. But even so, there was no sign of sherds. At a point about 150 m. east of the peak toward the end of the ridge we picked up some miscellaneous sherds, thin unglazed ware possibly all from the same vessel, which might have been the water jar of some shepherd, ancient or modern.

Following down the north-east ridge which rises between two ravines and heads in the direction of the west peak of Aphorismos, we came upon the remains of two ancient sites (somewhere between contour lines 500 and 400 m. on the Karten, above the stream running north-west to south-east between Dionysovouni and Aphorismos). Site #1 is marked by a quadrangular wall of rough schist slabs (Pl. IXe) within which we found a few coarse sherds and some fragments of tile. Site #2 lies further to the north around a curve to the west and is also marked by a few upright schist slabs probably the remains of a building. These slabs are on the top of a low hill which slopes

off on three sides. Both the top and sides of this hill are thick with sherds, including fine fragments of classical black glazed ware and pieces of large pithoi rims, and a few fragments of tile. Probably both these sites represent the remains of an ancient settlement protected by the mountains and close to a good supply of water. 45

A semi-isolated mass of rock, Aphorismos rises to the north-east of Dionysovouni beyond a track from the village of Stamata which follows the stream mentioned above east to Vrana and the Marathon plain. We climbed up to the west peak (elev. 491 m., Bl. Karten/XIX) and then east along the ridge to the bare rocky peak (elev. 575 m.) and down to the south-east where we met the track to Vrana. We discovered no trace of antiquity on either the peak or the west ridge.

The peak of Agriliki (elev. 557 m., Karten Bl. XIX) rises to a sharp conical point north-east of Penteli, east of Dionysovouni and south-east of Aphorismos. Its slopes are bare and rocky and we found only five coarse unidentifiable sherds on the summit. On the peak to the south-east crowned by a triangulation point marker we found nothing. The peak of Agriliki has often been associated with the "shield" passage in Herodotus (see p. 17) but we discovered no evidence to support this supposition and rather favor the Penteli watchtower site. Agriliki's peak certainly dominates the Marathon plain and could be reached from Athens, but the peak of Mavrinora Megali could also be seen by Persian ships in Marathon Bay and is far more accessible to Athens.

*Soteriades' altar ?  
Praktika  
1935  
Found rocky hill with pottery finds  
Hess Sept. 1959.*

The area north of Marathon up to the ancient Attic-Boeotian boundary at Oropos (near modern Skala Oropou) and east of Parnes is high and mountainous. The highest points, excluding Beletsi which is actually a Parnes peak and is known to be the site of an ancient

45. For sample of sherds, see: A.S.C.S. collection, A28, Box 76.

watchtower (elev. 839 m.), are Stravos Aetos (elev. 592 m.) north of Marathon between the villages of Grammatiko and Varnava, Prophetes Elias (elev. 648 m.) north-east of Varnava, and Mavrinora (elev. 647 m.) west of Prophetes Elias and north-west of the village of Kapandriti on the Kalamos road. We set out to explore at least these three peaks but arrived at the summit of Stravos Aetos to discover it ploughed over for the spring planting. Looking north toward Prophetes Elias, we could see the summit chapel surrounded by ploughed land and indistinguishable from the area of checkered green and brown fields around it. The thickly forested slopes of Mavrinora to the north-west were hardly discernible among the surrounding wooded hills. We explored no further since this hardly seemed a promising area for mountain-top sanctuaries; undoubtedly the topography has changed little since ancient times when this wild back-woods area was never thickly populated.

Thus, the Marathon area yielded no information as to mountain-top cults. Perhaps the three high peaks north of Penteli were too close to the summit "Athena" sanctuary there to have been dedicated to other gods. In the area further to the north there may possibly be hill-top shrine remains in connection with the sanctuaries at Rhamnous and at the Amphiareion, but time did not permit our investigating these areas.

### Aigaleos

The mountain range which bounds the Attic plain on the west is not mentioned by Pausanias, possibly because there were no shrines of interest on its summit. On the basis of references in Herodotus (VIII, 90) and Thucydides (II, 19-21) the name Aigaleos can be given with certainty to this long ridge extending north-east to south-west from the foot of Parnes to the sea. The ridge is divided midway

by a low pass into the Thriasian plain through which the modern road from Athens to Eleusis runs following the line of the ancient Sacred Way. The pass today is known as the Daphni Pass deriving its name from the place called Daphni, once a shrine to Apollo and now the site of the famous Daphni monastery church, located south of the road at the base of the southern half of Aigaleos. The highest peak of this southern half and sometimes the entire southern ridge is known as Korydallos<sup>46</sup> and the northern half is sometimes referred to as Pikilon after a reference in Pausanias' description of the Sacred Way (I.37.7). Pausanias states that the descendants of Cephalus returning to Athens had been instructed to sacrifice to Apollo "at that place in Attica where they should see a galley running on land"; when they saw a snake going into his hole "κατὰ τὸ πτοικίλιον καλούμενον ὄρος", they sacrificed there and then entered Athens and became citizens. After this story Pausanias mentions a temple of Aphrodite with a wall of unwrought stones in front of it. This wall of large polygonal blocks still stands in front of a shrine located to the north of the modern road a little below Daphni where the pavement of the Sacred Way is clearly visible. Numerous rock niches in a cliff at the base of the northern half of Aigaleos mark this sanctuary, together with rock-cut inscriptions to Aphrodite and several building foundations excavated in a small area below the cliff. The discovery of this shrine to Aphrodite in conjunction with the known worship of Apollo at Daphni identify the mountain Pikilon with some part of Aigaleos. On the Karten (Bl. III, VI) the Aigaleos range is designated by the modern names Scaramanga (on the south) and Zastani and Zacharitsa (marking the two highest peaks on the north) but at present the classical name is most commonly used.

46. Strabo, IX, 395; here mention is also made of a township of the same name.

Unfortunately the southern heights of Aigaleos are now enclosed by barbed wire wire as a military zone and we were unable to explore the Korydallos peak (elev. 488 m.) on which remains of a circular tower were noted by Milchh<sup>47</sup>öfer and Leake. The northern heights are accessible and Miss Lowry spent a day examining the peaks for sanctuary remains -- a walk not recommended since the military base to the east below the Zastani peak is constantly setting off shells and the peak itself is marked by a red flag and a bullet-riddled metal marker, obviously the scene of recent target practice. The route followed led up the ridge from the Aphrodite shrine to the peak (elev. 413.4 m.) just south of Zastani. Here stand the tumbled rock remains of a possible watchtower, but no sherds. On the Zastani peak (elev. 413.9 m.) several coarse sherds were found around the gun target which is set on a low mound faced with stones and undoubtedly the site of an ancient tower, noted on the Karten. On a lower peak to the north (elev. 372.4 m.) stand the remains of walls .5 m. across and apparently enclosing a rectangular area disturbed by modern gun emplacements; this area is noted on the Karten as a tower and one coarse sherd was discovered. Further on a tumbled circular stone structure marks the site of another tower (elev. 306 m.), also a few sherds. Finally on the northernmost peak of Zacharitsa (elev. 452.8 m.) stands the socle of a circular tower with well-preserved polygonal facing. Its diameter is approx. 3 m. and the wall is preserved to a height of 1 to 2 m. Numerous tiles and coarse sherds are lying about the tower and on the slopes below it to the east. This tower, noted on the Karten, stands some 1000 m. south-east of the south end of the

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47, Milchh<sup>47</sup>öfer (Karten text v. ii, p. 19) considered this structure the remains of a medieval round-tower perhaps on the foundations of an earlier tower; Leake (Topography of Athens, v. II, London, 1841, p. 143) considered the tower Hellenic.



Aigaleos-Parnes wall and commands an excellent position above the pass between the Attic and the Megarian plains. Two other towers noted on the Karten, one (elev. 272.5 m.) west of Zastani and the other (elev. 356.4 m.) south of Zacharitsa, were not investigated, but they are undoubtedly part of the same fortification system as those examined.<sup>48</sup>

No sherds suggesting the existence of an ancient sanctuary appeared on any peak and certainly the barren, rocky and relatively flat peaks of Aigaleos do not seem to invite the worship of a mountain-top cult, particularly in an area already dominated by the massive crests of Parnes, Penteli and Hymettus with their respective sanctuaries.

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48. This system of watchtowers would seem to be related by location and by the style of masonry to the Aigaleos-Parnes wall. For a complete bibliography on the much disputed date of this wall, see: Dow, S., Hesp. XI, 1942, p. 193.; also Appendix III of this paper for a possible dating.

Conclusion

In all there are nine possible mountain-cult sites in Attica. (see map. Pl. I)

The identification of the sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios on Hymettos seems certain and it is likely that the shrine of Apollo Proopsios stands on the north peak above Liopesi. The enclosed altar on Turkovouni together with sherds of late geometric date in all probability represents the precinct of Zeus Anchesmios. Pausanias' reference to a statue of Athena on Penteli certainly points to an Athena-cult on the mountain, perhaps connected with the ancient quarrying works, and the abundance of sherds and tiles in the peak area must mark this as Athena's shrine. On Pani the presence of a sanctuary is evident from the profusion of surface sherds including two early Attic graffiti. The summit sherds on Keratovouni, Merenda and Charvata are similar to those on Pani and suggest important cults of approximately the same date. The greater prevalence of later sherds on Olympos' peak seem to indicate that worship here was more important at a post-seventh century date.

The fact that any one of these sites, except on the summits of Hymettos and Turkovouni's north spur (where the enclosed rectangular blocks can hardly represent any structure other an altar), marks the location of a mountain-cult has not been absolutely proved. But the evidence of the sherds, especially the numerous votive cup fragments, and the situation of the sites certainly point to such a conclusion. Ancient settlements were seldom located on waterless peaks with an elevation of over 300 m.; nor, to the best of our knowledge, did the lone shepherds of antiquity or soldiers stationed at a look-out post make a practice of using small votive cups or quantities of black glazed ware. Thus, unless a better explanation can be found, the existence of at least nine mountain-top sanctuaries in Attica has been established.

The problem of what god or gods were worshipped on these mountains is, however, far from solved. Pausanias has given us the clue to the worship on Anchesmos (Turkovouni), Hymettos, Penteli and Parnes where remains must exist although as yet undiscovered. It is impossible to evaluate the significance of Pani's name in relation to its mountain cult; certainly the shrine predates worship of Pan in Attica, but this does not exclude the possibility that later a cult of Pan was initiated in connection with an already existing cult. Reasons have been given previously for suggesting that this earlier cult might well belong to Zeus, worshipped as rain, and thus vegetation, god. As we have noted, Zeus is the only one of the Olympians known to have been worshipped frequently on mountain-tops. Both Farnell and Cook give detailed descriptions of this aspect of Zeus' cult, and the latter gives a complete list of those mountains where sanctuaries of Zeus

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existed.

To date, as far as we could discover, no other survey of mountain cults in Greek religion has been made. Other gods were certainly worshipped on mountain-tops, often because of a myth relating to the mountain such as Herme's cult on Mt. Kyllene where he was born or Herakles' cult on Mt. Oita, the site of his funeral pyre. Sometimes the mountain itself was conceived of as sacred, Parnassus to Apollo or Thessalian Olympos to Zeus. Occasionally a cult existed within a high fortified citadel like that of Zeus and Athena on the Larissa in Argos; in this case Athena, and probably Zeus, appears as protector of the city and not as essentially a mountain deity.

In ancient times the mountain cult existed as a kind of pilgrimage shrine, as today in modern Greece countless white-washed chapels perch

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49. L.R. Farnell, Cults, v. I, pp. 42-52; A.B. Cook, ZEUS, Cambridge, 1914-1940, 3 vols., v. I, pp. 117-186, and v. II, pt. II, Appendix B, pp. 868-987.

high in the mountains where the icon of Prophet Elias in his fiery chariot has supplanted the statue of Zeus. The ancient sanctuary apparently had no set architectural plan except the presence of an altar necessary to any formal ritual. Cook notes three stages in the chronological development of Zeus' mountain cult: 1) a simple altar, 2) an altar with the statue of the god, 3) an altar with the statue enclosed in a temple.<sup>50</sup> He gives no absolute dating for the duration of each stage except to say that the earliest known mountain-top temple to Zeus is that on Akragas dating from the mid-sixth century. Examples for stage one are altars on Helicon, Ida and Kithairon at a time when perhaps the "primitive conception of Zeus as the Bright Sky, alive and potent, but not as yet anthropomorphic"<sup>51</sup> existed, a power only appropriately worshipped under the open sky. Later in his anthropomorphic form Zeus was provided with rituals which included offerings to a representation of his form, a statue in wood, bronze or stone, like those mentioned by Pausanias on Hymettos, Parnes and Anchesmos. Finally under a more fully developed theology the god must be provided with a house and thus temples are built on Ithome, Akragas and Kythnos (the Delian temple as late as the second century).

In Attica the mountain-top sanctuaries fall into the first or second stages since no summit temples have yet been located. In the first stage belong the simple "altars" on Merenda and Charvata since there is no evidence for the accompaniment of a statue on these sites. Pani must also belong to this stage although here we can postulate the addition of a small storage building to house the votive offerings at a large and popular shrine, like the storehouse on Hymettos. The larger elliptical foundations thick with sherds in

50. A.B. Cook, *Zeus*, v. I, pp. 121-2.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

Area #1 could represent a storage building and the smaller ellipse of stones in the flater level ground of Area #2 could represent the altar, perhaps once enclosed, paved and provided with a statue as in the sanctuary on Hymettos' summit. From the pottery finds these structures on Pani, Merenda and Charvata would seem to date at least as early as the seventh century. The polygonal masonry of the walls and altar on Turkovouni may date a little later than the rubble foundations in the Mesogaia although the sherds seem contemporary. The existence of roof tiles at the later "Apollo" sanctuary on Hymettos and the "Athena" sanctuary on Penteli may indicate the presence of either a storage building or a covered shrine. Thus, in Attica a primitive altar marks the site of the earliest type of mountain-top sanctuary with later the addition of statue, enclosure walls and some kind of building. The dates for architectural progression from altar to temple on the site of a mountain cult must remain a matter of the individual sanctuary's development and importance.

The location of these mountain-top sanctuaries in Attica does not add a great deal to the knowledge of Greek mountain cults, beyond establishing further proof for their widespread occurrence in areas populated in antiquity. We have been unable to find any material evidence for the identification of cult gods; only thorough excavational search for inscriptions or inscribed sherds could bring to light such information. It is perhaps interesting that traces of so many mountain-top sanctuaries still remain in Attica, a fact which might make worthwhile further explorations in the mountains of Greece.

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52. The type of altar-statue sanctuary is frequent in Attic vase-painting. For an illustrated example, see: A.E. Raubitschek, Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, pp. 361-364 (statue of Athena by the Nike altar).

## Mountain sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias

Note: It is not always clear from Pausanias' text whether the sanctuary referred to is actually on the top of the mountain. I have omitted most of the more dubious examples. The method of arrangement has been to give first the name of the mountain, and its geographical location, followed by the type of building or worship, then the cult name, if known, and the reference to the text.

## Apo Apollo

Hymettos (Attica). Altar. Proopsios. 1.32.2.  
 Knakadion (Laconia). Unspecified. Karneius. 3.24.8.  
 Kotilios (Arcadia). Temple. Epikourios. 8.41.7.  
 Kynortion (Argolid). Sanctuary. Maleates. 2.27.7.  
 Lykaion (Arcadia). Sanctuary, not on peak. Parhassios, Pythios. 8.38.8.  
 Ptoon (Boeotia). Sanctuary. Ptoos. 9.22.6.

## Aphrodite

Acrocorinth. Temple. 2.5.1.  
 Kotilios (Arcadia). Temple. 8.41.10.

## Artemis

Artemision (Argolid). Sanctuary. 2.25.3., 8.5.6.  
 Knakalos (Arcadia). Celebration of mysteries. Knakalesia. 8.23.3,4.  
 Koryphon (Argolid). Sanctuary. Koryphaia. 2.28.2.  
 Krathis (Arcadia). Sanctuary. Pyronia. 8.15.9.  
 Lycone (Argolid). Sanctuary. Orthia. 2/24/5/

## Asklepios

Ilios (Laconia). Temple. 3.24.8.

## Athena

Boreios (Arcadia). Sanctuary. Soteira. 8.44.4.  
 Bouporthmos (Argolid). Sanctuary. Promachorma. 2.34.8.  
 Larissa of Argos. Temple. 2/24/3.  
 Pentelikon (Attica). Statue. 1.32.2.  
 Pontinus (Argolid). Sanctuary. Saltis. 2.36.8.  
 unspecified, 30 stades from Kleitor, Arcadia. Temple. Korra. 8.21.4.

## Demeter

Bouporthmos (Argolid). Sanctuary. 2.34.8.

## Dionysos

Larysion (Laconia). Sacred mountain. 3.22.2.  
 Ilios (Laconia). Temple, not on peak. 3.24.8.

Appendix II: Chart of territory explored in Attica

Date	Helios	Place	Days and hours taken	Notes
March 20		Taleton (Laconia).	Sacred mountain. 3.20.4.	
<b>Hera</b>				
March 24		N. Hymettos		
		Arachnaion (Argolid).	Altar. 2.25.10.	
		Kithairon (Boeotia).	Sacrifices, with Zeus. 9.3.7,8.	
		Pron (Argolid).	Sanctuary. 2.36.2.	
March 25		Olympos		
<b>Hermes</b>				
		Kyllene (Arcadia).	Temple. Kyllenios. 8.17.1.	
<b>Muses</b>				
March 27		Merenda		
		Helikon (Boeotia).	Sacred mountain. 9.29.1.	
		Libethrios (Boeotia).	Statues. 9.24.5.	
<b>Pan</b>				
		Lampeia (Arcadia).	Sacred mountain. 8.24.4.	
		Lykaion (Arcadia).	Sanctuary, not on peak. 8.38.5.	
		Mainalos (Arcadia).	Sacred mountain. 8.36.7.	
		Nomia (Arcadia).	Sanctuary. Nomios. 8.38.11.	
		Parthenios (Arcadia).	Sanctuary, not on peak. 8.54.7.	
<b>Poseidon</b>				
		Boreios (Arcadia).	Sanctuary. 8.44.4.	
<b>Zeus</b>				
		Anchesmos (Attica).	Statue. Anchesmios. 1.32.2.	
		Apesas (Corinthia).	Sacrifice. Apesantios. 2.15.3.	
		Arachnaion (Argolid).	Altar. 2.25.10.	
		Hymettos (Attica).	Statue. Hymettios. 1.32.2.	
		Hymettos (Attica).	Altar. Ombrios. 1.32.2.	
		Hypatos (Boeotia).	Temple. Hypatos. 9.19.3.	
		Ithome (Messenia).	Sanctuary. Ithomatas. 4.3.9., 4.33.1,2.	
		Kithairon (Boeotia).	Sacred mountain. Kithaironios. 9.2.4.; Altar on peak. 9.3.7,8.	
		Kokkygion (Argolid).	Sanctuary. 2.36.2.	
		Laphystios (Boeotia).	Precinct. Laphystios. 9.24.5.	
		Larissa of Argos.	Temple. Larissaios. 2.24.3.	
		Lykaion (Arcadia).	Precinct, never entered. Lykaios. 8.38.6.	
		Lykaion (Arcadia).	Altar on summit. Lykaios. 8.38.7.	
		Oros of Aigina.	Sanctuary. Panhellenios. 2.30.4.	
		Parnes (Attica).	Statue. Parnethios. 1.32.2.	
		Parnes (Attica).	Altar. Semaleus. 1.32.2.	
		Parnes (Attica).	Altar. Ombrios or Apemios. 1.32.2.	
		Petrachos (Boeotia).	Statue. 9.41.6.	
		Scironian cliffs (Megarid).	Temple. Aphiesios. 1.44.9.	

Appendix II: Chart of territory explored in Attica

Date	Place	Time and Bus taken	Finds
March 23	Turkovouni	2:30 p.m. Marusi 6:30 p.m. Filothei	Walls, altar and sherds
March 24	N. Hymettos	8:30 a.m. Agia Paraskevi 6:15 p.m. Ilicupolis	N. peaks #1 and #2 sherds and tiles; S.W. of summit walls.
March 25	Olympos	8:00 a.m. Anavyssos 6:00 p.m. Olympos	Sherds on peak area.
March 26	S. Hymettos	9:00 a.m. Vouliagmeni 6:30 p.m. Nea Arguroupolis	Sherds on peak of Stravos Aetos
March 27	Merenda Charvata	8:00 a.m. Keratea 6:10 p.m. Porto Raphti	Merenda W. Peak walls and sherds on summit. Charvata sherds on summit.
March 28	Parnes	8:00 a.m. Agia Triada 2:00 p.m. same	---
March 29	Paneion	9:00 a.m. Keratea 6:40 p.m. Kalyvia	Keratovouni peak sherds and Pani peak and lower N. peak sherds.
March 31	W. Penteli (forced down by thick fog)	Ekali 8:30 a.m. Kastri 10:45 a.m.	Kastraki sherds and tiles.
April 1	Tsourgeli Koroni	Porto Raphti 8:00 a.m. 5:30 p.m. Keratea	Koroni walls. Sherds on Tsourgeli peak.
April 2	E. Penteli	8:30 a.m. Penteli 8:00 p.m. Pikermi	Sherds on peak and on east peaks.
April 3	Perati	9:00 a.m. Spata 4:10 Porto Raphti	Sherds and tiles on ridge peak.
April 5	W. Penteli	8:30 a.m. Penteli 4:00 p.m. Kastri	Kastraki and walls on Penteli peak.
April 6	Parnes:Harma	8:30 a.m. Agia Triada 7:00 p.m. Chasia	---
April 7	Pani	10:00 a.m. Kalyria 3:40 p.m. same	Sherds-peak areas
April 8	Agriliki	10:00 a.m. Nea Makri 4:15 p.m. same	-----



April 9	Dionysovouni Aphorismos	8:30 a.m. Dionyso 4:20 p.m. Marathon road	walls and sherds on NE slopes
April 10	Plaka ridge Vigla Rimbari	9:00 a.m. Plaka 4:15 p.m. same	walls and sherds on Vigla Rimbari
April 11	Turkovouni	3:15 Filothei 6:30 p.m. same	plan of walls
April 12	Stravos Aetos	8:00 a.m. Grammatico 5:00 p.m. Kapandriti	-----
April 13	Prophetis Ilias	8:00 a.m. Anavyssos 5:00 p.m. Legraina	-----
April 30	Bikilon	9:30 a.m. Daphni 5:00 p.m. Petroupolis	5 watchtowers, sherds and tiles

### Appendix III: Fortifications of Attica

In the course of our search for mountain-top sanctuaries we came upon a number of sites which seem to have played some role in the ancient fortifications of Attica. Eleven sites were noted: (Map, Pl. I) Hymettos, north and south peaks and the walls south-west of the summit; Penteli, walls at Kastraki and the peak of Mavrinora Megali; walls on Merenda's west peak and the Pani peak above Kalyvia; peaks of Perati and Tsourgeli with the walls on Koroni; watchtowers on Aigaleos south of the Aigaleos-Parnes wall. Of these sites the walls on Hymettos, Kastraki and Koroni, and the watchtowers on Aigaleos are noted on the Karten. The other sites, as far as we know, have not been noted previously.

The walls are all of crude "dry rubble" construction approx. 2 m. across and nowhere are preserved to their full height. On Hymettus, Kastraki and Koroni there is evidence for double-wall and cross-wall construction, also construction of interior buildings. Possibly traces of interior constructions exist on Merenda since here the area is thick with bushes and brambles and we were unable to make a thorough investigation. The Aigaleos watchtowers are also constructed of unworked field stone. Here the face is roughly built up to present a tightly joined, reasonably flat surface and then loose rock and in some cases earth, is thrown in behind. Unfortunately we have no photographs of the well-preserved face on the Zacharitsa peak tower where earth and stones are packed in behind to form a hard dirt floor, but there is an excellent photograph of a similar watchtower (elev. 227 m.) north of Aigaleos in Mr. Dow's article on the Aigaleos-Parnes wall.<sup>1</sup> The construction of these towers bears a close resemblance to the wall itself and must be considered as part of the same fortification system.

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1. S. Dow, Hesp. XI, 1942, pp. 206-7 and Fig. 13.

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Such walls as these, however, are obviously impossible to date on constructional evidence. There is no reason to believe that dry rubble "gives a strong indication of, if it does not prove, an early date for the construction"<sup>2</sup> in the case of a rural military garrison post or look-out tower, perhaps not even in the case of a long pass defence wall. Whatever stone lies at hand is the logical material to be used at times when the need for fortification is imminent, since the quarrying and cutting of large rectangular blocks is too costly and time-consuming a process to be practiced in the face of immediate danger. Any date during the Greek period could be proposed for such construction, but during Roman and Byzantine times it is almost certain that rubble and mortar construction would have been used. In more recent years the building of such thickly constructed walls is extremely dubious.

The only conclusive evidence for the date of these walls must come from fill within and around the walled areas. Surface sherds and tiles can give at least a clue to the nature of this fill and such material is abundant. The areas on Hymettus, Kastraki, Kotroni and around the Zacharitsa tower are thick with tile fragments and bits of coarse pottery.<sup>3</sup> On Merenda we were unable to discover tiles although coarse sherds are numerous in the area within the walls. Tile fragments appear with sherds on the north and south peaks of Hymettos, Mavrinora Megali and Perati, but we found only coarse sherds on Tsourgeli and <sup>the</sup> Pani peak above Kalyvia.

Among the pottery finds from these sites the most significant, apart from the Roman sherds, are the black glazed bits from Mavrinora

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2. R.A. Scranton, Greek Walls, Cambridge, Mass., 1941, p. 155.
  3. Similar tiles and a few bits of pottery can be seen from the tower (elev. 227 m.) north of Zacharitsa in the A.S.C.S. collection, A26, Box 70.

Megali and from Kastraki, also the large amphora rim fragments which may belong to the fourth century. Although no shapes can be distinguished from the glazed fragments, the glaze itself is fine and clear, of good fifth-fourth century quality. The tiles are interesting in their marked similarity to each other; the same type occurs at each of the sites noted above as having tiles and also at the Hymettos "Apollo" sanctuary and the Penteli "Athena" sanctuary. The type itself is a simple roof tile, showing curved cover and both curved and flat pan tile shapes, varying in thickness from 1-2 m., with the outer surface protected by a coat of streaked paint (light red to dark brown and black) and the fabric coarse and buff-colored (light tan to deep reddish-pink). There is no precise date available for this type of tile, except that its most frequent occurrence is in the fourth century and later.<sup>4</sup> Archaic and early fifth century tiles tend to be thicker with a slipped outer surface of fine clay and the details of shape are very different; Roman tiles have often only a roughly smoothed surface or a coating of very thin paint and the raised edge of the pan tiles is much more pronounced than that of earlier Greek tiles. The shape, fabric and unpainted surface of modern roof tiles bear no parallels to the type of tile found at these sites in Attica. Thus, it seems highly probable that these Attic tiles date from sometime in the fourth century,<sup>5</sup> or perhaps later in the Greek period.

Since our purpose in exploring Attica was to locate possible mountain-top sanctuaries and not to investigate any system of fortifications, we were unable to do any extensive research on those fortification points noted. We cannot attempt on the basis of our

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4. Similar tiles can be seen in Athens on the shelves of the Agora storerooms or in Corinth at the old Museum building, now a storehouse.
  5. We are deeply grateful to Mrs. Carl Roebuck for her time, interest and patience in showing us the Corinth tiles and in discussing with us samples of our Attic tiles, which she believes are of fourth century date.

research to establish conclusive evidence for the existence or date of any one of these military posts. It seems worthwhile, however, to review briefly the geographical location of these sites. The Aigaleos watchtowers and the Aigaleos-Parnes wall were obviously constructed to protect the two western passes between the Thriasian and Attic plains. The Kastraki fort commands the pass between Penteli and Parnes on the north border of the Attic plain and directly to the north-west on the Parnes side of the pass stands the ancient fort of Leipsydrion.<sup>6</sup> The site on Mavrinora Megali looks over the low coastal strip leading into the Mesogaia from the Marathon plain. The site on the north end of Hymettos watches over the Penteli-Hymettos pass between the Mesogaia and the Attic plain, while the site on the south looks toward Vouliagmeni and the low area between the Mesogaia and the south end of the Attic plain; the summit fort on Hymettos may very possibly be related to these two watchtowers in some defence system of the Attic plain. The sites on Perati and Tsourgeli are strategically located north and south of Porto Rapti Bay, possibly as watchtowers for the fortified settlement on Koroni. The walls on Merenda's west peak guard the main inland pass into the Mesogaia from the south end of the Attic peninsula and the site on Pani's north peak stands opposite on the south side of this pass.

Certainly each of these sites commands a strategic military position in any comprehensive defence system of Attica. It would be presumptuous to claim on our evidence that at any time they were all connected in the same fortification system. At present a good deal of information is available on the important forts or garrison-posts of Attica, such as Panakton-Eleutherai, Oinoe, Phyle and Dekeleia on

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6. Conclusive evidence has been found for the occupation of this fort in the last quarter of the fourth century; see, C.W.J. Eliot, "Leipsydrion", American School Papers, 1953, esp. pp. 14-16. Sample sherds and tiles similar to those found on Kastraki and elsewhere can be seen in the A.S.C.S. collection, A20, Box 68.

7

the Boeotian border or Rhamnous and Sounion on the sea coast. There is an excellent brief history of the chief Attic garrisons from the late fourth century through the Hellenistic era in Mr. Kent's article on the Rhamnous garrison inscription.<sup>8</sup>

By the end of the fourth century the function of an Attic garrison seems no longer to be purely military, Rather they have become "a kind of rural police force...maintained permanently to patrol the borders and polic the plains of Attica".<sup>9</sup> Possibly the walled enclosures on Hymettos, Kastraki and Merenda were used in Hellenistic times as such interior police headquarters, but their thick-walled construction and topographical relation to other forts and watchtowers suggest serious military defence as the reason for their erection. We can only postulate when this necessity might have arisen; sometime during the fourth century seems most probable from the evidence of pottery and tiles.

From historical data this century is known to have been the great era of Attic fortification. It is certain that no complex military system existed in Attica prior to the Persian wars and during the Peloponnesian War fortification of Attica was not part of Pericles' containment policy. In the uneasy years following Athens' defeat by Sparta and before the Macedonian invasion the important forts of Attica were strengthened and presumably border posts were installed and numerous towers constructed, as the fort at Rhamnous with its advance-guard towers near Varnava.<sup>10</sup> But even more during the revolution after Alexander's death in 323 B.C. fortified points for defence and refuge would have been needed in the interior of Attica, as well as on the borders.<sup>11</sup> There would hardly have been time at this period

7. For bibliography, see J.H. Kent, Hesp. X, 1941, 345-6, foot-notes 1 & 3.
8. Ibid., pp. 342-350.
9. Ibid., p. 347.
10. L. Chandler, JHS, XLVI, 1926, p. 19, fig. 11.
11. We are indebted to Mr. Vanderpool for the suggestion of this period as possibly related to our fortification sites.

to construct other than rough walls built of material at hand, walls very different from the handsome ashlar masonry with drafted corners which characterize earlier fourth <sup>century</sup> military construction at Rhamnous, Phyle or Panakton-Eleutherai.

Possibly all the watchtower sites <sup>noted</sup> were in use at this time, as well as the three forts on Hymettos, Kastraki and Merenda, although they may have existed earlier. There is no reason to believe that Mavrinora Megali could not have been the scene of the "shield-flashing" in 490 B.C. merely because later fourth century tiles were found on the site. Roman pottery on Merenda, Perati and Pani probably indicates later occupation of these sites as early as the Herulian invasions or during later barbarian raids. On Perati at least there is evidence for two occupations in the existence of Greek tiles with Roman sherds. The presence of probable fourth century tiles at two prominent watchtowers connected with the system of the Aigaleos-Parnes wall points to its use in the defences of this period. Whether or not the wall and towers were constructed at this time is a matter for further research. The walls and settlements at Koroni must have been in use simultaneously although again it is impossible without further investigation to know the initial date of a walled settlement in this area.

The evidence of walls, tiles and sherds at each of the eleven fortification points which we investigated is strongly in favor of a late fourth century date for the occupation of these sites. Their use as part of Attica's fortifications during the revolt against the Macedonians 322-318 B.C. seems plausible, if not certain. This does not exclude the possibility, in some cases probability, of earlier and later occupations. Only further examination of these sites and their relation to the other ancient defences of Attica can decide conclusively the exact dates of construction and occupation.



**KEY**

- ① Hymettos - Sanctuary of Zeus
- ② Hymettos - Sanctuary of Apollo
- ③ Turkovuni - Sanctuary of Zeus
- ④ Penteli - Sanctuary of Athena
- ⑤ Parni sanctuary
- ⑥ Keratovouni sanctuary
- ⑦ Merenda sanctuary
- ⑧ Charvata sanctuary
- ⑨ Olympos sanctuary

- ① Watchtower on N. end of Hymettos
- ② Fortification SW of summit of Hymettos
- ③ Watchtower on waterless Hymettos
- ④ Kastraki
- ⑤ Mavrinora Megali
- ⑥ Parni - North peak, above Kalyvia
- ⑦ Merenda - West peak
- ⑧ Tsourgeli
- ⑨ Perati
- ⑩ Koroni
- ⑪ Argaleos

**ATTICA**

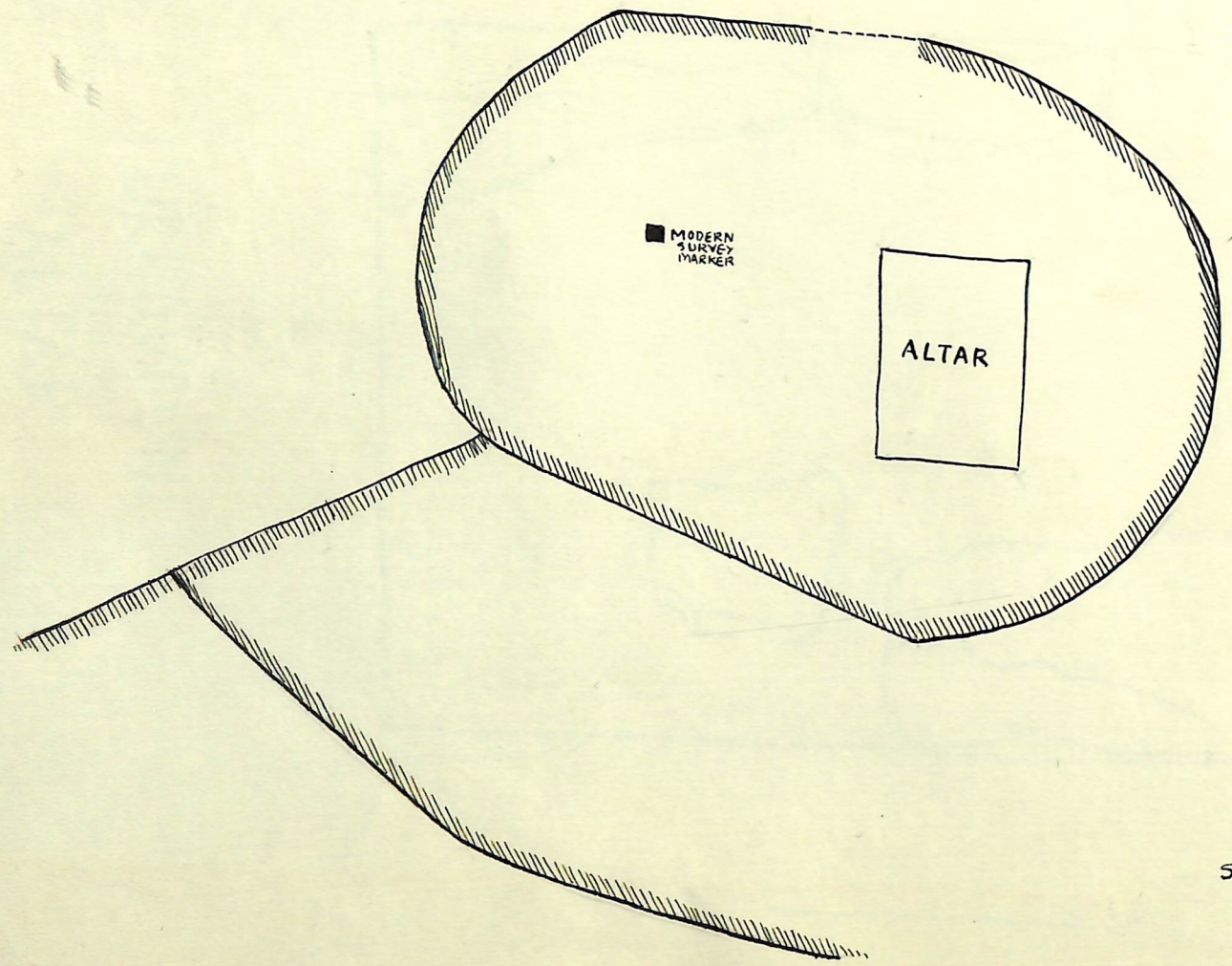
Modified from National Tourist Organization map dated 1952



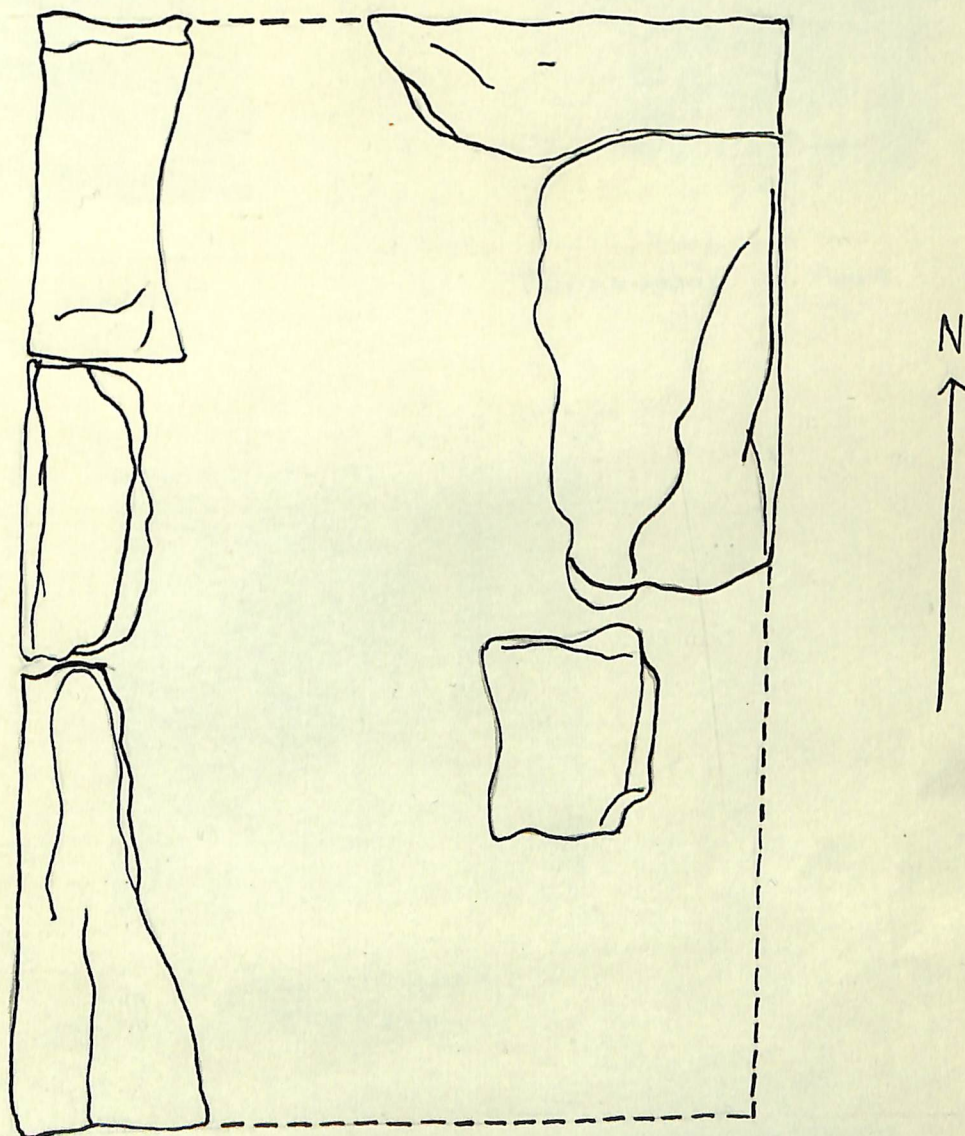
# TURKOVOUNI

TERRACE WALLS AND ALTAR

ON NORTHERN PEAK



SCALE 1:100



TURKOVOUNI

ALTAR

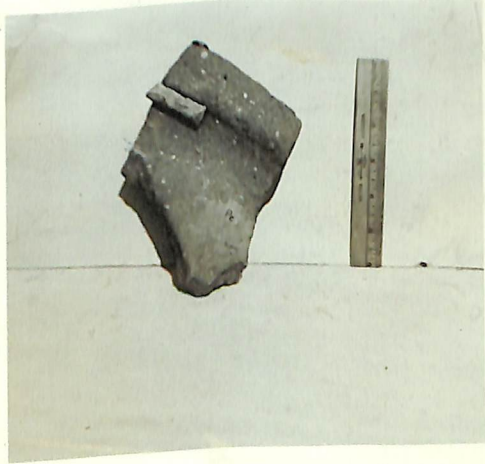
SCALE 1:20



Hymettus N. Peak : sherds



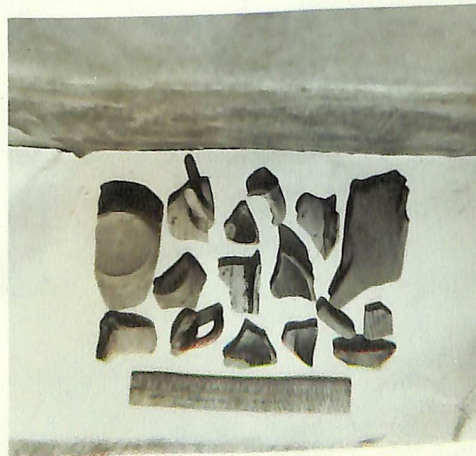
b. Turkovouni N. Peak : sherds



c. Penteli peak :  
pithos rim



d. Pani Area #1 :  
votive cup fragments



e. Pani Area #1 : sherds



Turkovouni : Terrace wall from west



b. Turkovouni : Terrace wall from south



c. Turkovouni : altar



Penteli : Terrace wall below peak



e. Penteli : Terrace wall below peak



a. Penteli chapel



b. Mavrinora Megali from SE



c. Parnes: cliffs of Harma from W



d. Keratovouni from Olympos



e. Merenda and Charvata from Keratovouni



f. Olympos and Pani from S. Laureotiki



c. Hymettus : "Blegen's Hollow"



b. Pani Area #1 from S



c. Pani Area #1 close-up



d. Pani Area #2 from S  
(In background : Merenda summit  
and W peak)



Merenda Peak : sanctuary area



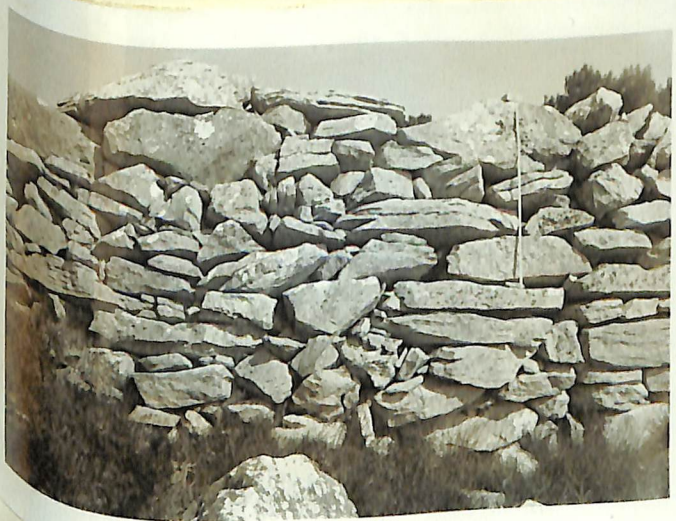
f. Charvata Peak : "altar oval"  
from S



Hymettus: Wall SW of main peak, NW side of enclosure



b. Kastraki: wall on N side top



Kastraki: outer face of N wall



d. Merenda W Peak: wall outer face



Merenda W Peak: Gate



f. Merenda W Peak Top, looking towards NW



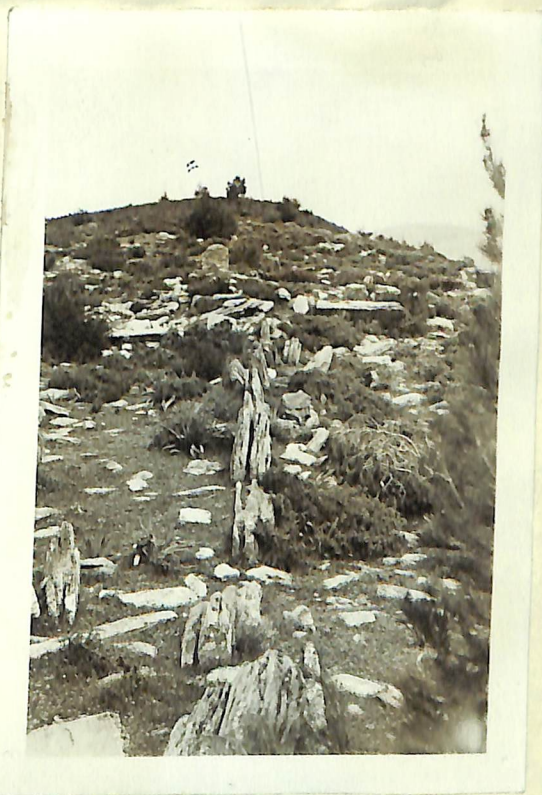
Koroni : top of circuit wall  
on NW side



b. Koroni : West outer face of  
circuit wall



Vigla Rimbari : outer face of  
wall



e. Dionysovouni site #1:  
Walls on NE slope  
taken from south



Vigla Rimbari : outer face of  
wall, close-up