Journal of Hellenic Studies cviii (1988) 48–59

CITY AND MOUNTAIN IN LATE ROMAN ATTICA*

If today the archaeological investigation of Graeco-Roman sites no longer begins with the wholesale destruction of the late antique strata, much of the credit should go to the exemplary American excavations conducted from 1931 onwards in the Athenian agora. And yet, in part because the late antique city's heart shifted eastwards, away from the classical agora towards an area that has been only partially excavated, we still have no monograph on late Roman and early Byzantine Athens—and that despite the current fashion for historico-archaeological studies of the evolving urban tissue.[1] As for the even newer fashion for archaeological survey, which has produced impressive results in neighbouring Boeotia,[2] it will inevitably pass the immediate Athens region by, thanks to its extensive urbanization in the past thirty years.[3] It is worth remembering, though, that if a quarter of the Athenian's horizon is the familiar and all-important sea, three quarters are mountain. On Parnes, Pentelicus and Hymettus, with their fortresses, watch-towers and sacred caves, one can still catch echoes of a lost rural world in constant interaction with the nearby city. As a contribution to the research on 'city and countryside' that is the natural synthesis of urban history and rural survey,[4] it seems worthwhile to consider what can presently be known about the relation between late antique Athens and its neighbouring mountains.

I

The mountains' practical role in the life and economy of Roman Athens was well defined. Parnes supplied water, via an aqueduct constructed by Hadrian. Pentelicus supplied fine white marble for the city's workshops, which exported statues, architectural carvings and sarcophagi all over the Mediterranean. Hymettus produced a blue-grey marble, and honey. All—even Hymettus, on its lower slopes—were wooded, and trees meant fuel (including charcoal), grazing, and construction timber (though the Attic supply will have been insufficient both in quantity and quality). The clouds that gathered on Hymettus were and remain a useful indicator of what the weather holds in store, a subject of consuming interest in the temperamental Mediterranean climate. Pausanias, having described the demes, duly notes the altars of Zeus the Rain-God and Apollo the Foreseer on Hymettus, and of Zeus the Rain-God and Zeus the Sign-giver on Parnes.[5] He also notes boars and bears on Parnes, and might have added brigands, who

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* This is a fast-developing subject, and could not have been approached without a good deal of help, notably from Josiah Ober, whose recent researches on the Attic frontier in the classical period are of fundamental importance. I also wish to thank Charalambos Bouras, Timothy Gregory, Hans Lohmann, Athanasios Rizakis, Jere Wickens, and others whose advice is acknowledged at various points in the notes. Matteo and Maria Campagnolo took me for my first hikes on Parnes and Pendeli, and to them I offer this unintended by-product.

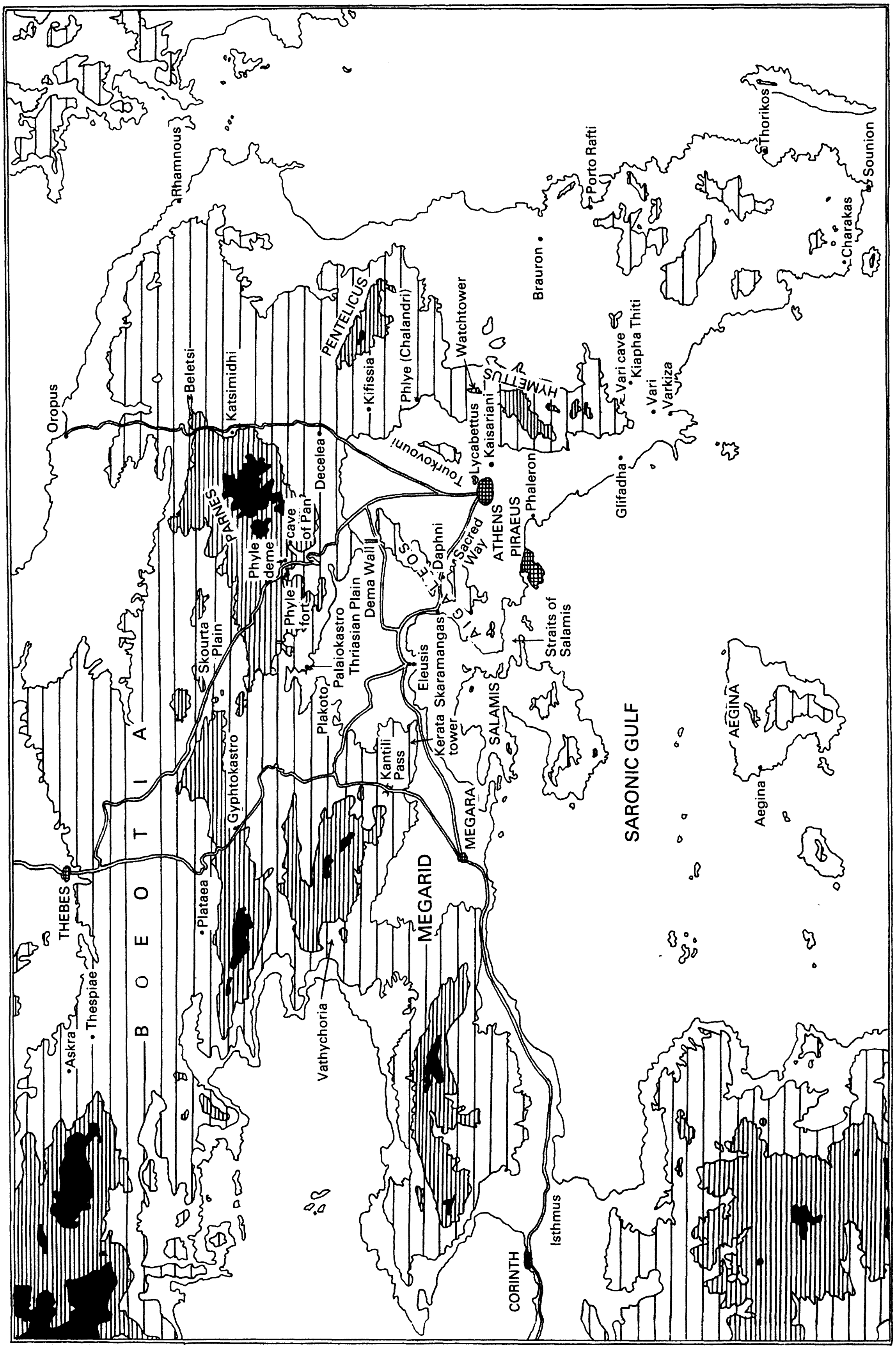
[1] See e.g. *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin. Actes du colloque organisé par l'Ecole Française de Rome (Rome, 12–14 mai 1982)* (Rome 1984). We await D. J. Geagan's article on Athens from 267 to Justinian, in *ANRW* iii 4; and A. Frantz, *The Athenian agora. Late antiquity (267–700)*.

[2] J. L. Bintliff and A. M. Snodgrass, 'The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: the first four years', *JFA* xii (1985) 123–61; J. L. Bintliff, 'The development of settlement in south-west Boeotia', in *La Béotie antique: Lyon—Saint-Etienne 16–20 mai 1983* (Paris 1985) 49–70; J. L. Bintliff and A. M. Snodgrass, 'Mediterranean survey and the city', *Antiquity* lxii (1988) 57–71.

[3] J. Bradford's report, 'Fieldwork on aerial discoveries in Attica and Rhodes. Part II. Ancient field systems on Mt. Hymettos, near Athens', *Ant J* xxxvi (1956) 172–80, on the Glifadha area, divided into building plots in 1955, exemplifies what has been lost. The meagreness and ambiguity of what remains is exemplified by M. K. Langdon, 'Hymettiana I', *Hesperia* liv (1985) 257–70.

[4] E.g. R. L. Hohlfelder (ed.), *City, town and countryside in the early Byzantine era* (New York 1982); P. Leveau, *Caesarea de Maurétanie, une ville romaine et ses campagnes* (Rome 1984); R. Osborne, *Classical landscape with figures. The ancient Greek city and its countryside* (London 1987); C. J. Wickham, *The mountains and the city. The Tuscan Appennines in the early Middle Ages* (Oxford 1988).

[5] Paus. i 32.1–2.


Rhamnous
Oropus
Beletsi
Katsimidhi
PENTELICUS
Kifissia
Phlye (Chalandri)
Watchtower
Brauron
Porto Rafti
Thorikos
Sounion
Charakas
Vari cave
Kiapha Thiti
Vari
Varkiza
HYMETTUS
Kaisariani
Lycabettus
Tourkovouni
Decelea
PARNES
cave of Pan
Phyle deme
Phyle fort
Skourta Plain
Palaiokastro
Thriasian Plain
Dema Wall
AIGALEOS
Daphni
Sacred Way
ATHENS
PIRAEUS
Phaleron
Glifadha
Straits of Salamis
Skaramangas
Eleusis
Plakoto
Gyphtokastro
Kerata tower
Kantili Pass
SALAMIS
SARONIC GULF
AEGINA
Aegina
MEGARA
MEGARID
Vathychoria
Plataea
THEBES
Thespiae
Askra
BOEOTIA
Isthmus
CORINTH

Attica. Based on: N.D. Papachatzis. Παυσανίου Περιήγησις Ἑλλάδος 1: Ἀττικά (Athens 1974), 72–3.

are well-attested in Boeotia,[6] and will hardly have passed up the opportunities offered by Parnes's wild terrain and abandoned fortresses. The mountains had a negative as well as a positive aspect. The well-known story of the misanthrope Timon's self-exile on the slopes of Hymettus states a theme of otherness which was later to be elaborated by numerous Byzantine and meta-Byzantine monastic communities hidden in the foothills that fringe the plain.

The neglected fortresses of Parnes point to another aspect of the mountains—their defensive role. This had been developed in the first half of the fourth century BC, and the fortresses were regularly garrisoned by the ephebes; but the system fell into decay in the Hellenistic period.[7] The very latest evidence that the *phrouria* still played a part in ephebic ritual (but no more) comes from 100/99 BC, by which time Greece was controlled by Rome, and no longer needed internal defences. A short, sharp warning that this happy situation would not last for ever was delivered in AD 170/1 by the barbarian Costoboci, whose incursion was of such savagery that much of the immense sacred complex at Eleusis had to be entirely rebuilt.[8] Athens' Themistoclean walls were restored under the Emperor Valerian (253–9), and the late fortifications at Eleusis are commonly assigned to this same reign.[9] It has recently been argued that Gallienus too took steps to strengthen the defences of Athens and Eleusis, during his visit in 264.[10] But in 267/8 Athens fell to the Heruli, and was never wholly to recover from the damage wrought by these invaders, and later by its own citizens in their efforts to wall out further marauders by constructing, out of spolia from demolished buildings, a restricted enceinte to the north of the Acropolis (the 'post-Herulian wall'.)[11] In the immediate aftermath of dispossession, though, it was the Athenians who found themselves on the wrong side of their walls. In the heat and confusion of the moment, a band of men gathered and resolved to resist. For a moment the mountains, not the Acropolis, became the Athenians' true citadel.

In his *Scythica*, an account of the barbarian wars which he wrote in the 270s, the Athenian historian P. Herennius Dexippus records an exhortation delivered to this band by its leader:

> Wars are decided by courage rather than numbers. We have no mean force. Two thousand of us have gathered in all, and we have this very strong position as a base from which to damage the enemy by attacking him in small groups and ambushing him on his way. Once we gain an advantage thus, our forces will swell and we shall strike no small fear into the enemy. If they come against us we shall resist—we have an excellent defence against their weapons in this abrupt wooded position. If they assault us from different directions, they will be thrown out by fighting against men who are unseen and not fighting like those they have faced before; they will break their line, not know where to direct their arrows and darts, miss their aim, and continue to suffer from our attack. We, protected by the wood, will be able to shoot accurately from positions of advantage, and will apply ourselves safely, in minimal danger. As for regular battle, if that is necessary, realize that the greatest dangers call forth the greatest courage . . . We could not have before us a greater cause for anger, since our families and our city are in the hands of the enemy . . . I learn that the emperor's fleet is approaching to aid us; joined with them we shall fight nobly . . .[12]

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[6] Apul., *Met.* iv 9, 13; Luc., *Demon.* 1. For Albanian brigands on Parnes in the seventeenth century, see *Les voyages du Sieur du Loir, contenu en plusieurs lettres écrites du Levant* (Paris 1654) 305–7.

[7] J. Ober, *Fortress Attica. Defense of the Athenian land frontier 404–322* B.C. (Leiden 1985), esp. 87–100, 208–22.

[8] R. F. Townsend, 'The Roman rebuilding of Philon's Porch and the Telesterion at Eleusis', *Boreas* x (1987) 97–106.

[9] Zos. i 29.3 (perhaps here dependent on Dexippus [see below]: D. Armstrong, 'Gallienus in Athens, 264', *ZPE* lxx [1987] 240); D. J. Geagan, 'Roman Athens: some aspects of life and culture I. 86 B.C.–A.D. 267', *ANRW* ii 7.1 (Berlin 1979) 410, 436. Eleusis: D. G. Ziro, Η κύρια είσοδος του ιερού της Ελευσίνας (diss. Athens Polytechnic 1986) 273–8.

[10] Armstrong (n. 9) 235–58.

[11] H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The agora of Athens: the history, shape and uses of an ancient city center* (Princeton, N.J. 1972) 208–10; T. E. Gregory, 'Fortification and urban design in early Byzantine Greece', in Hohlfelder (n. 4) 44–51. Numismatic evidence: J. H. Kroll, 'The Eleusis hoard of Athenian imperial coins and some deposits from the Athenian agora', *Hesperia* xlii (1973) 312–33; A. S. Walker, *A chronological study of the Greek imperial coinage of Athens based on the collection of the Agora Excavations at Athens* (diss. Pennsylvania 1980) 125–33, 138–9, 146–8; and below, n. 25.

[12] Dexipp. (*FGrH* 100) *fr.* 28 (tr. Millar, with adjustments).

Dexippus was a contemporary, and a leading figure in Athenian public life. Indeed, it has been widely believed that it was he who led the resistance to the Heruls. Whether or not this was the case,[13] we can take seriously the factual information the speech contains. A substantial band has established itself on a wooded hill with sides steep enough to afford protection, but not to preclude assault 'from different directions'. Nearby is a road which the invaders may be expected to use. The Athenians plan to harass the barbarians by land, which suggests that they are not very far from the city, on whose surrounding countryside the enemy depends for food. And the arrival of the imperial fleet is eagerly awaited, which probably implies that the camp chosen communicates visually with the approaches to Phaleron and Piraeus, and is near enough to those harbours to permit co-ordination of the two forces during or immediately after a naval landing. It can also be assumed that the Athenians will not have chosen a position so near to Athens as to be exposed to a surprise attack by the Heruls; and that they will have hoped to cut the enemy's escape-route toward the north, and to recover whatever booty they were carrying off.[14]

If we are looking for wooded hills or mountains to the north of Athens, Parnes immediately suggests itself; and if one assumes that, all else being equal, the Athenians would have favoured a fortified position, the Katsimidhi fort (851 m) on the Decelea-Oropus road across the east flank of Parnes, and the Phyle fortress (680 m) on the directest but not easiest Athens-Thebes route across the mountain's western flank, seem possible candidates.[15] Both are strong hill-top positions controlling passes and commanding views, albeit distant and liable to be affected by haze, of the Saronic Gulf; Phyle (but not Katsimidhi) remains an impressive structure to this day. Both show evidence of reuse after the initial period of classical and early Hellenistic occupation. The Decelea-Oropus route was used by Mardonius when withdrawing from Attica in 479 BC. Phyle was of course the base from which in 404–3 BC Thrasybulus and his (eventually) one thousand or more followers at first raided and then successfully assaulted the tyranny of the

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[13] Several historical sources allude to the attack on Athens, and there is a significant body of epigraphical material on Dexippus and his family, gathered by F. Millar, 'P. Herennius Dexippus: the Greek world and the third-century invasions', *JRS* lix (1969) 20–9, and including *IG* ii–iii^2.3669, which numbers Dexippus among 'famous men, mighty in courage, in word and in counsel'. Yet only *H.A., V. Gall.* xiii 8 actually says that the by then aged Dexippus led the resistance. J. Bergman, *De P. Herennio Dexippo et Gothorum illa in Atticam incursione quid scriptores et inscriptiones doceant* (Stockholm 1897) 17–22, argued that 1) these are poor grounds for assuming that the anonymous speech recorded by Dexippus was actually delivered by Dexippus, rather than somebody else; 2) *H.A., V. Gall.* xiii 8 should read, not 'duce Dexippo', but 'indice/docente Dexippo'. These reasonable arguments (the second of which accords with T. D. Barnes's conclusion that the *V. Gall.*'s 'main source' is Dexippus himself: *The sources of the Historia Augusta* [Brussels 1978] 109–11, and *cf.* Armstrong [n. 9] 240–6) have left no trace in subsequent scholarship, though they are in part repeated, unwittingly, by G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The class struggle in the ancient Greek world* (London 1981) 654–5, who reaches the radical conclusion that the resistance itself is a fiction, incredible because 'a man of letters . . . in his sixties' is by definition incapable of such exertion, and no other city is known to have mounted such fierce resistance to barbarian invaders. But if the leader was somebody other than Dexippus, the former argument (not anyway conclusive) falls; and de Ste. Croix forgets that the expulsion of the barbarians was brought about only once the imperial fleet had arrived: see below. He also fails to explain whose the fiction was, or who was supposed to be fooled, at so short a remove in time. (Bergman further suggested that the leader of the Athenian resistance may in fact have been Cleodamus of Byzantium, who according to *H.A., V. Gall.* xiii 6 and Zon. xii 26, p. 605, successfully discharged Gallienus's commission to organize resistance to the invaders. But Zonaras probably associates Cleodamus with the defence of Athens only because of a confusion induced by the name of his colleague and compatriot Athenaeus, whose identity with the Panathenios who restored a tower at Athens [*IG* ii–iii^2.5201] is more doubtful than is implied by [e.g.] E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian* [Vienna 1939] 96–7.)

[14] Geo. Sync. 717 implies that the Heruli reached Attica by sea. Certainly, if they threatened Aegina, and caused the building of the late Roman acropolis wall (H. Walter [ed.], *Alt-Ägina* i 2 [Mainz 1975] 12), they must have disposed of boats. But they had already been worsted in at least one naval battle with the Romans (*H.A., V. Gall.* xiii 7), and the Athenians will have made the reasonable assumption that, if defeated, the Heruli would retreat by land.

[15] Katsimidhi: Ober (n. 7) 115, 142–4, 184; J. Ober, 'Pottery and miscellaneous artifacts from fortified sites in northern and western Attica', *Hesperia* lvi (1987) 203 (plan), pl. 26 (photographs); M. H. Munn, letter 25.5.88, reporting a fourth- to sixth-century cooking-pot and combed amphora. Phyle: Ober (n. 7) 116–17, 145–7, 185–6; J.-P. Adam, *L'architecture militaire grecque* (Paris 1982) 206–7 (plan); R. V. Schoder, *Ancient Greece from the air* (London 1974) 74 (photograph).

Thirty at Athens. Whoever led the Athenian band will have been well aware of these precedents, but none more so than Dexippus, whose *Scythica* is full of classical reminiscence[16]—indeed, the passage quoted above may consciously echo Xenophon's version of Thrasybulus's exhortation to his men as they awaited the Thirty's assault atop the hill of Munichia in the Piraeus.[17] Granted the solemn archaeolatry of educated third-century Greeks, Phyle seems an especially tempting choice as the Athenian camp.

The idea founders, though, on two details of the very circumstantial speech preserved by Dexippus. In the first place, the strength of both Katsimidhi and Phyle lies precisely in the impossibility of assault 'from different directions'. To attack Katsimidhi from any direction except the south, or Phyle from any direction except the north, would be suicidal. Secondly, a general who made such a careful analysis of the abrupt, forested terrain, and how he expected his men to take advantage of it, would not have passed over the walls and towers of Phyle, or even the lesser facilities of Katsimidhi, had they stood before him.[18] Katsimidhi is also too remote from the Saronic Gulf to permit active co-ordination with the fleet—an argument which likewise counts against the Kifissia-Decelea area, which has several times been proposed as the Athenians' base.[19] Tourkovouni too is on the wrong side of Athens, and does not offer a strong defensive position. Lycabettus is dangerously close to the city. We are compelled to assume that the band was in fact encamped on Aigaleos, which controls the most obvious route from Athens via Eleusis and Plataea to the north, and also offers a remarkable view of the Saronic Gulf.[20]

Aigaleos is a tripartite range stretching over a distance of 18 km between Parnes to the N.E. and the Straits of Salamis to the S.W.[21] Ancient sources allude to its trees and macchia, and its foothills were still at the beginning of the twentieth century covered with pine, cypress and oleander. But the First World War, the resettlement of the Asia Minor refugees in the 1920s, and then the German occupation, led to the cutting down of most of these trees; and what was not cut was burned. Quarries ate into the foothills. Now, Aigaleos is for the most part a denuded wilderness, looking out across the poorest suburbs of the Athens-Piraeus conurbation, and the shipyards and refineries of Skaramangas and Eleusis. Only the woods around the Daphni monastery and behind Skaramangas, where they rise to a considerable height, give some idea of the area's natural appearance, as described by Dexippus. Despite some very steep sides, Aigaleos can be attacked from various directions; but two watchtowers show that its value as a lookout was appreciated in antiquity, as now by the Greek armed forces. The easiest route from Athens to Thebes was in its first stage identical with the Sacred Way to Eleusis via the Daphni pass, the more northerly of the two breaks in the Aigaleos range. We may imagine the Athenian band installed at some point on the central and highest part of the range, which rises to 468 m a little south of the Daphni pass. Clearly they felt that this area's proximity to the road, to the point where the fleet was expected to land, and to the city whose liberation they were plotting, more than compensated for its lack of Phyle's or Katsimidhi's defensive strength. Indeed, as J. Ober has recently pointed out,[22] Aigaleos 'is the only position from which an army interested in interdicting the retreat of the Heruls could be sure that they would be able to do so as soon as they spotted the enemy moving out of the city. The Aigaleos position controls not only the Sacred Way, but the route north of Aigaleos, and the Decelea Road. Furthermore, if the Heruls tried to take the more difficult northeastern routes, around by Rhamnous, the defenders could cut them off at Oropus, by taking the quicker Decelea road.'

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[16] Phot. *Bibl.* 82.64a; F. J. Stein, *Dexippus et Herodianus rerum scriptores quatenus Thucydidem secuti sint* (diss. Bonn 1957), esp. 59–60, 70–1.

[17] X. *HG* ii 4.15–16.

[18] Our tendency to overestimate the significance of fortifications, and to underestimate the role of natural defences, especially forests, which are only now beginning to become the object of historical research, is well illustrated by E. M. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine* (Paris 1831) ii 142–3.

[19] E.g. S. P. Lampros, Ἱστορικὰ μελετήματα (Athens 1884) 92; I. K. Loucas, Φλύα. Συμβολή στην μελέτη της ιστορίας του αρχαίου Χαλανδρίου (Chalandri 1986) 29. On Decelea, see Ober (n. 7) 141–2.

[20] The identification is at least as old as U. Kahrstedt, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit* (Bern 1954) 50 and n. 2. Note also G. Finlay, *Greece under the Romans*^{2} (Edinburgh 1857) 111: 'a strong position in the Olive Grove'. On the road, see W. K. Pritchett, *Studies in ancient Greek topography, Part III (Roads)* (Berkeley, Ca. 1980) 197–237.

[21] N. Nezis, Τα βουνά της Αττικής (Athens 1983) 11–12; E. Kirsten, 'Aigaleos', *Kl. Pauly* i 156–7; Ober (n. 7) 148–9 (watchtowers; M. H. Munn, letter 25.5.88, now reports classical and Hellenistic rooftiles and coarse amphora sherds, and a few late Roman lamp fragments, from the 'Karydallos Tower'), 188 (Sacred Way).

[22] Letter, 2.88.

To judge from the speech in Dexippus (written with the benefit of hindsight) and stray allusions in later sources,[23] the Heruli were eventually dislodged from Athens by a naval landing, then ambushed as they retreated towards Boeotia, 'on cramped, rough ground'—presumably the Daphni pass, though since the Athenians were some 2000 men, they may have been able to attack at more than one point. Not many lessons were deduced from this experience. The 2000 were probably drawn at least in part from the ephebes—even a hasty and informal call-up of those members of recent year-classes who happened to be in Athens would easily have produced a force this size.[24] But the institution of the ephebia, far from retaining after 267/8 its long-lost and suddenly refound military function, simply disappears completely, at least from our view. The Athenians had admittedly taken to the mountains of necessity, and would certainly have made the Valerianic wall their main line of defence if that had been possible; but although their experiences recalled the fact that the mountains had once been Athens' main bulwark,[25] the only fortification constructed as a result of the invasion was the inner, post-Herulian wall north of the Acropolis. The next time we encounter coherent strategic thought at the imperial level, it is in Diocletian's and Constantine's military reforms, which promoted elasticity by substituting fortified regions for fortified lines,[26] but did not, understandably, take into account the inner provinces. At Athens, all that happened in the fourth century was the repair, possibly after earthquake damage, of 'towers, the wall's defence'[27]—presumably the Valerianic wall, which was so long that Alaric was certain, when he attacked in 395/6, that it could not be adequately manned. Zosimus says Athena and Achilles rushed to fill the gap, but several earlier writers know nothing of this element in the story, and excavation in the area between the Valerianic and post-Herulian walls has revealed tell-tale signs of destruction in the late fourth century. Perhaps it was only the inner enceinte that was divinely defended.[28]

II

Zosimus's particular perspective leads him to assert that the only place in the Christian empire where things went right was pagan Athens and, by extension, 'the whole of Attica'.[29] But the early fifth century sees signs of positive revival, not only in Athens and Attica, but also in other parts of Greece which even Zosimus admits were badly damaged by Alaric. Archaeology and common sense alike suggest that the Athenians, no less than other inhabitants of Greece, had been given a jolt. The evidence should be considered together rather than, as hitherto, in discrete compartments.

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[23] Zon. xii 26, p. 605; Geo. Sync. 717 ('Αθηναῖοι κατά τινας στενὰς δυσχωρίας ἐνεδρεύσαντες αὐτοὺς πλείστους ἀνεῖλον); *H.A.*, *V. Gall.* xiii 8.

[24] O. W. Reinmuth, 'Ephebia', *Kl. Pauly* ii 290–1, surveys the number of ephebes mentioned in the later Roman lists. A. J. Spawforth and S. Walker, 'The world of the Panhellenion I. Athens and Eleusis', *JRS* lxxv (1985) 98, speculate that an ephebic militia may, until 267, have been housed in the Library of Hadrian. On disputed evidence for an ephebic celebration of *epineikia* after the repulse of the Heruli, see S. Follet, *Athènes au IIᵉ et au IIIᵉ siècle. Etudes chronologiques et prosopographiques* (Paris 1976) 325. E. Kapetanopoulos, 'Some remarks on Athens of about 270', *AAA* xvi (1983) 51–7, argues for the continuation of the ephebia after 267/8; but *cf.* S. Follet, *Bull. Epigr.* (1987) 590.

[25] Note also the coin-hoard found in an unknown cave 'in the mountainous area between Porto Raphti and Brauron', and probably deposited during the Herulian invasion: A. Walker, 'A hoard of Athenian imperial bronzes of the third century A.D. from eastern Attica', *Coin hoards* iii (1977) 40–9. The group of about 50 Athenian imperial bronzes found at the Cave of Pan on Parnes (K. Romaios, 'Εὑρήματα ἀνασκαφῆς τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς Πάρνηθος ἄντρου' *AE* [1906] 98) may also have been a hoard left in 267.

[26] *Cf.* G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, Mass. 1983) 103–4.

[27] An inscription published by A. E. Raubitschek, 'Iamblichos at Athens', *Hesperia* xxxiii (1964) 63–8; cf. *Bull. Epigr.* (1965) 155. Zos. iv 18 denies Attica was damaged by the earthquakes of 375; but see below, on his prejudice.

[28] Zos. v 5–6, with Paschoud's notes. But the stratigraphical evidence is controversial: Ziro (n. 9) 285; *Archaeological reports for 1985–6*, 12–13, *1986–7* 7–8.

[29] Notes 27–8 above.

The best-known material is the urban fabric of Athens itself.[30] Among early fifth-century Athens' new buildings was the large structure, with a facade adorned by colossal Giants and Tritons, that was put up in the middle of the classical agora. If, as has been suggested, this was a gymnasium, it perhaps makes a link with the intellectual revival that had already been in the offing during the later fourth century, though probably it was more used by rhetoricians than by the reclusive, domestic Platonist circles that now gathered round such famous teachers as Plutarch, Syrianus and Proclus.[31] This renewal of Athenian life could not of course take place in a vacuum. The need for building material, including marble, may to a large extent have been met from spolia; but we cannot exclude some reactivation of the Pentelic quarries after their probable disuse in the aftermath of 267[32]—there seem, for example, to be traces of limited Byzantine workings on nearby Hymettus.[33] Water, timber and fuel were all in demand, and available in the mountains. And maybe there is more than mere facetiousness to Synesius's famous comment that the fame of late fourth-century Athens was due not to its wise men but to the bee-keepers of Hymettus.[34]

Beyond Parnes, the Cambridge-Bradford survey has recently shown that Boeotia had since *c.* 300 been going through a phase of intenser land-use than at any time since the fourth century BC, with some two-thirds of classical sites being reoccupied and other new ones established, in the areas so far covered.[35] Our evidence for Attica is more episodic, but tends to suggest that something similar was happening there too. On the basis of the late Roman remains he encountered during his work on the coastal demes in the mid-1950s, C. W. J. Eliot characterized late antiquity as a period 'when people no longer found it necessary to live in a single centre and when small villas and large farm estates became common.'[36] Recent survey-work in and around the small plain of Charakas, west of Sounion,[37] and in the Vathychoria region on the mountainous frontier with the Megarid,[38] as also the on-going investigation of Attic caves by

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[30] Thompson and Wycherley (n. 11) 210–14.

[31] G. Fowden, 'The pagan holy man in late antique society', *JHS* cii (1982) 43–5, 52, 53.

[32] E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian agora 1: Portrait sculpture* (Princeton, N.J. 1953) 92; G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (Munich 1982) 457–60; below, n. 55.

[33] M. K. Langdon, 'Hymettiana II: An ancient quarry on Mt. Hymettos', *AJA* xcii (1988) 83.

[34] Syn., *ep.* 136.

[35] Above, n. 2. Similar findings are now reported from the Skourta Plain, between Attica and Boeotia (M. H. Munn and M. L. Zimmerman Munn, 'The Stanford Skourta Plain Project—1985 season', *Teiresias* xvi (1986), appendix 9–10); from Keos, the closest of the Cyclades to the mainland (E. Mantzourani, J. F. Cherry, J. L. Davis, 'Αρχαιολογική έρευνα επιφάνειας στη νήσο Κέα', Παρουσία 4 [1986] 198–9, corroborated by the results of the Athens University Keos Surface Survey, communicated to me by Lina Mendoni); and from the S. Argolid (T. H. van Andel, C. N. Runnels, K. O. Pope, 'Five thousand years of land use and abuse in the Southern Argolid, Greece', *Hesperia* lv [1986] 103–28, esp. 120–2, 125; T. H. van Andel, C. N. Runnels, *Beyond the Acropolis. A rural Greek past* [Stanford, Ca. 1987] 113–17, 171, and 'The evolution of settlement in the Southern Argolid, Greece: an economic explanation', *Hesperia* lvi [1987] 303–34, esp. 317–20). Perhaps the accumulation of survey evidence will eventually vindicate C. R. Whittacker's thoroughgoing scepticism about '*Agri deserti*', in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Roman property* (Cambridge 1976) 137–65. In the meantime R. Osborne, 'Buildings and residence on the land in classical and Hellenistic Greece: the contribution of epigraphy', *ABSA* lxxx (1985) 119–28, and (n. 4) 69–70, while accepting the correlation between presence of rural structures and intensity of land use, warns against the automatic assumption that such structures were inhabited or provide an index of population-levels. In the case of Boeotia, though, the absence of rural structures in the Hellenistic and earlier Roman periods is matched by the shrinkage or even desertion of the urban sites surveyed (Askra, Haliartos, Thespiae): letter from A. M. Snodgrass, 27.10.87; Bintliff and Snodgrass, *Antiquity* lxii (1988) 60–8.

[36] C. W. J. Eliot, *Coastal demes of Attika* (Toronto 1962) 59, and *cf.* 20, 21, 44, 58–9, 67, 114. The comparison is (presumably) with the post-classical situation.

[37] H. Lohmann, 'Atene ('Ατήνη), eine attische Landgemeinde klassischer Zeit', *Hellenika Jb.* (1983) 99 and 'Landleben im klassischen Attika', *Ruhr-Univ. Bochum, Jb.* (1985) 71–96; H. Lauter, *Der Kultplatz auf dem Turkovuni* (Berlin 1985) 148–9.

[38] Letter from J. Ober, 2.88: 'There appears to be pretty intensive occupation in the fourth/fifth AD, some reoccupied sites, some newly built'. *Cf.* A. Muller, 'Megarika', *BCH* cvi (1982) 394–403.

J. M. Wickens,[39] has produced a picture in which the late Roman intensification of activity stands out more clearly. The Charakas evidence, and probably also the increased cave-use, indicates an upsurge of pastoralism; and the activities of wandering shepherds have also been invoked[40] as a possible explanation for the revival for a time during the fourth and fifth centuries of the shrine of 'Showery Zeus' on the summit of Hymettus, if we judge from the lamps and coins found there. In publishing this site, Merle Langdon went further, assuming that, with the diversion of imperial grain supplies to newly-founded Constantinople, Athens was increasingly thrown back on its own rural hinterland, and consequently rediscovered an interest in the cult of Zeus Ombrios, which had last flourished in the sixth century BC.[41] But that is perhaps to underestimate both the significance that the local grain crop always had for Athens, and the possible role played by changes in cultic fashion.[42] Finally, there are some hints, difficult to interpret, of renewed activity at the Laurium and Thorikos silver-mines, in the fifth to sixth centuries—which raises the possibility that the revival of the Attic economy was not just of local significance, but should also be interpreted in the context of the wider needs of Byzantine production.[43]

As a consequence of this increased economic and other activity in late antique Boeotia and Attica, routes long under-used across the mountain region between them will have come back to life. It is no cause for surprise, then, that fourth-, fifth- and sixth-century lamps and pots have been reported, usually after a long gap since the early Hellenistic period, at the watchtower on the northern end of Hymettus; at Katsimidhi and nearby Beletsi; at the Dema tower between Aigaleos and Parnes; at the Korydallos tower on Aigaleos; at Plakoto and nearby Palaiokastro, behind Eleusis; and at the Kantili pass and Mount Kerata, on the border between Attica and Megara.[44] The Gyphtokastro fort, on the main Athens-Thebes route, seems to have been reoccupied, and perhaps repaired as well, at this period; and the settlement to the east of the fortress hill likewise revived.[45] Katsimidhi and Phyle, as already noted, also show signs of 'late' reuse. At Katsimidhi, massive stone blocks from the original fourth-century BC structure were reused to build a 'watchtower', and a mainly rubble circuit wall was constructed round the hill's southern and least naturally protected side.[46] It would be idle to try to date this remodelling on internal evidence alone;[47] but at Phyle we reach firmer ground. Walther Wrede, who investigated Phyle in 1923–4, found no sign of occupation after the third or second century BC, until a scatter of 'late antique' ceramics, and two fifth- or sixth-century lamps, part of a mass of soil, stones, sherds and other rubbish, up to 4 m in depth, which had been spread over the lower eastern end of the inner ground surface, in preparation for the erection of a group of dwellings, some of them (at the fort's western end) on earlier foundations.[48] Probably Phyle had been turned into a fortified village (*phrourion*) of the sort favoured by Justinian, but familiar long before his time, since Procopius claims that he restored large numbers of them.[49] The inhabitants, who also used the nearby site of the ancient deme of Phyle,[50] will no doubt have depended largely on pastoralism; but Phyle is ideally suited for travellers too, marking as it does the halfway point between Athens and the southern edge of the Boeotian plain.[51]

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[39] J. M. Wickens, *The archaeology and history of cave use in Attica, Greece from prehistoric through late Roman times* (diss. Indiana 1986), esp. i 204–27 and table 4, discusses 28 caves definitely or probably used in the late Roman period, and connects this observation with the results of the Boeotia survey.

[40] Lauter (n. 37) 149; H. Lauter and H. Lauter-Bufe, 'Ein attisches Höhenheiligtum bei Varkiza', in *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Werner Böser* (Karlsruhe 1986) 304–5.

[41] M. K. Langdon, *A sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos* (Princeton, N.J. 1976), esp. 7–8, 73–4, 76, 94–5. It may be that the presumed site of the altar of Zeus the Rain-God on Parnes had a similar history: *ibid.* 100–1.

[42] Lauter (n. 37) 156.

[43] Paul. Sil., *Soph.* 679–80 (a purely literary touch?); J. Day, *An economic history of Athens under Roman domination* (New York 1942) 268; S. A. Butcher, 'Late Roman lamps from a mine gallery at Thorikos', in P. Spitaels (ed.), *Studies in South Attica i* (Gent 1982) 137–43; *cf.* v. Andel, Runnels, *Beyond the Acropolis* (n. 35) 116–17, connecting the economic upswing in the S. Argolid with loss of supplies from N. Africa, Spain, etc. The late Roman re-occupation of hill/mountain sites and caves in the West too (S. Johnson, *Late Roman fortifications* [London 1983] 226–44, 249; E. Conges *et al.*, 'Un dépotoir de la fin de l'antiquité dans la grotte de La Fourbine, Saint-Martin-de-Crau (B.-du-Rh.)', *RAN* xvi [1983] 359; *Premiers temps chrétiens en Gaule méridionale. Antiquité tardive et haut moyen age III^{eme}-VIII^{eme} siècles* [Lyon 1986] 109–12, 154–63—these two references courtesy of Caroline Nicholson; S. Ciglenečki, *Höhenbefestigungen aus der Zeit vom 3. bis 6. Jh. im Ostalpenraum* [Ljubljana 1987]) is a further hint that the phenomena documented in Greece may have a wider context.

[44] Ober (n. 15) 201 (Hymettus), 204 (Beletsi), 223 (Kantili; on a similar site further along the same route see S. van de Maele, 'La route antique de Megare à Thèbes par le défilé du Kandili', *BCH* cxi [1987] 201, 203), 224–5 (Kerata); M. H. Munn, *Studies on the territorial defenses of fourth-century Athens* (diss. Pennsylvania 1983) 236, 250–1 (Dema tower), and letter of 25.5.88 (Katsimidhi, Korydallos tower, Plakoto–Palaiokastra).

[45] Ober (n. 7) 162–3, (n. 15) 219–20.

[46] Ober (n. 7) 142–3.

[47] See below, n. 75.

As already noted with regard to the Zeus-shrine on Hymettus, the late Roman economic upswing is in all probability one, but hardly the whole explanation for the signs of reuse that have been observed at various religious sites in the mountains. We must allow too for changes in religious taste, for which, though, we have little evidence save the selfsame data we are trying to use these supposed changes to explain. Prominent among the sanctuaries in question, apart from that of Hymettan Zeus, is a recently discovered cult-place on a hill behind Varkiza, which has produced a small group of lamps attesting reuse in the fifth to sixth centuries after almost total neglect since the fourth century BC.[52] Not far away, on the hill of Kiapha Thiti, there has recently been excavated a cult-place which flourished at least until the fifth century BC, fell out of use in Hellenistic times, but has yielded a growing number of lamps from 'middle and later imperial times'. In the fifth or sixth century (preliminary dating), a small church was constructed.[53] A third site in the same area, the Cave of Pan, the Nymphs and Apollo on Hymettus's southern tip (the 'Vari Cave'), contained coins running from Constantine to Arcadius, and about a thousand Roman lamps, marking a resumption of visits there after a break since the second century BC.[54] A number of the lamps bear Christian devices, and were assigned by the excavators to the fourth and at latest fifth centuries; but it is now held that 'there are no Attic lamps with Christian symbols until the fifth century', while the half-dozen more fully developed Christian types are probably sixth-century.[55] The excavators took these coins and lamps as evidence of a period of Christian use in the fourth century, inaugurated by the smashing of the pagan sculptures that adorned the cave. In fact, there is evidence from elsewhere in the empire for pagan cultic use of Christian lamps, when others were not available;[56] and although reuse of the sanctuary for the purpose for which it had been designed—the worship of the pagan gods—is not proved conclusively just by the discovery of coins and lamps, nonetheless the old religion's particular strength in late antique Athens, the parallels offered by other Attic sites, and a literary tradition to be mentioned shortly, all point in that direction. If the sculptures were indeed smashed by Christians, that happened at the end rather than the beginning of the cave's reoccupation. A similar course of events may be presumed at the more famous Cave of Pan on

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[48] W. Wrede, 'Phyle', *MDAI(A)* xlix (1924) 153–224, esp. 200–2, 220, 223–4; Ober (n. 15) 206, nos 6.11–12. G. Säflund's assertion, 'The dating of ancient fortifications in southern Italy and Greece', *Opuscula archaeologica* i (1935) 108–10, that the earth fill is Hellenistic is rejected by Ober (n. 7) 146 n. 43, (n. 15) 207.

[49] See G. Dagron, 'Les villes dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin', in *Villes et peuplement* (n. 1) 7–9, esp. n. 44; also A. W. Lawrence, 'A skeletal history of Byzantine fortification', *ABSA* lxxviii (1983) 191–2.

[50] Wrede (n. 48) 211.

[51] On the significance of the route, and of Phyle as a halt, in the Turkish period, see A. N. Skias, ''Ανασκαφαὶ παρὰ τὴν Φυλὴν', *PAAH* (1900) 42–3. (Work in Ottoman archives is gradually producing a picture of Athens and Attica from the fifteenth century onwards, which could be of considerable comparative value for the ancient historian. D. N. Karydis, ''Αθήνα-'Αττικὴ στὸν πρῶτο αἰώνα 'Οθωμανικῆς κατοχῆς. 'Η σχέση πόλης-ὑπαίθρου', in Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Διεθνοῦς Συμποσίου 'Ιστορίας Νεοελληνικὴ Πόλη: 'Οθωμανικὲς κληρονομιὲς καὶ ἑλληνικὸ κράτος (Athens 1985) i 49–58, discusses unexpected evidence for demographic and economic growth in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and mentions the organization of the Parnes *dervenochoria*, designed to protect traffic on rural roads.)

[52] Lauter and Lauter-Bufe (n. 40) 285–309.

[53] Letter from H. Lauter, 22.10.87.

[54] C. H. Weller *et al.*, 'The cave at Vari', *AJA* vii (1903) 263–349, esp. 284–5, 335–7 (coins), 338–49 (lamps); *cf.* Wickens (n. 39) ii 90–121.

[55] Butcher (n. 43), especially the note by J. Binder. Three very similar Pentelic marble altars from Phlya (Chalandri), discussed by I. N. Svoronos, Τὸ ἐν 'Αθήναις 'Εθνικὸν Μουσεῖον i (Athens 1903) 473–83, and E. and I. Loucas, 'Un autel de Rhéa-Cybèle et la Grande Déesse de Phlya', *Latomus* xlv (1986) 392–404, imply co-ordinated pagan artistic production for cultic purposes at least as late as the 380s.

[56] M. Leglay, *Saturne africain: histoire* (Paris 1966) 102.

Parnes, in a wild gorge somewhat east of the Phyle fortress.[57] Among the many finds were inscriptions left by late Roman visitors; over 2000 lamps, most of them Roman, and indeed Christian; together with a number of classical relief carvings, broken or defaced. Apparently the cave was much visited by pious pagans, at the very least well into the fifth century. Then, at some date unknown, its contents were smashed, and the site slipped into oblivion.

These Pan-caves on Hymettus and Parnes are certainly suggestive. Caves are an obvious place to look for cultic continuity in difficult times;[58] and part of the explanation of the reuse of the Attic caves may be that they were well away from interfering Christians. We must of course assume that most of their visitors were simple local people; but it is worth noting that the late pagan elite was by no means insensitive to the charm and significance of cave sanctuaries.[59] A striking verse inscription from the Parnes cave recalls the visit of one Nicagoras, probably the son or grandson of the Eleusinian *dadouchos* Nicagoras who visited Egyptian Thebes in 326 at the expense of the Emperor Constantine—in order, I have suggested elsewhere, to negotiate the removal of the so-called 'Lateran' obelisk to Rome.[60] The elder Nicagoras had marvelled at the tombs of the Pharaohs and at the ancient priestly lore set out in images on their walls. He had recalled Plato's (supposed) visit to Egypt, and clearly felt himself a representative of a pious antiquarian tradition. In the same spirit, the younger Nicagoras congratulated himself—as has been deduced from his fragmentary inscription—on a 'difficult ascent' to the cave, for the eleventh or twelfth time! Such excursions were very popular in the Platonist circles with which this Eleusinian priestly family was undoubtedly connected. Proclus, even more pessimistic than Zosimus in his assertion that Attica had been depopulated by the impiety of the Christians,[61] was nonetheless noted for the devotion with which he visited all the local Athenian shrines on their proper festivals, and, significantly, for his 'friendship with Pan . . . and the great kindness and aid he received from this god at Athens'.[62] Damascius's *Life of Isidore*, which mirrors faithfully the attitudes of Proclus's circle and spiritual descendants, mentions visits made by various of its *dramatis personae* to ancient shrines in Asia Minor and Syria, for example.[63] In this milieu there also circulated the story of how Ariston and Perictione, soon after Plato was born, carried him up to Hymettus, and offered sacrifice on their son's behalf to Pan, Apollo, the Muses and the Nymphs. Perictione placed the baby in some nearby myrtle thickets; and there a swarm of bees came and made honey in his mouth, prophesying his future eloquence.[64] The only place on Hymettus where Pan, the Nymphs and Apollo are known to have been worshipped is the Vari cave.[65] It would not be surprising if the Platonists of late Roman Athens were in the habit of going up there, making their offerings, and recalling this first known incident in their Master's life.[66]

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[57] A. N. Skias, 'Τὸ παρὰ τὴν Φυλὴν ἄντρον τοῦ Πανὸς', *AE* (1918) 1–28; Wickens (n. 39) 2.245–69, including discussion of the inscriptions, to which add L. Robert, in J. des Gagniers *et al.*, *Laodicée du Lycos. Le nymphée: campagnes 1961–1963* (Quebec 1969) 344–5, 349–50.

[58] C. Renfrew, *The archaeology of cult: the sanctuary at Phylakopi* (London 1985) 398, 407, on tenth and ninth century BC Crete. On cave cults in late antique Crete see I. F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* (Warminster 1982), esp. 40; A. Chaniotis, 'Plutarchos, Praeses Insularum', *ZPE* lxviii (1987) 227–31; and the annual reports on G. Sakellarakis's excavations at the Idaean Cave, in Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας.

[59] See e.g. Porph., *Antr.* 5–6, 20.

[60] *IG* ii–iii^2.4831; G. Fowden, 'Nicagoras of Athens and the Lateran obelisk', *JHS* cvii (1987) 51–7, esp. n. 10.

[61] Procl., *In Ti.* 37ef.

[62] Marin., *Procl.* 33, 36; and *cf.* 15, on travels in Asia.

[63] Dam., *Isid.* 94, 131 (*Ep. Phot.*).

[64] A. S. Riginos, *Platonica. The anecdotes concerning the life and writings of Plato* (Leiden 1976) 17–21. Oliver Nicholson reminds me that this is a *topos* in ancient biography.

[65] *Cf.* E. Vanderpool, 'Pan in Paiania: a note on lines 407–409 of Menander's *Dyskolos*', *AJA* lxxi (1967) 309–11, esp. n. 9.

[66] Note that Synesius, *ep.* 136, writes Ἀναγυρουντόθεν, i.e. from Vari. Hymettus and the late Platonists are also associated by local antiquarian speculation that the toponym Kaisariani recalls a school supposedly established there by Proclus's teacher Syrianus: I. Gennadios, Ἡ Καισαριανή (Athens 1930) 30, 51.

III

A further element, already hinted at, in this late antique Athenian rediscovery of the surrounding countryside, is the possibility that the mountains and their passes also now reacquired a limited strategic role.

Athens' earliest reaction to the barbarian threat had been the construction of the Valerianic wall and the fortification of Eleusis, essentially a revival of Pericles's old city-based defence strategy. In the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War, Pericles's critics had secured the abandonment of that strategy in favour of the defence of the territorial frontiers—the 'Fortress Attica' policy.[67] The Herulian attack in 267/8 did not, though, provoke any such change of heart. That was to be Alaric's achievement, shared with the Huns, who during the first half of the fifth century posed an ever-growing threat to the security of the Balkans. During this period there was a spate of defensive construction work all over Greece, well attested at such places as Sparta, Epidaurus, Corinth, the Isthmus and Thessalonica.[68] But one highly important specimen has been overlooked in the course of this discussion. The monastery at Daphni, beside the Sacred Way as it passes through the Aigaleos gap on its way to Eleusis, is a famous monument of eleventh-century architecture and art; but it was surrounded by an imposing wall, of which the stretch on the northern side is still well preserved.[69] It is agreed that the lower parts, at least, of this wall belong to the fifth or sixth century; and its purpose was to protect an earlier church on the site of the present one and, obviously enough, to dominate the pass, whose significance has already emerged clearly from our discussion of the events of 267/8. Two milestones found in or near the monastery imply repairs to the Sacred Way, probably in the year 397;[70] and the possibility clearly exists that the foundation of the Daphni fortress-monastery is to be placed sometime during the next half-century, in the context not only of military restructuring in the wake of Alaric and the shadow of Attila, but also of the Church's attempts to establish a presence in the Athens area. The significance of Eleusis had been twofold, both as Athens' holiest shrine, and as a defensive bastion athwart the point where the main roads from the Balkans and the Peloponnese met before entering the city. Daphni now took over both these functions of Eleusis. With maximum economy, it cut the road at its most vulnerable point, not where it passed through the city on the Thriasian plain, but where the approaching enemy was bottled within the mountain-pass.[71] At the same time, on the religious plane, Daphni superseded the Eleusinian cult both temporally and spatially, built as it was soon after the Mysteries' demise, on the site of a temple of Apollo, Athena and the Eleusinian goddesses, Demeter and Core.[72] Christianity had yet to make much mark within Athens; but the large, strategic and symbolic monastic foundation 10 km away at Daphni was a promise, and threat, of things to come.

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[67] Above, n. 7.

[68] T. Gregory, 'The fortified cities of Byzantine Greece', *Archaeology* xxxv (1982) 14–21; P. A. Clement, 'Isthmian notes', in Φίλια Ἔπη εἰς Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνάν ii (Athens 1987) 381–3. W. J. Cherf, 'Procopius, lime mortar C^{14} dating and the late Roman fortifications of Thermopylai', *AJA* lxxxviii (1984) 594–8, suggests Thermopylae should be added to the list.

[69] G. Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* (Paris 1899) 3–16; A. Orlandos, in K. Kourouniotis and G. A. Sotiriou, Εὑρετήριον τῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος *1:* Εὑρετήριον τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν μνημείων iii (Athens 1933) 217–18.

[70] G. Molisani, 'Un miliare di Arcadio e Onorio nel Museo Epigrafico di Atene', *SCO* xxvi (1977) 307–12. The erection of milestones does not automatically imply road-repair (note the remarks of L. Gounaropoulou and M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Les milliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Héraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique* [Athens 1985] 72–3); but in this particular case the connection seems plausible enough.

[71] The military function of the original Daphni monastery is underlined by its plan. The first church at Daphni, unlike the second, had the same alignment as the walls. G. H. Forsyth, 'The monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: the church and fortress of Justinian', *DOP* xxii (1968) 6 n. 5, discussing the non-alignment of church and walls at Sinai, remarks that 'in dealing with large complexes of important buildings the Greek tradition is more flexible and organic than the Roman, more concerned with the changing viewpoints and the vitality of diagonal planning (Delphi, Athenian Acropolis, etc.) than with the forensic confrontation of symmetrical balance which appealed to the military and legal mind of the Roman. In the situation at Mt. Sinai a Roman architect might have been inclined to impose a plan like that of a Roman camp by rotating the fortress rectangle counter-clockwise so as to align its main gate with the axis of the church.' But Daphni has never been discussed from this point of view; see R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine architecture*^{4} (Harmondsworth 1986) 260: 'Fortified posts and garrisoned sanctuaries of the fifth and the sixth centuries apparently provided the model for major monasteries even where no military protection was needed. At Daphni in Greece . . .'. The Daphni pass could of course be turned via the Aigaleos-Parnes gap; but the exiguous late Roman finds at the Dema tower (above, n. 44) do not encourage the supposition that the Dema wall was refortified in late antiquity.

If this interpretation of Daphni be accepted, then the signs of late antique activity at Gyphtokastro, in the other major pass on the road from Athens into Boeotia, acquire new significance. (Other strategic points related to the same route, such as Plakoto-Palaiokastro, Mount Kerata and the Kantili pass, have produced late antique wares, but without the rebuilding or repair that would have accompanied purposeful reoccupation.) The reuse of the mountain forts at Phyle and probably also Katsimidhi should likewise be seen, not just in the socio-economic context, but additionally as part of an early fifth-century plan to fortify the northern entrances to the Athenian plain. Josiah Ober has recently suggested that these sites 'were reoccupied during the reign of Justinian as parts of a "new" defense system'.[73] But the material they have produced, where dateable, belongs to the fifth as well as the sixth century; and though Procopius, in one of his vaguer paragraphs, does indeed claim that Justinian's plan for the defence of Greece was conceived in depth,[74] in reality it concentrated on just two crucial passages. If Thermopylae fell, there was little to save Boeotia or Attica, except for occasional patched-up town walls, as at Plataea and Athens. If the Isthmus fell, there was nothing at all that could save the Peloponnese, as even Procopius accepts.[75] Current research tends towards the conclusion that Justinian built on his predecessors' efforts more than Procopius allows to show through the bland prose of the *Buildings*.[76]

The fallibility of Justinian's scheme was soon demonstrated. When later in the century the Slavs appeared, the Greeks had little choice but to head for the mountains; but this time they went to the high mountains of central Greece and the Peloponnese, not the familiar mountains of Attica, and as refugees, not as defenders of a world that was now disappearing for ever.

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[72] Eun., *VS* vii 3.1–5 (end of Eleusinian Mysteries); Paus. i 37. 6–7 (Daphni temple). In obscure language, Eunapius connects the demise of Eleusis with the spread of monasticism and the betrayal by monks of a pass—at Thermopylae.

[73] Ober (n. 7) 221 n. 31, (n. 15) 226.

[74] Procop., *Aed.* iv 2.23–6.

[75] *Ibid.* iv 2.2–22 (Thermopylae), 27–8 (Peloponnese). Archaeology (I. N. Travlos, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν [Athens 1960] 144–5) supports Procopius's vague implication that Athens was refortified (*Aed.* iv 2.24–5) rather than his assertion (*Arc.* xxvi 33–4) that no public works were undertaken there. On Plataea, see Lawrence (n. 49) 194, 195. The late masonry (including aligned joints) at Plataea (Lawrence [n. 49] pl. 13b) and Katsimidhi (Ober [n. 15] pl. 26b) is very similar; but this need not mean Katsimidhi was rebuilt under Justinian. The problems faced by incompetent masons attempting to build with old stones cut for a different purpose did not change much with the passage of the centuries.

[76] Av. Cameron, *Procopius and the sixth century* (Berkeley 1985) 106–10.