

URBAN AND RURAL LANDSCAPE

IN EARLY AND MIDDLE BYZANTINE ATTICA (4<sup>TH</sup> – 12<sup>TH</sup> C. AD)

by

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## ABSTRACT

The present study synthesizes archaeological and historical evidence concerning Attica (Greece), the hinterland of Athens, in the Early and Middle Byzantine periods (4<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.). Although the Byzantine monuments of Attica have been thoroughly studied, no coherent picture of how these relate to broader patterns of occupation and land usage has thus far been presented. In the main, the period under discussion is generally interpreted in three ways: Regarding Late Antiquity, research has often focused on the transition from paganism to Christianity, and to the characterisation of Attica as a ‘stronghold of paganism’. During the so-called ‘Dark-Ages’, Attica is most often presented as being ‘desolate’. Regarding the Middle Byzantine period, archaeological research is dominated by architectural and art-historical study of churches. The present study presents Attica within wider trends which took place in the Byzantine Empire, and which caused its transformation in terms of demography, settlement pattern, administration, road networks, economy, defense and ecclesiastical institutions. After a detailed catalogue and interpretation of all available archaeological material, Attica appears less ‘exceptional’ in Late Antiquity, less ‘desolate’ in the ‘Dark-Ages’, while in the Middle Byzantine period, emergence of a strong local elite matches the erection of monuments of high artistic quality.

*Στους αγαπημένους μου*

*...Μα μες στη ζάλη την πολλή δεν είδαν πως οι Άγιοι  
ήταν μόνο ζωγραφιστοί κι η ερημιά μεγάλη*

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## CHAPTER A: SCIENTIFIC BACKGROUND AND AVENUES OF ENQUIRY

### 1. Introduction

Attica during the Early and Middle Byzantine periods has not so far been studied as a whole. Our understanding of the archaeology of Athens and Attica during this period has until now mostly relied on excavation results from the Late Antique phases of activity in the Athenian Agora, as well as adjacent urban villas; the renowned philosophical schools, which flourished until Justinian's times; and the Late Roman lamp industry.<sup>1</sup> Architectural and art-historical studies have been undertaken for a number of Middle Byzantine churches and monasteries, both in and outside Athens, which show a high level of craftsmanship and execution.

On the contrary, relatively little has been written about other areas of interest, such as the topographic evolution both of the city and its surrounding hinterland, economic and social relations between them, and the interconnection of Attica with neighbouring parts of the Aegean (Boeotia, Corinthia, and the Aegean islands). Intensive building development in recent decades has produced a large amount of archaeological material dating to the Byzantine period. This material enables, and at the same time requires, a re-assessment of economic, social and political structures which prevailed in Attica. Neither the Late Antique finds from the Athenian Agora nor the Attic Byzantine churches can in themselves provide an all-round and at the same time representative picture of habitation, demography, economy, administration, or indeed religion.

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<sup>1</sup> On these topics see Frantz 1988; Castrén (ed.) 1994; Karivieri 1996.

## 2. Purpose, structure and methods of the present study

### 2.1. Purpose

The central problem of the present study is that of the structural changes which transformed the society in Attica between, and during, the Early Byzantine and the Middle Byzantine periods, as they did in most parts of the Byzantine Empire. Late antique Attica still bore characteristics close to those of the Classical world: a large number of ancient towns and villages continued their activities, at the same locations, until the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> c., while trade and exchange between Attica and other parts of the Mediterranean also continued until then. During the four following centuries the Attic landscape was transformed. Several new Middle Byzantine sites emerged, which were often different in location and status from their equivalent Early Byzantine ones. Identification of sites datable between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> c. is harder due to use of local wares and limited use of imported wares, but progress in this field is advancing.<sup>2</sup> Middle Byzantine churches constitute our main indication for activity in certain areas during this period.

It is a well-known fact that Athens was not one of the important cities of the Byzantine empire; nor was Attica particularly important for the empire in terms of production or distribution of any kind of products. But it was not one of the poorest regions of the Empire, either, as shown by the abundance of Early and Middle Byzantine monuments.<sup>3</sup> Study of Attica during this time may thus be regarded as a case-study of an area of medium status, comparable to many other coastal and semi-coastal areas of the Aegean.

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<sup>2</sup> See as examples Ballance *et al.* 1989 (Emporio, Chios); Hayes 1992 (Constantinople); Poulou-Papademetriou 2001 (Aegean), Vida – Völling 2000 (Olympia); Vroom 2012 (Butrint), a.o.

<sup>3</sup> Henty (1985, 85, map 18) includes Attica within the districts of the Empire where presence of 11<sup>th</sup>-c. magnates is securely attested, albeit in modest numbers.



The choice of Attica for the present study was dictated by the abundance of newly excavated archaeological material, which is briefly presented in Chapter B. This material offers information on topography, chronology and character of settlements, economic and religious life. Combined with preserved architectural and epigraphic monuments, and the survival of toponymics, it provides us with tools which may help us fill important gaps of our historical knowledge.

## **2.2. Structure and methods**

A gazetteer of all available excavation and survey reports, as well as monument descriptions, concerning Attica from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> c., built the basis for the present study. Investigations regarding wider aspects of Byzantine Attica (roads, defence, economy, administration, religious life) were included to the abovementioned gazetteer. Research on Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Attica concerned with issues of settlement topography, roads and defence was also taken into consideration. This extensive gazetteer constituted the spine for the presentation of available archaeological and historical material (Chapter B).

Chapter A of the present study has been dedicated to the description and justification of my topic. Chapter B is divided in ten sub-chapters, each one dedicated to a geographic district. Based on this presentation, Chapter C is a synthetic discussion of location, character and duration of settlements, administrative schemes connected to their history, defence, religion, economic resources, and roads of communication.

A more detailed presentation of some aspects of the available material was included in appendices. Appendix A comprises with a description of important monuments and excavated sites, while Appendix B includes results of field surveys. Appendix C has descriptions of the location and territory of ancient Attic *demoi* which are particularly interesting for our period

of study. Appendix D studies the character of the descendants of the Attic *demoi*. Appendix E presents previous discussion of the hypothesis that Marathon may have been a bishopric. Appendix F contains discussion of selected properties listed in the letter of Pope Innocent III (1209). Finally, Appendix G presents archaeological material from Megarid, and could thus technically belong to Chapter B.

Selection of excavated material for study was considered as important for a number of sites which show particular interest, since publications of excavations of Attic Byzantine sites remain extremely limited.<sup>4</sup> These sites were the rural monastery of Agios Nikolaos in Kantza<sup>5</sup> (B.3.9, Table 1) and two farmsteads in the area of Marathon<sup>6</sup> (B.5.4, Tables 2-3).

### 3. Geographical description of Attica

#### **[Printed maps A.3.a-b]**

Attica is separated from the broader region of east mainland Greece through the high mountain range of Parnes – Kithairon at the north, continued by Mt Geraneia to the west. The Parnes – Kithairon range rises to 1413 m from sea level. Smaller are the mountains of Hymettus (880 m) and Penteli (1108 m). Penteli is located to the south-east end of the Parnes range and separates the Athenian basin from the small plain of Marathon. South of Penteli, Mt Hymettus runs in a north-south direction and separates the basin of Athens from the Mesogeia

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<sup>4</sup> Knowledge of Byzantine Attic pottery is until now mostly limited to the publication of the Athenian Agora (Robinson 1959). Smaller studies are Gini-Tsophopoulou – Chalkia 2003, Gini-Tsophopoulou – Yangaki 2010, Grigoropoulos 2010, Tzavella 2010, all confined to the Early Byzantine period.

<sup>5</sup> Excavated by Arapoyanni (1986).

<sup>6</sup> Excavated by Morou-Kapokaki (1984) and Poloyorgi (1993).

plain. The low mountain of Aigaleos (452 m) forms the western limit of the Athenian basin, thus separating it from the Thriasian plain.

In this semi-mountainous, semi-coastal region five small plains are of prominent importance for the maintenance of the population.<sup>7</sup> To the west, the Thriasian and Megarian plains are located south of the Kithairon – Parnes mountain range. Each one of these two plains opens to a gulf, which proved to play a major role for the urban evolution of the cities of Eleusis and Megara. In central Attica, the plain of Athens is surrounded by mountains (Aigaleos to the west, Parnes to the north, Penteli to the northeast and Hymettus to the east), apart from its coastal south side, which is endowed with the small gulfs of Peiraeus.<sup>8</sup> To the east lie the fertile Mesogeia plain, and the smaller Marathonian plain to its north.

Attica is geologically divided in a north/northeast – south/southwest axis, which departs from the area of Cape Kalamos (at the northeast) over Varnavas, Kalentzi, the west end of Mt Penteli and the west foot of Mt Hymettus and continues up to the south coast. This axis differentiates the mountainous land to its east, consisting of crystalline – metamorphic marble and schist, from the mountains and hills to its west, formed from normal sediments (limestone and schist) of earlier age.<sup>9</sup>

Aridity has always been a major problem for the Attic population. The only major river, Asopos, constitutes the natural border between Athens and Boeotia. The smaller river

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<sup>7</sup> The surface size of these plains has been estimated by Day (1942, 9) as follows: Thriasian, 36.6 square miles; Athenian, 50.2 square miles; the Mesogeia, 27.8 square miles; and the small Marathonian plain at the NE, 5.8 square miles. None of these plains is or was particularly fertile, especially as compared with the lands of such districts as Boeotia or Messenia.

<sup>8</sup> The modern city of Athens expanded greatly after the 1950's, and today covers the whole basin: a district covering ca. 215 sq. km and described by the modern Greek work 'λεκανοπέδιο', which has become a synonym for modern Athens. The ancient and medieval city was located at the centre of the modern one. For reasons of comparison, it may be useful to mention that the city-wall of the Classical to the Early Byzantine periods enclosed an area of ca. 3.5 sq. km. It becomes therefore understandable that the major part of modern Athens covers a region which used to belong to the pre-modern Attic countryside.

<sup>9</sup> Philippson 1952, 765f.

Kephissos flows from the south slopes of Mt Penteli through the plain of Athens, while Eleusiniakos Kephissos waters the Thriasian plain. Other streams and creeks are mostly seasonal (*ρέματα, χείμαρροι*), thus forcing residents and farmers to build cisterns.

#### 4. Geographic limits of the present study

The present study includes the mountainous areas up to the crests of Mt Geraneia. Mt Kithairon, Mt Pastra (the western prolongation of Kithairon) and Mt Parnes are included as a whole. The northernmost border of my study is the eastern part of the Asopos River (between modern Oinophyta and the east sea coast). The islands of Aigina and Salamina, although geographically and culturally connected with mainland Attica, are not included.

Original research on the Early and Middle Byzantine city of Athens itself is not included in the present study. Topography of Byzantine Athens deserves a separate study.<sup>10</sup> The present investigation includes *extra muros* archaeological finds and monuments (for the course of the wall circuit in the Early and the Middle Byzantine periods see Chapter B.1.2).

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<sup>10</sup> Important studies regarding the topography and urbanism in Byzantine Athens are: Soteriou 1929a; Xyngopoulos 1929; Travlos 1960; Frantz 1988; Bouras 2010.

## 5. Chronological terms used in the present study

Research of Late Antiquity uses several different chronological terms in order to describe either different aspects of material culture between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>11</sup>, or different sub-periods during the same age. In the present study, ‘Early Byzantine’ is thought to cover the historical period between the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> c., when discussing political, economic or cultural phenomena. However, since a distinction between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> c., on the one hand, and the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup>, on the other, was considered as necessary for the description of material culture remains, the term ‘Late Roman’ was adopted for the former and ‘Early Byzantine’ for the latter for the presentation and discussion of this material. In the cases where material description in archaeological reports was inadequate for chronological precision, the conventional term ‘LRom/EByz’ was used. In cases of archaeological reports which use the term ‘Early Christian’ I tried to specify the chronology of the finds, and use the terms ‘Late Roman’ or ‘Early Byzantine’, accordingly, instead; whenever this specification was not possible, or whenever the finds appear to oscillate between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> c., I chose to retain the term ‘Early Christian’, when referring to churches, and otherwise use the term ‘LRom/EByz’.

For the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c., the terms ‘Dark Ages’ and ‘transitional period’ were both used. The Middle Byzantine period is thought to represent the 10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> c.

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<sup>11</sup> All dates are AD, unless otherwise noted.

## 6. Overview of archaeological and historical research on Early and Middle Byzantine Attica

### 6.1. Archaeological excavations

Archaeologists specifically interested in the Byzantine period were clearly more concerned with revealing remains of monumental buildings, mainly churches, and describing their architecture, than exploring the history of habitation and activity of Attic areas. As a result, it is often possible to compile an extensive list of archaeological finds, but not to evaluate length of use of a monument, earlier or later phases of its use, and inter-relations with the surrounding environment. Earlier Byzantine archaeologists did not publish portable finds from their excavations<sup>12</sup>, or they published only a small fraction of them; re-evaluation of the material is therefore very often extremely difficult, if not impossible. In recent years, however, updated methodologies have started being used, and evolution in ceramic studies has helped conclusions on chronology and interpretation of non-monumental structures like houses, baths, graves and agricultural installations.<sup>13</sup>

### 6.2. Studies on monumental architecture

Church architecture in Attica has been the subject of numerous studies and still attracts intensive research. Until recently, Greek researchers on Byzantine topography often confined their study to research on church architecture of a chosen area.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See for example the reports by Stikas and Lazarides.

<sup>13</sup> See for example Gini-Tsophopoulou – Chalkia 2003.

<sup>14</sup> See for example Pallas 1986; Gini-Tsophopoulou 1985a; Gini-Tsophopoulou 2001.

A systematic record and description of Attic churches, focusing on architectural study and epigraphic evidence, was compiled in the 1920s and 1930s by G. Soteriou, A. Xyngopoulos and A. Orlandos.<sup>15</sup> Chronology of Middle Byzantine churches in Attica and Boeotia was further studied by A. Megaw.<sup>16</sup> Ch. Bouras, A. Kalogeropoulou and E. Andreadi extended architectural study to a number of further Byzantine and post-Byzantine churches of Attica.<sup>17</sup> Ch. Bouras, in his recent detailed study of 12<sup>th</sup>-c. church architecture in Greece included an updated presentation of 12<sup>th</sup>-c. Attic churches, accompanied by observations on their architecture and chronology.<sup>18</sup> Architecture, chronology and function of medieval Attic towers has recently attracted interest by P. Lock<sup>19</sup> and M. Langdon<sup>20</sup>.

### 6.3. Research on topography

Attica was frequently visited by travellers and antiquarians of the Early Modern period. The most useful accounts of this time are the ones of Evliya Celebi<sup>21</sup>, G. Wheler<sup>22</sup>, R. Chandler<sup>23</sup>, W. Gell<sup>24</sup> and W. Leake<sup>25</sup>.

Attic topographical studies were initiated in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. The major work of E. Curtius and M. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, accompanied with A. Milchhöfer's *Erläuternder Text*<sup>26</sup>,

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<sup>15</sup> Kourouniotes – Soteriou (eds.) 1927-1933.

<sup>16</sup> Megaw 1931-32.

<sup>17</sup> *Churches of Attica*.

<sup>18</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002.

<sup>19</sup> Lock 1986; Lock 1996.

<sup>20</sup> Langdon 1995. These recent studies have both departed from the assumption that towers should be seen mainly as military structures and regard most of them as elements of farm complexes with a secondary defensive character. As such, and although most of these structures seem to post-date the 12<sup>th</sup> c., they deserve attention since they attest to the social history of both rural and urban areas.

<sup>21</sup> Bires 1959.

<sup>22</sup> Wheler 1682.

<sup>23</sup> Chandler 1776.

<sup>24</sup> Gell 1819.

<sup>25</sup> Leake 1835; 1841.

constitutes a major source for the location of ancient and medieval remains, but also description of natural environment and old roads, many of which do not survive to the present date.

Ancient Attic topography has been studied comprehensively by Classical archaeologists of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>27</sup> Despite their focus in earlier periods, their work often remains of paramount importance for study of the natural environment, settlement patterns and road connections also in later periods.<sup>28</sup> J. Traill's substantial work on the location of Attic *demoi* (Pl. 63) has been generally followed<sup>29</sup>, while the studies of C. Eliot<sup>30</sup> M. Petropoulakou – E. Pentazos<sup>31</sup> are also useful. The systematic survey of the *demos Atene* by H. Lohmann<sup>32</sup> is an exceptional case of a thorough study of natural landscape, minor remains of habitation and activity, and local economy.

Ancient roads of Attica have been studied to an advanced degree, thus offering valuable information on Late Roman and Byzantine roads; such are the collective volumes edited by Goette<sup>33</sup> and Korres<sup>34</sup>. The roads of northwestern Attica, in particular, have received special interest, since they formed prominent passages connecting mainland Greece to Attica and the

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<sup>26</sup> Curtius – Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, Berlin 1881-1895. Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika: Erläuternder Text*, Heft I-IX, Berlin 1881-1900. For a recent re-appraisal of *KvA* see Lohmann 2010.

<sup>27</sup> Important works, which combined research of topography with study of the Athenian *polis* and its *demoi*, are: Traill 1975; Traill 1986; Whitehead 1986; Vanderpool 1982. For two relatively recent books, concerning the topography of ancient Attica as a whole, see Travlos 1988; Goette 2001, both with further references for research on individual areas.

<sup>28</sup> As examples of such works we cite here: Hammond 1954; Vanderpool 1978; Ober 1985; Travlos 1988; Lohmann 1993; Goette (ed.) 2002; Kakavoyanni 2005; Steinhauer 2005; Smith 2008; Korres (ed.) 2009.

<sup>29</sup> Traill 1975. In cases where Traill's locations have been updated, I kept consistent with the updated studies and results.

<sup>30</sup> Eliot 1962.

<sup>31</sup> Petropoulakou – Pentazos 1973.

<sup>32</sup> Lohmann 1993.

<sup>33</sup> Goette (ed.) 2002.

<sup>34</sup> Korres (ed.) 2009.



Peloponnese. The important work by N. Hammond<sup>35</sup>, preceded by the one of M. Kahrstedt<sup>36</sup>, was continued by E. Vanderpool<sup>37</sup>, A. Muller<sup>38</sup>, M. Munn<sup>39</sup>, J. Ober<sup>40</sup> and H. Lohmann<sup>41</sup>.

Three districts of Attica, all lying in its periphery, have so far been explored through intensive field survey. The mountainous plain of Skourta, extending to the north of the Kithairon – Parnes ridge, was surveyed systematically in the 1980s by M. Munn and M.-L. Zimmerman-Munn.<sup>42</sup> Although fieldwalking covered only 5% of the surveyable area, it revealed a considerable number of rural sites of all periods. The survey in the territory of *Atene* and neighbour *demoi* (southeast Attica)<sup>43</sup> was presented above. Finally, the Oropos Survey Project<sup>44</sup> covered a part of the territory of the ancient town of Oropos (northeast Attica), and recorded rural sites dating from the Neolithic to the Early Byzantine period.

A landmark of topographic work focusing on the medieval period is the volume *Hellas und Thessalia* of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* series.<sup>45</sup> The studies by G. Fowden<sup>46</sup> and T. Mattern<sup>47</sup>, while attempting to answer questions on defence and religion, as well as (the latter) with settlement patterns, carefully acknowledge methodological issues connected with archaeological research of this period.

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<sup>35</sup> Hammond 1954.

<sup>36</sup> Kahrstedt 1932.

<sup>37</sup> Vanderpool 1978.

<sup>38</sup> Muller 1982.

<sup>39</sup> Munn 1983.

<sup>40</sup> Ober 1985.

<sup>41</sup> Lohmann 2002.

<sup>42</sup> Survey results were never published systematically, but were reported in Munn – Zimmerman-Munn 1989, 73-127; Munn – Zimmerman-Munn 1990, 33-40.

<sup>43</sup> Lohmann 1993.

<sup>44</sup> Cosmopoulos 2001.

<sup>45</sup> *TIB I*. This study consists of a detailed gazetteer of sites where activity from Early to Late Byzantine times has been attested through literary or published archaeological evidence. Since, however, the authors are concerned with an extended region (central Greece and Thessaly), their ability to draw specific conclusions about the topography and history of each one of the studied areas, including Attica, is limited.

<sup>46</sup> Fowden 1988.

<sup>47</sup> Mattern 2010.

#### 6.4. Research on historical sources

Two *Lives* of Osios Meletios, written by Nikolaos Methones and by Theodore Prodromos, provide evidence about the life and activity of this prominent local saint and the monastery which he founded.<sup>48</sup>

The *Praktikon of Athens*<sup>49</sup> is a 13<sup>th</sup>-c. copy of a 11<sup>th</sup>- or 12<sup>th</sup>-c. manuscript containing a list of land properties, with identification of their location, size and limits, and an accompanying list of the names of proprietors. The fraction mentioning the recipient of the document is destroyed, but the publishers of the *Praktikon* suggest that its recipient was an Attic religious institution, probably a monastery, or perhaps the Metropolis of Athens, as suggested by Lemerle and Dunn.<sup>50</sup>

In 1896 S. Lambros published the documents of the Metropolitan of Athens Michael Choniates<sup>51</sup>, which constitute the most important surviving Middle Byzantine source for the city. K. Setton and J. Herrin have both contributed to the political and ecclesiastical history of Athens and Attica in the later 12<sup>th</sup> c., based mainly on the literary evidence of Michael Choniates.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Nikolaos Methones, *Vita*; Theodore Prodromos, *Vita*. Papadopoulos 1935.

<sup>49</sup> Greek manuscript No 122 of the Public Library of Saltykov-Ščedrin at Leningrad, published by Grandstrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou 1976.

<sup>50</sup> The opinion has been followed by most scholars (for example Kazanaki-Lappa 2002, 646). However, Lemerle (1979, 200, note 2) and Dunn (1995, 761, note 37) leave a possibility open that the owner was the Metropolis of Athens itself.

<sup>51</sup> Lambros 1880. A biography of Michael Choniates has been written by Stadtmüller (1934).

<sup>52</sup> K. Setton, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, London 1975. J. Herrin, 'Realities of Byzantine provincial government: Hellas and Peloponnesos, 1180-1205', *DOP* 29 (1976), 253-284. J. Herrin, 'The ecclesiastical organization of central Greece at the time of Michael Choniates: new evidence from the Codex Atheniensis 1371', *Actes du XVe Congrès International d' Études Byzantines* (1976), Athens 1980, 131-137.

A letter of Pope Innocent III, which was sent to the Latin archbishop of Athens in 1209 and certified the properties of the Athenian metropolis<sup>53</sup>, has been discussed from a topographical aspect by J. Koder.<sup>54</sup>

An economic history of Roman Athens, which includes an estimation of the city's population, was published by J. Day in the 1940s.<sup>55</sup> An extensive study of the medieval history of Athens was written in the late 19<sup>th</sup> c. by F. Gregorovius<sup>56</sup>, as well as by D. Kambouroglou<sup>57</sup>. More recently, M. Kiel wrote a study on the demographics and food production in Attica in the 16<sup>th</sup> c., based on Ottoman *defters*.<sup>58</sup>

## 6.5. Research on toponymics

Greek scholars showed an early interest in Attic toponymics, since these often demonstrate continuity of ancient names until the 20<sup>th</sup> c., or record changes brought by the Albanian population which lived in Attica since the 14<sup>th</sup> c. Lambros wrote an extensive study on this topic in 1896.<sup>59</sup> His was followed by I. Sarres<sup>60</sup>, who attempted to define the origins (ancient vs. Byzantine) of various Attic placenames, but with an unsatisfactory methodology. P. Phourikes provided us with a more systematic study.<sup>61</sup> More recently, K. Bires contributed significantly to our knowledge on toponymics of the basin of Athens.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> *Acta Innocentii III no. 256*, ed. J.-P. Migne.

<sup>54</sup> Koder 1977. On the same document see also: Neroutsos 1892; Longnon 1948; Janin 1975.

<sup>55</sup> Day 1942.

<sup>56</sup> Gregorovius 1889.

<sup>57</sup> Kambouroglou 1889-1892.

<sup>58</sup> Kiel 1987.

<sup>59</sup> Lambros 1896.

<sup>60</sup> Sarres 1928.

<sup>61</sup> Phourikes 1929.

<sup>62</sup> Bires 1971. Concise works also by Mouzakes (1989), Kalieris (1989), Ginosatis (1989).

## 7. The urban centre of Athens

Although A. Frantz's book on the Athenian Agora in Late Antiquity<sup>63</sup> does not strictly belong to the discussion of research on the topography of Byzantine Attica, one should certainly acknowledge its dominance in studies concerning urbanism in Athens and, hence, archaeology of rural sites in Attica. The value of a detailed presentation of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine buildings of the Classical Agora, undertaken in this book, lies beyond any doubt, yet their interpretation suffers from dependence on historical sources of the period, as well as from the unexpressed conviction that the Classical Agora retained its role as the civic centre of the city even after the Herulian raid, and thus its architectural evolution represents the evolution of the city. The destruction of the Classical Agora by the Heruls, attested by literary sources, was supported by archaeological signs of fire and subsequent abandonment; however, this fact should not lead to the assumption that the whole city suffered in the same way<sup>64</sup>, or that its late antique prosperity was severely damaged by the raid. Archaeological studies based on the assumption that the architectural history of certain buildings (usually of public use) demonstrates the fate of the city as a whole have been criticized by modern scholars<sup>65</sup>; in Athens itself, recent excavations outside the Agora revealed sumptuous buildings which were constructed a few decades after the Herulian raid,

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<sup>63</sup> Frantz 1988.

<sup>64</sup> As implied by Frantz (1988, 3).

<sup>65</sup> See for example Whittow 2001, 148-9, for a discussion on the 'Hanghäuser' of Ephesus, very closely connected to the problem of interpreting the fate of the Athenian Agora urban villas.

in the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> or beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD<sup>66</sup>, and the existence of which contrasts with Frantz's deduction that '[the Heruli left] an indelible impression on the city of Athens'<sup>67</sup>.

The importance which Frantz and Metcalf, followed by other scholars, assigned to the Slav invasions in Athens has been evoked by literary evidence and by coin hoards with latest datable issues dating to the 570s and 580s.<sup>68</sup> Metcalf later reviewed his theory on the basis of the need for confirmation of this interpretation through evidence other than the hoards themselves.<sup>69</sup> This review has not been taken into consideration widely. Here we may add that overall distribution of hoards of the 570s and 580s in the Balkans and Asia Minor evokes questions on the Slav disruption theory.<sup>70</sup> An alternative explanation for the non-retrieval of hoards may lie within changes in mint production.<sup>71</sup>

Frantz's model of demographic and economic decline assigned to the Slavic aftermath, joined with similar interpretations regarding other major civic centres of mainland Greece, was followed by scholars studying rural sites and monuments. Both Fowden and Gini-Tsophopoulou concluded that after the appearance of the Slavs, the Attic countryside was almost deserted.<sup>72</sup>

After the pioneering work by I. Travlos on the diachronic urban development of Athens<sup>73</sup>, the recent volume by Bouras focuses in the topography of the city during the

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<sup>66</sup> O. Zachariadou, 'Zappeion shaft', in Stampolidis – Parlama 2000, 135-136; *eadem*, 'Syntagma station', *ibid.* 158-160; *eadem*, 'Herodou Attikou shaft', *ibid.* 192-194.

<sup>67</sup> Frantz 1988, 1.

<sup>68</sup> Metcalf 1962. Frantz 1988, 93f.

<sup>69</sup> Metcalf 1991.

<sup>70</sup> On these distributions see Morrisson – Popovic – Ivanisevic 2006, esp. maps 5, 6 and 8. For example, two hoards of 578-582 appear also in Asia Minor (Ephesos and Sardeis), which were not invaded in that time. The contribution by Ivanisevic in the same volume does not discuss these problems.

<sup>71</sup> Curta (1996), on the contrary, proposed inflation after ca. AD 580 as a reason for coin concealment.

<sup>72</sup> Fowden 1988, 59. Gini-Tsophopoulou 2001, 152. Similar was the conclusion about the Skourta plain by Munn – Zimmerman-Munn (1989, 116). Lauter – Lauter-Bufe (2010, 84) assigned the lack of post-6<sup>th</sup> c. oil lamps in a remote pagan sanctuary in Varkiza to the Slav invasions.

<sup>73</sup> Travlos 1960a. Gioles 2005 is a concise summary of descriptions of Early Byzantine monuments. Moschonas (1996) offers a useful summary of excavated results from the Agora and known Middle Byzantine churches.

Middle Byzantine period<sup>74</sup>. It compiles historical and archaeological evidence about defence, road networks, the irrigation system, habitation quarters and religious architecture of the city. Middle Byzantine religious architecture and art has attracted the interest of many scholars<sup>75</sup>, and offers useful comparative evidence for churches of rural Attica.

## 8. Avenues of enquiry in Byzantine urban and rural archaeology

Literature on late antique and Byzantine urbanism provides only a few examples of syntheses by region<sup>76</sup>; the main bulk of the existing bibliography presents the results of research on individual sites. It is not the place here to provide a full list and discussion of the relevant literature.<sup>77</sup> Instead, it would be more useful to outline main questions and methods which scholars have used during their work on urban archaeology, as well as modes used for research on rural archaeology.

Why study the urban and rural landscape of a defined area? More specifically, how can we use topographical studies for our understanding of the historic evolution of an area during the Early and Middle Byzantine periods? Research has shown that literary sources provide too little, and often misleading information on demography, society and economy.<sup>78</sup> Archaeology can provide a much larger amount of information, which should be complemented by historical studies, in order to address complicated historical problems. However, archaeology needs to focus both on urban and rural sites, and view them as an entity. Development of

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<sup>74</sup> Bouras 2010.

<sup>75</sup> For further bibliography see Bouras 2010.

<sup>76</sup> We cite here, as examples, Bowden 2003; Veikou 2012.

<sup>77</sup> For a very useful overview of the literature on the late antique city see Lavan 2001. For a collection of articles on the late antique countryside see Bowden – Lavan – Machado (eds.) 2004.

<sup>78</sup> See Foss 1977a, 469-472; Dunn 1995; Brandes 1999.

urban archaeology, when not complemented by equivalent development of rural archaeology, often leads towards misinterpretation of evidence.<sup>79</sup> As an example, the early studies of urbanism in Asia Minor by C. Foss were limited by the exclusion of the surrounding hinterland.<sup>80</sup> The study of Frantz on the Athenian Agora<sup>81</sup> falls into the same trap. Brandes, despite focusing on cities, was well aware of these problems.<sup>82</sup>

Misinterpretation of urban evolution has also been due to limited study of minor finds, especially pottery and burial finds<sup>83</sup>, and especially regarding the ‘Dark-Age’ and the Middle Byzantine periods.<sup>84</sup>

Combination of archaeological studies with research on administration, economy and defence appears to offer a key for an understanding of factors which transformed urban and rural life in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Byzantine period.<sup>85</sup>

The approaches outlined above make clear that archaeological study of the cities, when corroborated by study of the countryside, can produce a complete and diversified picture of society. Fernand Braudel’s view of history as the complex interplay between long- and medium-term structures and ‘event history’ has played here a central role.<sup>86</sup> The question which arises in the present study is whether rescue archaeology as practised in present day Greece and intensive field survey, assisted by the archival, toponymic and sigillographic

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<sup>79</sup> As explicitly shown, for example, by Whittow (2001).

<sup>80</sup> Foss 1976; 1977a; 1977b; 1979. See Foss 1994 for a study of the surrounding hinterland, which changed his view of urban evolution in this period.

<sup>81</sup> Frantz 1965; 1988.

<sup>82</sup> Brandes 1989; 1999.

<sup>83</sup> These are discussed thoroughly by Sanders 2004 in correlation with urban evolution of Corinth.

<sup>84</sup> Studies by Poulou-Papademetriou (1995; 2001; Poulou-Papademetriou – Nodarou 2007), Vroom (2005) and Armstrong (2009) show that ceramic studies offer important results about habitation, administration and trade in the eastern Mediterranean during the ‘Dark-Age’ period.

<sup>85</sup> As such, we mention studies by Poulter (1983, 1992); Brandes (1989), Dunn (1995; 2004; 2005), Armstrong (2002).

<sup>86</sup> Braudel 1949.

record, can provide answers to, and interpretations of, complex changes which occurred during the Early and Middle Byzantine period.



## CHAPTER B: PRESENTATION AND EVALUATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

### B.1. The basin of Athens

#### 1.1. Geographical description and main roads

[Printed map B.1.a; CD maps B.1.b-g]

The basin of Athens is surrounded by the mountains Parnes, Penteli, Hymettus and Aigaleos, while towards the south it is bordered by the sea coast. The hill of Tourkovouni rises on the eastern part of the basin, and separates the streams of the rivers Kephissos and Ilissos. Kephissos is fed from Parnes and Penteli, while Ilissos, and its side-stream Eridanos, flow from Hymettus. The riverbeds of Kephissos and Ilissos join near the SW border of the ancient city, and flow into Peiraeus.

The main roads of the Athenian basin departed from the gates of the Themistocleian wall, which was retained until at least the time of Justinian. Most of these roads were used diachronically, as they connected the urban centre with major regional roads.<sup>87</sup> Hence, the Acharnian Way was directed towards the northern passes of Dema, Chasia-Phyle and Dekeleia; the Way of Aphidna led NE, towards the pass between Mt Parnes and Penteli; the Mesogeia Road led east, towards the Mesogia plain<sup>88</sup>; the Phalerian Way led SW, to the bay of Phaleron; parallel to this, but further west, the road which departed from the Peiraic Gate

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<sup>87</sup> For a recent and detailed description see Steinhauer 2009a, 39-49.

<sup>88</sup> On the recent discovery of sections of the Mesogeia Road, with evidence for use until at least the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD, see Drillia – Gabriel 2009. The Mesogeia Road appears to have followed the route of modern Vasilissis Sophias Avenue.

led to Peiraeus<sup>89</sup>; the Sacred Way led to Eleusis; the road departing from Dipylon led to the western part of the basin. The road known as ‘αστική οδός Σουνίου’ adopted a route parallel to the SW slopes of Hymettus, and led to Sounion.<sup>90</sup> Sections of all the above major roads have produced archaeological evidence which shows their use during the LRom/EByz period, and in some cases in the Middle Byzantine period (see relevant sub-chapters).

## 1.2. The city wall of Athens and the extension of the city

Our survey covers the areas of the Athens basin which lay outside the urban district. For the purposes of this study, the urban district is defined as the one included within the Valerianic city wall [A] (Pl. 1a).<sup>91</sup> In the LRom/EByz period, the city of Athens was confined to the circuit of the Valerianic wall. This is shown by excavations which revealed houses of

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<sup>89</sup> The cart road which led from Athens to Peiraeus, mentioned by many ancient writers, has been partly excavated and revealed signs of use also in the Early Byzantine period. It followed a route parallel to the ancient Long Walls and to their north (i.e., along the exterior of the Long Walls, and not between them). The north Long Wall coincided with modern Peiraeus Avenue. The Long Walls were disused by the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, and were completely destroyed by Sulla in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. Two roads followed the route of the Long Walls: apart from the one which ran parallel to their north, mentioned above, a further one ran between them (closer to the North Wall). Both roads are attested through literary sources, and were also revealed archaeologically in parts. Both showed successive layers of use, the latest of which were dated to the Early Byzantine period. See Petritaki 2009, 454-462, esp. 461f.; Petritaki 2001-2004, 447-448: 83 Peiraios st. – Kastanitsis st.; *ibid.*, 451f.: Kyprou st. – Peiraios st.

A third road, which ran externally and parallel to the South Wall, shows evidence of use during the Classical, Hellenistic, Late Roman and Byzantine periods: see Petritaki 2001-2004, 448f.: 7 Mitsa st.; 453f.: 105 Eleutherias st.

<sup>90</sup> For a detailed description of its route, based on recent discoveries, see Kaza – Kakavoyanni – Andrikou – Dova 2009, 198-204.

<sup>91</sup> Travlos’ study (1960, 125-130, 144-145, 156-162), albeit preliminary, remains of paramount importance for the history of the medieval Athenian fortifications. The detailed survey by Theodoraki (2011) about the exact course and construction phases of the wall (both the Themistocleian / Valerianic and the Post-Herulian one), including recent archaeological finds and with extremely accurate topographic data, adds to and enhances the old results. An attempt to tackle the question of the Middle Byzantine fortifications of Athens is made by Bouras (2010, 29-40).

this period inside the walls and cemeteries just outside it.<sup>92</sup> The Middle Byzantine city appears to have geographically contracted compared with its predecessor; excavations have shown intensive occupation around the Acropolis hill, especially to its north, but the radius of habitation did not reach the Valerianic wall. Bouras notes a number of distinct ‘settlements’, which I would prefer to describe as neighbourhoods: On the Acropolis hill, in Plaka (the Old City of Athens), in the Monastiraki area, in the Roman Agora, in the Athenian Agora, on the south slope of the Acropolis hill, in the area of the modern Parliament and the adjacent National Garden, and in Kerameikos.<sup>93</sup>

The above ‘settlements’ should certainly be regarded as belonging to the urban centre of Athens, while settlements further away, and at a distance, from the Valerianic wall can legitimately be seen as rural installations. It is noteworthy, however, that the image of the Byzantine city in the suburban areas has been rendered archaeologically invisible, due to modern building development in decades when archaeological law was weak or non-existent. The areas of Kolonaki, Exarcheia, Victoria, Chafteia, Kerameikos (beyond the well-known cemetery), Petralona, Koukaki, Mets and Pangrati, which belong to the heart of the modern urban centre, were practically never excavated, and in the few exceptions when excavation took place this happened in earlier decades, when Byzantine antiquities were not looked for, or after.

Our tour of the basin of Athens will start from the north of the urban centre and follow a counter-clockwise route around it.

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<sup>92</sup> Tzavella 2008. A detailed map with all reported excavations of houses and graves of this period was included in my MPhil thesis, ‘Burial and urbanism in Early Byzantine and ‘Dark-Age’ Athens (4<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.)’, which was submitted to the University of Birmingham in July 2006.

<sup>93</sup> For an extremely useful compilation of material and relevant discussion see Bouras 2010, 59-98.

### 1.3. Ambelokepoi

The area of Ambelokepoi extends around the southern foot of Tourkovouni.<sup>94</sup> A Late Roman cemetery was partly excavated around the SE foot of Tourkovouni.<sup>95</sup> Further south, two large pithoi of the same period were excavated.<sup>96</sup> An excavated pit 30 m NW of the Agioi Pantes church contained sixty-six used Early Byzantine oil-lamps, which were placed there after disuse.<sup>97</sup> Their use might be connected with earlier cult or with an Early Byzantine cemetery on the site (see below).<sup>98</sup>

Three Late Roman tomb inscriptions were found stored in the area of the nearby church of Agioi Pantes.<sup>99</sup> Based on their literary language, the cemetery which must have existed in the area of Agioi Pantes housed members of the local literate elite.

Middle Byzantine activity in Ambelokepoi is attested through three ecclesiastical monuments, the *katholika* of the Agioi Pantes (Homologeton) monastery, of the Asomaton (Petraakis) monastery and the one dedicated to the Virgin, in Goudi, east of Ambelokepoi. The *katholikon* of the Homologeton monastery, mentioned by Michael Choniates<sup>100</sup>, was

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<sup>94</sup> Its name derives from the gardens which covered the area until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> c., and which were watered from the Hadrianic aqueduct. The aqueduct was broken in the 16<sup>th</sup> in this area, and the water was ever since then led into the city through an overground water pipe. Bires 1971, 17-18. For a 19<sup>th</sup>-c. description see Gell 1819, 69.

<sup>95</sup> Walter 1942, 105f. Alexandri 1967, 98. Petropoulakou – Pentazos 1973, 143, No. 8 (X7-Y4).

<sup>96</sup> Alexandri 1968, 39: Amaliados st.

<sup>97</sup> Stavropoulos 1965, 103-107, esp. 107. Excavated at the east side of the Panathenaikos football pitch.

<sup>98</sup> This hypothesis is expressed by Kritzas (2004, 210-211). A religious site with oil-lamps of this period has been found in Corinth, where thousands of lamps were used in a public fountain: Garnett 1975.

<sup>99</sup> One of these (Kritzas 2004, fig. 65. Sironen 2008, No. 13450) is an inscription with three elegiac funerary epigrams, dated to the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c., which probably referred to deceased of the same family. Noteworthy is the vocabulary and literature style of the epigrams, which incorporates neo-platonic and Christian beliefs and can therefore be attributed to believers of either religion. The second (Sironen 2008, No. 13451) is the funerary inscription of the philosopher Syrianus, teacher of Proclus; it dates after 437. The third Early Byzantine inscription (Kritzas 2004, 208, note 5, pl. 66b. Sironen 2008, No. 13460) was probably also funerary.

<sup>100</sup> Lambros 1880, vol. 2, 252-256.

identified with the preserved part of a church, Agioi Pantes [A] (Pl. 1b).<sup>101</sup> Bouras dates it before the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>102</sup> The Agioi Pantes church provides a case of remarkable cult continuity. Koder and Hild have observed similarity of its name with the *monasterium Cinoloitae*, which belonged to the Church of Athens according to the letter of Pope Innocent III.<sup>103</sup>

The *katholikon* of the Asomaton monastery [A] is located 1 km further southwest. Its initial construction phase, probably of the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> c., was followed by a later Middle Byzantine phase, probably of the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>104</sup>

The Panagia church at Goudi was tentatively dated to the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c., but extensive rebuilding has concealed any further evidence for its history<sup>105</sup> (Pl. 1c-d).

#### 1.4. Tourkovounia

The Tourkovounia hills (340 m?) rise between the Acharnian Way and the Mesogeia Way, NE of Lykavettos hill.<sup>106</sup> A prehistoric and late Geometric sanctuary is known to have existed on the northern hilltop of Tourkovouni (302 m); the latest signs for activity in the sanctuary are three fragments of oil lamps of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD.<sup>107</sup> Evidence for later activity on Tourkovouni is curiously missing; but this absence may well be due to the extensive

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<sup>101</sup> Bouras 2010, 220-223. On the excavation results see Soteriou 1926, 247. The church is not marked on *KvA* Blatt IV.

<sup>102</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 329. He implies that it belongs to the 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>103</sup> *TIB* I, 173. The identification of the Homologetai and the Cinoloitai monasteries has been accepted by Bouras (2010, 222, note 13).

<sup>104</sup> Orlandos dated its initial phase to the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> c.: Orlandos 1933, 125-128. Soteriou 1960-61. Bouras (2010, 223-229) provides recent results about chronology.

<sup>105</sup> Orlandos 1933, 130, fig. 164-165. Bouras 2010, 165-167. It was preserved in a ruined condition until 1933, while it was covered with mortar and dedicated to Agia Triada (thus see 'Agia Triada' on *Road* ed. 2007 map).

<sup>106</sup> The name defines the ownership of these non-cultivable, stoney hills, by the Ottoman state, probably in juxtaposition to the surrounding, privately owned estates: Bires 1971, 109-111.

<sup>107</sup> Lauter 1985a, 115, 148f.

quarrying activity after the 1950s which caused the actual disappearance of the western half of the hill.

## 1.5. Galatsi

Galatsi extends to the NW of Tourkovouni, and its name goes back to the Athenian family Galaki.<sup>108</sup> Two Early Byzantine funerary inscriptions were found in the church of Lambriotissa.<sup>109</sup> A cist grave built of tiles, with a vaulted roof, has been excavated in Kymothois st., 1.3 km south of Omorphokklesia.<sup>110</sup>

Galatsi preserves one of the most elaborate architectural monuments of medieval Attica, Omorphe Ekklesia [A] (Pl. 2a), at the NW foot of Tourkovouni. The chronology of the church oscillates between the late 12<sup>th</sup> and the early 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Bires 1971, 32.

<sup>109</sup> Sironen 2008, Nos. 13446, 13456. The location of the Lambriotissa church, which does not exist today, is uncertain. Pittakes (1854, φυλλάδιο 37, 1132, No. 2186), who found also an ancient inscription inside the church (EM 9867), describes its location as follows: “...Εκκλησίαν καλουμένην Λαμπριώτισσαν, κειμένην προς το βόρειον μέρος των Αθηνών, προ των κήπων, καλουμένων Γυψέλι”, not far from Patesia. This places Lambriotissa somewhere between Patesia and Kypseli, and therefore probably in Galatsi.

<sup>110</sup> Alexandri 1973-4, 156. The grave contained eight burials and a clay jug which has been dated by the excavator to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. Since graves with a high number of burials occur from the late 6<sup>th</sup> / 7<sup>th</sup> c. onwards, it would be legitimate to assume that the grave was used until then.

<sup>111</sup> Bouras 2010, 154-157, with further bibliography. Bouras - Boura 2002, 99-102.

## 1.6. Patesia<sup>112</sup>

A church with an Early and a Middle Byzantine phase is known to have existed underneath the modern Agios Loukas church [A] (Pl. 2b), by one of the main roads which led from Athens to the north. Remains of an Early Byzantine basilica were later succeeded by a smaller Byzantine basilica, the *katholikon* of a small monastery. This has been identified with the *monasterium sancti Lucae*, catalogued in the letter of Pope Innocent III.<sup>113</sup>

Five hundred metres west of Agios Loukas, on 330 Acharnon st., a large cist vaulted grave with multiple burials, constructed of rubble masonry, was found.<sup>114</sup> The neighbouring chapel of Agios Andreas (1571-1583)<sup>115</sup> preserves immured Early Byzantine pillar capitals.

## 1.7. Neo Psychiko

The only known find of the Byzantine period on the way between Ambelokepoi and Chalandri is an Early Byzantine cist grave in the area of modern Neo Psychiko.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> The most established etymological theory for the name of Patesia is one which suggests toponymic continuity with antiquity, since it connects its name with the ancient *demos Bate* (Βατή), which is thought to have existed here. Traill (1975, 39, note 10) provisionally places Bate at Ambelokepoi or Kypseli (and not at Vatheia, mod. Plateia Vathes, NW of Omonoia), because he thinks that these places have greater claims than Vatheia as ancient centres of habitation. Traill does not discuss the possibility of Patesia as the correct location of Bate; this does Bires (1971, 81-83), by arguing that the adverb ‘Βατησι’ could have served as an intermediary step between the two names. The same theory he follows for the evolution of the name *Hekale* to Kalesia – a theory supported by Traill, as well.

<sup>113</sup> Bouras 2010, 207.

<sup>114</sup> Lazarides 1968, 114-115. The tomb walls were decorated with crosses painted in red. The latest burial lay on the bones of the earlier burials, the bones of which had been pushed toward the west wall. Two burial lekythoi, one jug with globular body and a bronze (ear-)ring were found. The excavator proposes a chronology in the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c., but the placement of vessels (especially lekythoi) in the grave may suggest a date in the late 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c., which would be compatible with the morphological features of the tomb and the high number of burials.

<sup>115</sup> Orlandos 1931, 319-323, fig. 3. Palles 2009, 198-200. Located just east of the road leading to Acharnai (32 Leukosias st.)

## 1.8. *Phlya* - Chalandri

While the area along the SE/E slope of Tourkovounia appears to have been dry, Chalandri<sup>117</sup> is located at a well-watered spot between the northern tip of Tourkovounia and the one of Hymettus. Chalandri lies near an important road junction; the road coming from Athens splits here to two parts; one road continues with a north direction towards Marousi, Kephesia and Penteli, while a second road continues towards the eastern pass of Stavros. The location of the *demos Phlya* [C] in the area of Chalandri is certain based on epigraphic evidence.<sup>118</sup>

Two taurobolia altars of Kybele, dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> c., have been found in the chapel of Agios Ioannis, just north of Chalandri.<sup>119</sup>

Part of a large Early Byzantine cemetery was excavated northeast of old Chalandri, southeast of Francokklesia. The wider area of Francokklesia, which bordered the territory of *Phlya* towards the *demos Athmonon*, but belonged to the former, was scattered with ancient

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<sup>116</sup> In 36 Ernest Ebrar st. The grave contained one deceased and two unglazed vessels, a lekythos and a jug: Alexandri 1976, 50.

<sup>117</sup> The name 'Chalandri' is Turkish and appears for the first time in the account of Ebliya Celebi (1667): Bires 1959, 9, 60; Palles 2009, 245. No evidence exists for the name used for the area between the Roman and the Ottoman periods. Milchhöfer (1883, 36) compares Chalandri with the large and rich villages Marousi, Kephesia and Menidi.

<sup>118</sup> Traill 1975, 51.

<sup>119</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4841-42. The place of discovery of the altars, however, is not safe: see *ibid.*, note 10 and Svoronos (1911, 474-477), who suggests that they originally come from the city Athens. According to Milchhöfer (1883, 37), who believed that they were found in *Phlya*, the cult of Kybele may have replaced the cult of the Great Mother, Gaia, or Rea, which was prominent in *Phlya*. The two altars are certainly the latest known indicators of cult of Kybele in Attica. For a collection of evidence on the cult of Kybele in Attica see Papachristodoulou 1973b, 211-212.



graveyards or isolated tombs, and appears to have retained its funerary character until the Early Byzantine period.<sup>120</sup>

The Francokklesia [A] (Pl. 3a) is located by the SE bank of the Chalandri stream.<sup>121</sup> Orlandos suggested that the church pre-dated the Frankish conquest, when it was delivered to or occupied by the French Frères Mineurs.<sup>122</sup> A glazed Green and Brown painted cup, found just north of the church<sup>123</sup>, suggests the use of this space, and possibly of the church, already in the 12<sup>th</sup> c., thus confirming Orlandos' hypothesis about use prior to 1204.

Recent excavations which took place 60 m SE of Francokklesia revealed an extensive agricultural installation with three successive chronological phases, which range from the mid 12th to the 14th c.<sup>124</sup>

## 1.9. *Athmonon* – Marousi

Marousi (Amarousion) is located between Chalandri and Kephesia, in a well-watered part of the plain. It is crossed by the Vathyrema or Pispiri stream, which follows a NE-SW direction.<sup>125</sup> Marousi has been identified with certainty with the ancient *demos Athmonon*

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<sup>120</sup> Skillardi 2005e. The excavation took place at the junction of Mesogeion st. and Troias st., by the east bank of the Chalandri stream, which was probably the border between the two *demoi*. The tombs belonged to different types, but they were dated coherently to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. by the excavators, based on stratigraphy and finds. The jugs found in the graves date to the late 6<sup>th</sup> c. or around 600, thus placing the use of the cemetery towards the later chronological limit set by the excavators. For parallels of the jugs on figs. 4 and 5 of the report by Skillardi (2005e) cf. Tzavella 2010, 658-664, Nos. A8116, A9114, A9115a, A8633, A8634, A9435.

<sup>121</sup> Pantelidou-Alexiadou 2001-2004, 512-515; *eadem* 2004; *eadem* 2005a.

<sup>122</sup> Orlandos 1933, 194.

<sup>123</sup> Pantelidou-Alexiadou 2005a, 107.

<sup>124</sup> Pantelidou-Alexiadou 2005b. In the layer of the second phase, a half tetarteron, possibly of Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180) was found. The chronological range of this phase of use between the later 12<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> c. is certified by fragments of datable glazed vessels which were found in the stratigraphic layers of the phase.

<sup>125</sup> For an environmental description of the area see Palles 2004, 11-14.

[C].<sup>126</sup> Its modern name, which first appears in an Ottoman cadaster of 1506<sup>127</sup>, derives from the ancient cult of Artemis Amarysia which was popular here.<sup>128</sup>

### Early Byzantine period

Inscriptions and spolia of the LRom/EByz period have been preserved in the masonry of later churches. A burial inscription of Hermes and Philina was stored in Agios Nikolaos Pelikas church.<sup>129</sup> Spolia were preserved in Marmariotissa (Agioli Anargyroi)<sup>130</sup>, Agios Thomas (Paradeisos)<sup>131</sup>, Agios Ioannis Pelikas<sup>132</sup> and Nerantziotissa.<sup>133</sup> Two unpublished spolia have been tentatively dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>134</sup> Published habitation remains of the area are cisterns. A large cistern was excavated near the Metro station of Nerantziotissa; its use, based on ceramic finds, extends from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>135</sup> A smaller cistern of the Roman or Late Roman period was found at the location ‘Pispiri’, between Attike Odos and Dionysou st.<sup>136</sup>

### ‘Dark-Age’ and Middle Byzantine period

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<sup>126</sup> Traill 1975, 50.

<sup>127</sup> Kiel 1987, 129, fig. 6.

<sup>128</sup> *Pausanias* I, 31, 5. For epigraphic evidence which certified this literary testimony see Milchhöfer 1883, 37-38. Pikoulas 1992-1998, 205-214. Similar cases, where the name of an important cult replaced the ancient place name, are the ones of *Ikarion* – Dionysos, Arakli (from Hercules), Pangrati (from Hercules Pankrates).

<sup>129</sup> Sironen 2008, *IG* 13457. Palles 2004, 41, fig. 28.

<sup>130</sup> Palles 2004, 42, fig. 29. Palles 2009, 299f. Marmariotissa is located NE of Nerantziotissa. It is noted on *KvA*, Bl. V, as ‘Anargyroi’ (its later name). The church, which was demolished and completely rebuilt after 1968, was seen by Orlandos before its demolition and was dated by him to the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> c. (Orlandos 1933, 202). A burial inscription of Euphrosyne, dated to the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c., was also found in this church: see Sironen 2008, *IG* 13472.

<sup>131</sup> Palles 2004, 42. Palles 2009, 287.

<sup>132</sup> Palles 2004, 41, fig. 28; Palles 2009, 288.

<sup>133</sup> Palles 2004, 42, fig. 30; Palles 2009, 290. Nerantziotissa is located at the western part of modern Marousi, near the homonymous Metro station. It is marked on *KvA*, Bl. V, as ‘Maria. Ruine einer Kapelle’.

<sup>134</sup> Palles 2009, 45.

<sup>135</sup> Skillardi 2005b, 79. The dimensions of the cistern are 21x18 m.

<sup>136</sup> Skillardi 2005c.

Marousi preserved a church dedicatory inscription securely dated to 850. This, along with the dedicatory inscription of Agios Ioannis Mangoutis on the east slope of the Acropolis (871), constitute the only known 9<sup>th</sup> c. dedicatory inscriptions of Attica. The Marousi inscription, engraved on a column shaft, was recorded in Marmariotissa (Agioli Anargyroi) [A] in the early 20<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>137</sup> (Pl. 3b) It informs about the dedication of a church to the Virgin on September 8 (the feast of her Birth) of the year 850, when Niketas was Metropolitan of Athens. The dedication is followed by a *deesis* of the monk Nikolaos. The burial inscription of an archbishop named Niketas has been engraved on one of the columns of the Parthenon, and is dated by indiction to 881<sup>138</sup>; this may refer to the same archbishop who is mentioned in the Marousi inscription. Niketas I appears also in the Episcopal lists of Athens; he participated actively in the Council of 869, and is therefore known to have had a see already then.<sup>139</sup>

A small excavation which took place to the east and south of the church revealed eight tent-shaped graves just east of the church [A, Marmariotissa].<sup>140</sup> The evidence, although limited, attests to the erection of a church dedicated to the Virgin in 850, and to the existence of a cemetery near it, which was used for some time in the period from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> c.

An agricultural installation of the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. was found in the location Pispiri, west of the Marousi stream.<sup>141</sup> In the southern part of Marousi, in the modern Olympic Stadium, remains of two 11<sup>th</sup>-c. houses were found on top of a 3<sup>rd</sup>-c. rural villa.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Lambakis 1902, 16. Orlandos 1933, 202, fig. 272 (published squeeze of the inscription).

<sup>138</sup> Orlandos 1973, 74-75, No. 81.

<sup>139</sup> Orlandos, *ibid.* Three lead seals bearing the inscription Νικήτα μητροπολίτη Αθηνών refer, according to Orlandos (*ibid.*), to Niketas II, who died in 926. If Orlandos' identification is correct, then these lead seals provide a further example of the use of the title 'metropolitan' instead of the correct 'archbishop'. If Orlandos' identification is not correct, then these lead seals might refer to Niketas III (10<sup>th</sup> c.).

<sup>140</sup> For the excavation see Lazarides 1968, 116-118, fig. 3.

<sup>141</sup> Skillardi 2005d. This was an extended storage area which consisted of seven pithoi, four of which were coated with hydraulic mortar, and seven storage pits dug in the ground. The site is dated by two coins which were preliminarily identified with folleis of the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c.

Spolia of the period: A 9<sup>th</sup>-c. marble block with relief decoration is embedded in the façade of Agios Thomas (Paradeisos).<sup>143</sup> A 10<sup>th</sup>-c. door lintel has been re-used in the entrance of the nave of Panagia Nerantziotissa (Pl. 3c).<sup>144</sup> A mid-10<sup>th</sup> c. marble screen slab has been used as a *trapeza* of the 18<sup>th</sup> c. Agioi Asomatoi church.<sup>145</sup> A screen slab with the same decorative themes and style, which must have belonged to the same screen, was earlier recorded and photographed by Orlandos<sup>146</sup>; these two screen slabs attest to the earlier existence of a 10<sup>th</sup>-c. church not far away from Nerantziotissa and Asomatoi. A 12<sup>th</sup>-c. marble relief is embedded in the south wall of Asomatoi.<sup>147</sup> Further spolia, which were photographed in the 1930s by Orlandos and were later lost, were recently studied by Palles, who dated them from the late 10<sup>th</sup> to the late 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>148</sup>

The earliest surviving monument in Marousi is the Metamorphoses Soterios church, on Kephesias Avenue. The eastern wall of the church preserves frescoes of the 13<sup>th</sup> c., but the church received many subsequent repairs.<sup>149</sup>

## 1.10. Kephisia

The ancient *demos* of *Kephisia* [C] has been located at the same site as the homonymous 19<sup>th</sup>-c. village.<sup>150</sup> Throughout the centuries, it has been known for its extremely

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<sup>142</sup> Skillardi 2009b, 607-608. The 11<sup>th</sup>-c. installation included storage spaces with pithoi, either built or dug in the ground, as well as a ceramic kiln. Its chronology relied on numismatic finds; no further information about the excavation has been published.

<sup>143</sup> Palles 2004, 46.

<sup>144</sup> Palles 2008, 304-305, No. 1, fig. 1. Also mentioned in Palles 2004, 46, fig. 36; Palles 2009, 290.

<sup>145</sup> Palles 2008, 306-307, No. 2, fig. 2. Also mentioned in Palles 2004, 47, fig. 33. Palles 2009, 298. Agioi Asomatoi is located in the north part of the modern *demos*, close to Marousi Metro station, on Vasilissis Sophias st.

<sup>146</sup> Palles 2008, 307, fig. 3. Orlandos 1933, 201, fig. 270, to the right.

<sup>147</sup> Palles 2008, 307f., fig. 4.

<sup>148</sup> Palles 2008, 309-311, figs. 5-6. Orlandos 1933, 201, figs. 269-270.

<sup>149</sup> Palles 2009, 293f.

good climate and its picturesque environment, enriched with streams.<sup>151</sup> A natural water fountain located NE of Kephisia, known as ‘Kephalari’<sup>152</sup>, has been tentatively identified with the location ‘Catacephalar’ listed in the letter of Pope Innocent III.<sup>153</sup> A hoard with 11 half *tetartera* of Manuel I has been found in Kephisia.<sup>154</sup>

Despite absence of monuments datable to the Byzantine period, it is reasonable to assume that Kephisia was occupied during this period, due to its excellent climate and well-watered location. Occupation on the mound of Agios Demetrios in the Classical (however poorly attested), Roman and the Ottoman periods suggests that any Byzantine remains in the same area were demolished and re-used.<sup>155</sup> The only known LRom/EByz finds come from the hill of Prophetes Elias, at the SW border of the 19<sup>th</sup>-c. village (map B.1.d, *KvA* Blatt V), where Wrede collected three ceramic fragments of the 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>156</sup>

### Kato Kephisia

The area Kato Kephisia, west of Kephisia, has been identified with the *demos* of *Pergase* [C], and specifically *Lower* (*καθύπερθεν*) *Pergase*, according to Platonos-Yota.<sup>157</sup>

This area is crossed by the stream of Chelidonou, which is the branch of Kephissos river

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<sup>150</sup> On the mound Agios Demetrios, on the route from Athens to Marathon: Traill 1975, 38; Travlos 1988, 197. Apart from the church of Panagia Xydou (named after a powerful Athenian family), which is dated either in the Frankish or in the Ottoman period, the other churches of Kephisia do not pre-date the 16<sup>th</sup> c. See for convenience Palles 2009, 311-319; Orlandos 1933, 204-205. The church of Agios Stephanos, which Orlandos briefly describes as ‘Byzantine’, was demolished after 1933.

<sup>151</sup> Milchhöfer 1883, 38. North of the village, a minor stream starts from Penteli, passes through Kokkinaras and flows into Kephisos. According to Bires (1971, 34), the stream is called ‘Kokkinaras’ in its upper part, ‘Pyrna’ in its section north of the settlement, and further down ‘Golphe’ or ‘Angolphe’ (genitive case of a family name).

<sup>152</sup> For the use of the name ‘Kephalari’ in the Ottoman period see Palles 2009, 304.

<sup>153</sup> Koder 1977, 139.

<sup>154</sup> Galani-Krikou *et al.*, 93, No. 79.

<sup>155</sup> The comparison of Kephisia with Monomati is instructive; Monomati (see below) is an area which saw building development only recently, and therefore had the time to be protected archaeologically; excavations in this area have offered numerous traces of habitation and agricultural activity.

<sup>156</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 470, FO 028-029.

<sup>157</sup> See Appendix C.

towards Kephisia.<sup>158</sup> The monastic *katholikon* of Panagia Chelidonou, built before 1597, is connected with ancient cult of Nymphs, and may have replaced an earlier church.<sup>159</sup>

The area just south of Panagia Chelidonou recently yielded a Late Roman farmstead built on earlier remains.<sup>160</sup>

### 1.11. Monomati<sup>161</sup>

The area of Monomati has been identified with the *demos* of *Pergase* [C], and specifically of *Upper* (*Ἵπερθεν*) *Pergase*, according to Platonos-Yota.<sup>162</sup>

An extended farmstead with use from the Early Roman period to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. was excavated 1.5 km west of Panagia Chelidonou.<sup>163</sup> Its space was used as a children's cemetery during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods. A group of twelve Late Roman graves was excavated 100 m east of the Roman – Late Roman farmstead. A small Byzantine basilica [A] was later built on top of this cemetery, and some of the graves appear to have been re-

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<sup>158</sup> Bires 1971, 118.

<sup>159</sup> Orlandos 1933, 205. Mouzakes 1988. Palles 2009, 325-327. An Early Christian composite column capital has been embedded above the south entrance of the *katholikon*. The novel by the French writer Marguerite Yourcenar named 'Panagia Chelidonou', included in her *Nouvelles Orientales* (1938), is an enchanting record of the religious tradition connected with the church in modern literature.

<sup>160</sup> Platonos-Yota 2005c, 51-54. The farmstead was excavated between Thivaidos and Seneka st. Its dimensions are 23x24 m; it has a central courtyard and six rooms arranged on three of its sides.

<sup>161</sup> Monomati is the name of an Ottoman estate which extended along the west bank of the Chelidonou stream, south of Chelidonou: Bires 1971, 70; Palles 2009, 327. The estate of Monomati extended specifically from the height of the Chelidonou church and towards the south, until the junction of the stream with the stream 'Angolphi'; the estate may have extended further towards the north. The designation 'Grundmauern mittelalt. Häuser' on *KvA* Blatt V probably describes the remains of the Ottoman settlement which belonged to the estate. A tower visited by Gell and Buchon was recorded by Buchon to be the ruined residence of an Ottoman *Aga* and was thought to be of a later date: Gell 1827, 105. Buchon 1843, 181. Langdon 1995, 483. Palles 2009, 329.

<sup>162</sup> Traill 1975, 38. Platonos-Yota 2005c, 54, 57.

<sup>163</sup> Platonos-Yota 2005c, 56-57. The farmstead is located between Paschalias and Ortansias st. Its dimensions are 120x60 m. The farmstead was arranged on the east and the west side of a central courtyard, and included storage spaces, honey producing installations, a ceramic kiln, and spaces for cattle breeding.

used as ossuaries during the period of use of the church.<sup>164</sup> (Pl. 4a). Coins date its use to the Early and possibly the Middle Byzantine period.

A few LRom/EByz ceramic sherds were found SW of the Agios Demetrios church, and just west of the point 185.5 marked on *KvA* (map B.1.d).<sup>165</sup>

### 1.12. *Herakleion* – Arakli and Koukouvaounes

The ancient *demos* of *Iphistiadai* [C] has been located SW of Herakleio, and a boundary stone attests to cult of Hercules in this area.<sup>166</sup> The ancient cult is preserved in the early modern name of the site, ‘Arakli’, which was first recorded in the 18<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>167</sup> This toponymic continuity is the main reason for which we include this site to the present study, since no Byzantine remains are known.<sup>168</sup>

Koukouvaounes<sup>169</sup> is a village of the Ottoman period<sup>170</sup>, located between Arakli and Menidi. The 16<sup>th</sup>-c. church of Agioi Theodoroi on Tatoiou st., south of the Ottoman village has an initial Byzantine construction phase.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Platonos-Yota 2004, 177-179, drawing 9, figs. 100-101, and 198-200, drawing 13, figs. 116-117. The graves and the church were found at the junction of Dekeleias and Konstantinoupoleos st. Apart from a few bronze rings no other burial objects were found, and the chronology of the cemetery to the ‘Late Roman’ period remains to be further specified or confirmed.

<sup>165</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 471, FO 033.

<sup>166</sup> Traill 1975, 47. Milchhöfer 1883, 38-39.

<sup>167</sup> Similarly to the toponymic evolution of *Amarysia Artemis* into Marousi. Arakli was a small village during the Ottoman period, with a predominance of Albanian population: Palles 2009, 214-217.

<sup>168</sup> The only possible exception is a number of spolia of the Roman or Early Byzantine period (an Ionian base, a Corinthian column capital, and a non-fluted column) which have been preserved around the church of Agios Georgios. Pithoi dug in the ground have been recorded around the church.

<sup>169</sup> The name has been etymologically connected with owls: Bires 1960, 238; *idem* 1971, 56-57.

<sup>170</sup> Palles 2009, 207. In the Ottoman cadaster of 1570 it is recorded as a village inhabited by Greeks, a fact which shows that it was not created with the arrival of Albanian populations in the 14<sup>th</sup> c. and therefore its existence may go back into the Byzantine period: Kiel 1987, 126, table 3.

<sup>171</sup> Palles 2009, 212. Orlandos 1933, 206, fig. 275. On the construction phases: A. Pantelidou, in Yotas 2004a, 96. Non-fluted monolithic columns, Ionic capitals and an Early Christian impost capital have been embedded in the later church.

### 1.13. *Acharnai* – Menidi

Menidi constitutes an occasion rarely encountered in Attica of a settlement name which is attested already in 1209 (*casale Menidi*, letter of Pope Innocent III)<sup>172</sup> and is different to the name of the equivalent ancient *demos* (*Acharnai*) [C].<sup>173</sup> Bires argues that it derives from a Byzantine family name.<sup>174</sup>

#### Late Roman – Early Byzantine periods

Before the recent rescue excavations, evidence for the history of *Acharnai* after the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. was non-existent.<sup>175</sup> A large Roman bath complex, used until the Late Roman period, was excavated west of the Menidi Square.<sup>176</sup> Houses of the Late Roman period occupied the area which is considered as the centre of the ancient *demos*. Two of these houses were found ca. 300 west of the Menidi Square, while the other two lie 1.5 km S/SW of the square, in the area ‘Auliza’.<sup>177</sup> A rubble wall and remains of three small pyres and bronze objects, as well as Late Roman amphora sherds, were found ca. 250 m north of the Menidi Square.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Col. 1560C. Lambros (1892, 38) therefore is not correct when he assumes that the name is connected with the Albanian settlement in Attica in the 14<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>173</sup> The latest known uses of the name *Acharnai* occur as a demotic (*Acharneus*) in inscriptions of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5, 5796 (= *IG* III 1330; burial); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4, 3762 (dedicatory); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4, 4529 (dedicatory).

<sup>174</sup> Bires 1960, 238, note 2; Bires 1971, 68: The name ‘Menides’ occurs in the *Synaxaristes* and the *Vita* of Agios Leontios of Achaia.

<sup>175</sup> *Acharnai* – Menidi saw intensive building development in the last decades, when it had already been included in the archaeologically protected areas of Attica. For this reason, numerous rescue excavations took place in its area recently, were carried out carefully, and were reported or partly published by Platonos-Yota, who paid equal attention to antiquities of the ancient, as well as of the Roman and Late Roman periods. Menidi therefore offers important archaeological information about its evolution since the ancient period, information which has been lost for the majority of other areas of Attica.

<sup>176</sup> Platonos-Yota 2004, 188-195, plan 10, figs. 110-115: 36 and 45 Liosion st.

<sup>177</sup> Description of all houses in Platonos-Yota 2004, 164-171. Excavation reports: Patrianakou-Iliaki 1980, 78 (Liosion and Salaminos st.); Platonos-Yota 1997, 94 and Platonos-Yota 2000, 121-124 (Ritsou and Chalkidikis st.). Platonos-Yota 2005b, 29-34. The excavations at Auliza provided the most fruitful results. The excavated buildings were characterized as farmsteads, since they had storage and ‘industrial’ spaces. Three chronological phases of use, of the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> c., were identified in farmstead A (Ritsou and



South of the Menidi Square a section of a road with a SE-NW direction and width of 2.60-3.10 m was excavated to a length of 165 m. It had seven successive layers which ranged from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC to the 20<sup>th</sup> c., while two layers date to the Roman and Late Roman periods.<sup>179</sup>

LRom/EByz graves were excavated in the NW area of modern Menidi: 150 m north of the Menidi Square<sup>180</sup>, and ca. 700 m further NW, on Kilikias st.<sup>181</sup>. In the area ‘Stravo Skino’, which occupies the NE section of modern Menidi, three Late Roman graves were excavated.<sup>182</sup> A cluster of 15 LRom/EByz graves 2.5 km south of the Menidi Square<sup>183</sup> suggests the existence of a further settlement (hamlet?).

#### Middle and Late Byzantine periods

The letter of Pope Innocent III mentions, apart from the *casale Menidi*, a *beatus Nicolai de Menide*.<sup>184</sup> A church of Agios Nikolaos<sup>185</sup> stands at the SE border of modern Menidi and ca. 300 m NW of Kephissos. Its architecture dates to the early Ottoman period

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Chalkidikis st.), while during the 5<sup>th</sup> c. a large water cistern was built to its west. Three hundred metres further east, Farmstead B (Demokratias st.) had two construction phases, in the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 5<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>178</sup> Platonos-Yota 1991, 65 (Heroon Polytechneiou and Napoleontos st.). Platonos-Yota 2004, 175.

<sup>179</sup> Platonos-Yota 2005b, 36, fig. 9.

<sup>180</sup> Andreiomenou 1971, 30: 7 Pouraïmi st. Two Late Roman cist tombs were excavated.

<sup>181</sup> Platonos-Yota 2000, 124-125. Platonos-Yota 2004, 179-181, drawing 9, figs. 102-103. Among the five graves dug in Kilikias st., one belonged to the cist type built with rows of tiles, two were tent-shaped and two pit graves. Three out of them contained four burials each (two adult and two infant skulls each), and were therefore characterized as family burials. Two of the graves contained also two clay jugs each.

A cemetery with twenty graves, which was excavated in the courtyard of the church of Agios Ioannis, on the Menidi Square, and was characterized as ‘Christian’, does not appear to fall into the chronological limits of our topic, as preliminary study of this material showed. The study permit was granted to the author by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, to which I am grateful.

<sup>182</sup> Platonos-Yota 1991, 65. Platonos-Yota 2004, 174, figs. 95-96: Agiou Ioannou st. Grave I was of the cist type, built with rows of tiles, and contained four burials. Graves II and III belonged to the tent-shaped type, and Grave II contained a small jug of the Late Roman period.

<sup>183</sup> Platonos-Yota 2001-2004, 401: Philadelphias st., Acharnai Railway Center.

<sup>184</sup> Col. 1561A.

<sup>185</sup> Also dedicated to the Transfiguration, thus see ‘Agia Sotera’ on *Road* 2007 edition.

and its frescoes to the 17<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>186</sup>, but a re-used Middle Byzantine pilaster capital and Early Byzantine column capitals might suggest an earlier history of the monument.<sup>187</sup>

#### 1.14. Liosia (Ano Liosia)

Liosia is the name of a modern demos located west of Menidi.<sup>188</sup> The early history of the area is not clear; the ancient *demos* of *Eupyridai* is placed ‘near Kamatero’ (which lies just south of Ano Liosia) according to Traill, while the *demos* of *Kropidai* [C] is more securely located west of Ano Liosia.<sup>189</sup>

Clusters of Early Byzantine remains have been revealed in two locations, at the SE and at the southern border of modern Ano Liosia. At the SE border of Ano Liosia two Late Roman graves<sup>190</sup> and a bath complex were found<sup>191</sup>.

At the southern border of Ano Liosia, at the north tip of Mt Aigaleo, on mound Tsouklidi, a Roman house, thirteen Early Byzantine graves and a single-spaced Early Byzantine building with an apse (basilica?) were excavated<sup>192</sup> (Pl. 4b).

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<sup>186</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 355-356. In *TIB* I, 218 a possibility for a chronology of the church in the Late Byzantine period is expressed. Palles (2009, 161-162) rightly notes the architectural similarity of this church with the monastery *katholika* Taxiarchon Asteriou and Agios Ioannes Theologos on Hymettus, which are dated to the 16<sup>th</sup> c. Orlandos (1933, 214-215) dates the frescoes vaguely to the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>187</sup> Miller (1970) has suggested that the church may have succeeded an ancient monument, based on a few ancient spolia.

<sup>188</sup> ‘Liosia’ is an Albanian name: Lambros 1896, 14-32; Bires 1971, 62.

<sup>189</sup> Traill 1975, 47. H. Lohmann in *Der Neue Pauly* 6 (1999), 870.

<sup>190</sup> Alexandri 1975, 35: 25<sup>th</sup> March st.

<sup>191</sup> Platonos-Yota 2000, 118-121. The bath was excavated ca. 100-200 m NW of the graves, in Monis Arkadiou st. The building had three phases of use, two in the Classical period and one in the Late Roman period (4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c.).

<sup>192</sup> Platonos-Yota 2000, 117-118. Platonos-Yota 2004, 47. The building’s dimensions were 25x13 m. The graves were all oriented east-west, consisted of pits covered with stone slabs, and contained either single or multiple burials. Burial lekythoi, jugs, dishes and a few bronze earrings were recovered from the graves. Analysis of ceramic and bone samples by the Demokritus Research Centre resulted in a chronology of their use between 540 and 665, according to the excavator, but detailed publication of these results is missing.

In the same general area, SW of the point 159.5 marked by *KvA* (map B.1.e) SW of Ano Liosia, three fragments of Late Roman coarse wares were recovered.<sup>193</sup>

### 1.15. Kamatero

Kamatero was a late medieval and Ottoman village.<sup>194</sup> Regarding its etymology, Lambros connected it to the powerful Kamateroi family<sup>195</sup>, and his opinion was followed by later scholars. Bires suggested that the area was possibly an estate of the *archon* Kamateros who was responsible for tax collection in Attica in the late 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>196</sup>

The only Byzantine find known from the area are two Late Roman Attic lamp fragments, collected on the height 179.7, SW of the 19<sup>th</sup>-c. village Kamatero, where the *KvA* (map B.1.e) mark ‘Mauerreste’.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 470, FO 027.

<sup>194</sup> On the Ottoman settlement see Palles 2009, 109-113.

<sup>195</sup> Lambros 1896, 10. Lambros notes that the Kamateroi family had special relationships with Athens; the son of Andronikos Kamateros, Ioannis Doukas, was *apographeus* in Athens during the reign of Isaakios II Angelos, while the *logothetes tou dromou* Vasileios Kamateros was sent later to Athens to investigate protests of the Athenians: see Lambros 1878, 88, 96; *Michael Choniates*, ‘Προσφώνημα εις τον γυναικαδελφόν του βασιλέως και λογοθέτην κυρ Βασίλειον τον Καματηρόν’, in Lambros 1880, vol. 2, 312-323. We remind here the dedicatory inscription of the Tao monastery in Mt Penteli, which has been read as ‘Eriphanios Kamateros’ (see relevant chapter). Cf. also the lead seals from the collection of the Numismatic Museum in Athens: (i) *Ἐπαρχος εκ σου και πρόεδρος Παρθένε Επιφάνιος Καματηρός όν σκέποις*. Konstantopoulos 1917, 98, No. 345. (ii) *[Θ](εοτό)κε βοήθει Γρη[γ]ορίω α’ πρ[έ]τωρι Πελοποννήσο[v] (ούτω) κε Ελλάδο[ς] [τ]ω Καμ[ατερώ]*. Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, 192, 633; Konstantopoulos 1917, 28, No. 94. 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c. (iii) *+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει Γρηγορίω [α’] πρέτωρι Πελο[π]οννήσσου (ούτω) κε Ελλάδο[ς] τω Καμ[ατερώ]*. Schlumberger, *Revue des etudes gr.* 1891, 118; Konstantopoulos 1917, 28, No. 94. 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c. [Konstantopoulos lists (iii) with the same number as (ii), namely No. 94, although these are clearly two distinct lead seals.]

<sup>196</sup> Bires 1971, 46. Bires notes that a further place name ‘Kamatero’ exists in Salamina, and thinks that this was another estate of the same owner. Phourikes (1929, 84-85), on the other hand, offers an alternative etymology which expresses the hard and non-fertile soil of the area.

<sup>197</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 470, FO 026.

## 1.16. Nea or Kato Liosia (Ilion) – Dragoumano<sup>198</sup>

Three Late Roman graves were excavated ca. 1 km NW of the Evangelistria church.<sup>199</sup> The churches of Evangelistria and Agioi Theodoroi included Byzantine spolia in their masonry.<sup>200</sup>

## 1.17. Elaionas

‘Elaionas’ does not signify a specific area, but the extended lower section of the Kephissos valley, between Kato Liosia and Peiraeus, which was covered with a thick forest of olive trees until the early 20<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>201</sup> Its cultivation was the major source of income for the Athenians during the Ottoman period.<sup>202</sup>

A remarkable LRom/EByz building was excavated NE of the Academy<sup>203</sup> (Pl. 4c). Some of its rooms have constructions for washing and heating water, which suggests its use as a workshop (for leather treatment?) during its original phase.

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<sup>198</sup> The Ottoman village Dragoumano, south of Kamatero, was re-settled in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. by Queen Amalia and was given a new name, Nea or Kato Liosia: Bires 1971, 62.

<sup>199</sup> Kyriazopoulou 1985, 50: 59 Theras st. One grave was built with tiles and contained a small vessel; the two others were tent-shaped and contained no objects.

<sup>200</sup> Palles 2009, 104-105. Orlandos 1933, 216, Nos. 5, 7. *TIB* I, 204.

<sup>201</sup> Our sources about the extension of this forest, maps of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> c., do not show its parts which were destroyed during the Independence War, before which Elaionas was probably bigger. Spon and Wheeler calculated the length of Elaionas as “at least half a dozen miles long and one or two broad” (Wheeler 1682, 345), while calculations of the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> c. provide a number of ca. 40,000 olive trees (Palles 2009, 438). In the Ottoman period, Elaionas was divided into hundreds of small properties which belonged mostly to Greeks and were cultivated by their owners, according to Palles (2009, 439). Koder and Hild, on the other hand, believe that the large number of private churches signifies large properties in the Ottoman period, and probably earlier (*TIB* I, 152).

<sup>202</sup> Palles 2009, 433, 438-439. Palles provides a very useful and pictorial description of the extension of the forest, its use, and the churches of the Ottoman period in its space.

<sup>203</sup> Stoupa 2001-2004, 231f.: 195 Lenorman st. The building consists of a square *atrium*, 8.5x8.5 m, with a central *impluvium*, and rectangular rooms which are attached to the east and south side of the *atrium*. The building was erected in the 4<sup>th</sup> c., and was used until the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c., when two intrusive burials are dated. It was possibly used as a storage space in the Middle Byzantine period.

The road grid which crossed Elaionas during the Ottoman period has been described by Palles.<sup>204</sup> Many of these roads may have been used since the ancient period, such as Iera Odos and the ‘στράτα της Κούλουρης (= Salamis)’, the road which led from west Athens to Perama, from where one could reach Salamis.<sup>205</sup>

The only pre-Ottoman church known is Agios Ioannis των Μπενιζέλων, of the Late Byzantine period, with sculpted reliefs of the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>206</sup> Evidence for a Byzantine phase exists only in one Ottoman-dated church, Agios Nikolaos στα Καθήμια.<sup>207</sup> The churches Agia Eleousa (between Kathemias and Elektras st.), Agios Savvas (Iera Odos), Agios Demetrios Kavallaris (Salaminias and Agias Annas st.), Estavromenos (Tavros) bear Byzantine spolia in their masonry.<sup>208</sup>

## 1.18. Peristeri

Lambros and Bires suggest the provenance of ‘Peristeri’ from a medieval landowner.<sup>209</sup> The identification of Peristeri with the location ‘Leperistere’ of Pope Innocent

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<sup>204</sup> Palles 2009, 440.

<sup>205</sup> Iera Odos still preserves its name. The ‘στράτα της Κούλουρης’ had the same route with modern Petrou Ralli Avenue (cf. *KvA Blatt IIb with Road*).

<sup>206</sup> Orlandos 1931, 323-328, fig. 6, 7. Palles 2009, 463. Kourenta-Raptaki 1986, 25.

<sup>207</sup> Bires 1971, 16, 43. This is located ca. 600 m north of the archaeological park of Plato’s Academy, to which it owns its name; ‘Καθήμ(ε)ια’ is the early modern, and apparently also medieval, survival of ‘Ακαδήμεια’, and signified the area north of the Academy. Kastriotes (1922, 90-91) excavated around Agios Nikolaos in 1908 and revealed building ruins which he attributed to a large Byzantine church and monastery. The deep alluvial deposits of Kephisos in this area are remarkable, and may explain the loss of further finds: the Byzantine remains, according to Kastriotes, were found at a depth of 4 m, while the ancient layers at 8 m. On the church of Agios Nikolaos itself see Orlandos 1933, 140; Palles 2009, 443-444, fig. 222.

<sup>208</sup> On these churches see Orlandos 1933, 139, 144, 145, 147; Palles 2009, 444, 452, 460, 466.

<sup>209</sup> Lambros 1912, 304. Bires 1971, 84. Lambros (*ibid.*) brings literary evidence about the existence of the name Περιστέρης in documents of the 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> c.; these cases, however, do not show any evidence of connection with *the basin of Athens*.

III's letter has already been suggested.<sup>210</sup> Preserved monuments belong to the Ottoman period.<sup>211</sup> An Early Byzantine grave was excavated 800 m west of Demokratias Sq.<sup>212</sup>

### 1.19. Iera Odos and the Daphni monastery

Iera Odos (Pl. 5a) was the main route which connected Athens with west Attica, the Peloponnese, but also the western Greek mainland. It started from Kerameikos, crossed Aigaleo through the narrow opening between Poikilon Oros and Aigaleo proper<sup>213</sup>, passed in front of the Daphni monastery, then climbed the hill 110.5 (*KvA*, map B.1.e), descended towards the Koumoundourou Lake (ancient *Rheitoi*) and followed the coast to Eleusis.<sup>214</sup> *Miliaria* with names of emperors from of the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> c., found near Daphni<sup>215</sup>, are corroborated by the depiction of the section 'Eleusina-Atene' in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*<sup>216</sup>. In an excavated section of Iera Odos ca. 500 m west of the Aphrodite Sanctuary, a coin of the 11<sup>th</sup> c. was found in the upper level.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Col. 1560D. *TIB* I, 235. Koder 1977, 138-139.

<sup>211</sup> Orlandos 1933, 216f. Sources of the Ottoman period which mention the name 'Peristeri' do not date earlier than the 19<sup>th</sup> c.; see Palles 2009, 484.

<sup>212</sup> Threpsiades 1963, 43: 4 Dodekanisou and Pelopida st.

<sup>213</sup> The early modern names of these mountains are Daphnovouni and Stephanovouni respectively: Papangeli 2009, 127 (information from Kambouroglou).

<sup>214</sup> Kourouniotes – Travlos 1936, 27-30. Travlos (1988, 177) and Papangeli (2009) offer a detailed description of the route of Iera Odos.

<sup>215</sup> Travlos 1988, 177; Papangeli 2009, 126. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5181, 5182 (Hadrian), 5202 [= Sironen 2008, No. 13296] (Diocletian and Maximian, 286-305), 5204 [= Sironen 2008, 31, No. 13295] (three successive inscriptions, the earliest of which dates to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. and the latest mentions Arcadius and Honorius, 397 AD). Sironen 2008, Nos. 13299 (Arcadius and Honorius), 13300 (Arcadius and Honorius). Some of the above cited inscriptions are also discussed in Sironen 1997, Nos. 32, 221, 224.

<sup>216</sup> The *Tabula Peutingeriana* was compiled probably around 300, or in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. For its authorship, date, sources, context and purpose see Talbert 2010, 133-156.

<sup>217</sup> Depictions of the Iera Odos in *KvA* in the 19<sup>th</sup> c., but also in other maps and documents, indicates that its use continued without interruption from ancient to modern times. For a postcard of the 19<sup>th</sup> c., which shows a view of a section of Iera Odos west of Daphni, see Papangeli 2009, 125, fig. 7.2. Small shifts of the route may have happened, but these occurred even during the ancient period; see Papangeli 2009, 129.

The Daphni monastery [A] (Pl. 4d) lies on Iera Odos, east of the ancient Aphrodite sanctuary. The founders of the Daphni convent, as well as the conditions of its foundation, are unknown, but the extremely high quality of its construction and mosaic decoration demonstrates a direct artistic connection with Constantinople, and possibly with the imperial environment.<sup>218</sup>

The foundation of the monastery dates towards the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> c. The mosaics were executed between 1080 and the turn of the century, a period which coincides with the reign of Alexius Comnenus, who developed a new policy towards the monasteries.<sup>219</sup> The monastic buildings were surrounded by a contemporaneous square circuit wall, ca. 100 m long on every side, which is protected with square towers. This fortification renders the Daphni monastery as a site with strong defence, placed on a major road of Attica.<sup>220</sup>

## 1.20. Korydallos

The area of modern Korydallos is included in the Elaionas district. On the highest peak of Mt Aigaleo, Milchhöfer recorded the remains of a medieval round tower which probably replaced an ancient one.<sup>221</sup> The site overlooks both the plains of Athens and Eleusis,

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<sup>218</sup> The first detailed study of Daphni was published by Millet (1899). For the artistic affinities of the mosaics of Daphni with works of art produced in, or directly influenced by, Constantinople, see Mouriki 1980-81, 94-98.

<sup>219</sup> On this policy see Chapter C.3.3.

<sup>220</sup> On the circuit wall, and arguments for its chronology in the Middle Byzantine period, see Bouras 1998. The strategic location of the monastery has been stated also by Fowden (1988, 52-53, 58-59), who, however, follows Millet in his view that Daphni had an Early Byzantine phase.

<sup>221</sup> Milchhöfer 1883, 14. Petropoulakou – Pentazos 193, 126. Langdon 1995, 485. Leake (1841, 143) recorded these remains as belonging to a Hellenic tower, but Milchhöfer's record has been accepted as more accurate. The tower has been inaccessible for a few decades, as it lies in a modern military camp. Access prohibition has rendered a re-evaluation of this tower impossible.

as well as the roads which lead to them. Early Byzantine oil lamps and pots were seen in or around the tower.<sup>222</sup>

### 1.21. Rentis

The modern area of Rentis extends SE of Korydallos, and derives its name from a homonymous church of Agios Ioannis which still stands on the central square of the area.<sup>223</sup> Three Early Byzantine cist graves have been excavated in the square of Agios Ioannis.<sup>224</sup>

### 1.22. Peiraeus

The countryside which lay between the city of Athens and the harbour of Peiraeus was covered with forests, cultivable fields, but also with swamps during the ancient period.<sup>225</sup> Until the early 20<sup>th</sup> c., a large part of the Gulf was covered by the Kephissos Delta, which consisted of bamboo plants, swamps and wetfields, known as *Άλίπεδον* in Classical times.

The coastline of Peiraeus forms three natural harbours: *Mounichia*, called Phanari in the medieval period (mod. Tourkolimano); *Zea* (Pasalimani); and *Kantharos* or *Μέγας Λιμῆν*.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Fowden 1988, 55; letter by M. H. Munn of 25.5.1988.

<sup>223</sup> The name, according to Bires (1971, 94), derives from Demetrios Rentis, a landowner who served the Catalan rulers in the 14<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>224</sup> The graves were oriented east-west, showed careful construction, and one of them contained three small unglazed Late Roman vessels and two small golden leaves: Stavropoulos 1965, 110.

<sup>225</sup> Petritaki 2009, 451. This derives from ancient sources and inscriptions.

<sup>226</sup> A systematic topographic study of ancient Peiraeus is von Eickstedt 1991; see for convenience also Travlos 1988, 340-346. On the harbour from Classical to Late Roman times see Steinhauer 2009b. The sack of Athens and Peiraeus by Sulla in 86 BC has been seen by most scholars as a key event which marked an irreversible decline for the port of Peiraeus; see Garland 2001, 66; Kahrstedt 1954, 42ff; Steinhauer 1980, 64. For a more positive assessment of Roman Peiraeus see Day 1942, 88, 142ff.; for the view that the population



A reconstruction phase of harbour installations in *Μέγας Λιμὴν* dates to the Early Roman period.<sup>227</sup> According to Steinhauer, the 4<sup>th</sup> c. similarly bears evidence for extensive reconstruction and re-organisation in the harbour, but published evidence is missing.<sup>228</sup> The fleet of Constans I used the harbour in 322.<sup>229</sup> It has also been suggested that wheat was imported to Athens from Africa through Peiraeus, in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>230</sup>

Despite the high number of excavations, rather few remains of the Early and Middle Byzantine periods have been revealed in Peiraeus. Almost all Byzantine finds are concentrated on the narrow neck which bridges the Alkimos peninsula (between the *Kantharos* and the *Zea* ports) with the mainland. Early Byzantine buildings included rooms used as shops or workshops.<sup>231</sup> According to Steinhauer, Early Byzantine buildings show a coherent orientation, different from the one of the Classical and Hellenistic ones, and indicate their contemporary erection based on a planned urban design during the Roman or Late

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of Peiraeus did not decline after the Sullan destruction, see Hansen *et al.* 1990; Grigoropoulos 2005, 44-57; Grigoropoulos 2009, 169-172, 176f. In the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, long after the destruction of the Long Walls by Sulla, the piers of an aqueduct were erected on top of the remains of the North Wall, at a distance of 3.9 m from each other. Their horizontal dimensions were 3.30x1.30 m. This appears to have been the continuation of the Hadrianic aqueduct south of Athens: see Travlos 1988, 289; Grigoropoulos 2005, 99-102; Petritaki 2009, 476, No. 54.

<sup>227</sup> Steinhauer 1984, 29; Grigoropoulos 2005, 62.

<sup>228</sup> Steinhauer 2009b, 484f. To the extent of my knowledge, these Late Roman construction works have not been described, and are only mentioned in Steinhauer 2009b.

<sup>229</sup> *Zosimus, Historia Nova*, B.22.

<sup>230</sup> Grigoropoulos 2005, 63-64. Grigoropoulos 2010, 682-683. Hadrian secured the supply of imported wheat for Athens (*Dio Cassius* LXIX, xvi, 2; Day 1942, 209-210), and similar imperial decrees were declared by Constantine I and his successors (*Julian, Panegyric to the Emperor Constantius*, I 8c; *Eunapius, Lives of the Philosophers*, 492. Day 1942, 263).

<sup>231</sup> Steinhauer 1983, 44: 70 Philonos st., two 6<sup>th</sup>-c. buildings, fig. 1. Alexandri 1975, 33-34: 86 Philonos st., Late Roman building dated by 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c. coins, built on earlier remains. Steinhauer 1981, 41: Vasileos Konstantinou and Philellennon st., houses with Classical, Roman and Early Byzantine (6<sup>th</sup> c.) construction phases. For a detailed study of the latter excavation see Grigoropoulos 2005, 82-90, 121-125, fig. 101 (summarised in Grigoropoulos 2010, 674): The buildings were erected in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c., were seriously damaged after the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. (due to the Herulian invasion?), were re-constructed in the earlier 4<sup>th</sup> c., their spaces were partly re-arranged in the later 5<sup>th</sup> c., and were used until the mid 6<sup>th</sup> c. or slightly later. The same study provides an interesting quantification of imported ceramics, dated from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> c., according to their provenance.

Roman period.<sup>232</sup> A large bathing complex of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. reconstructed in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. and abandoned between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> c., was excavated beneath modern Terpsitheas Sq.<sup>233</sup> Two graves were found just SE of the bath, and a further one in Vas. Konstantinou st.<sup>234</sup>

In the east section of Peiraeus, today called Neo Phalero, an Early Byzantine building was excavated in the foundation core of the South Long Wall (Pl. 5b).<sup>235</sup> Early Byzantine house remains were found further east.<sup>236</sup> Lastly, five Early Christian burial inscriptions of a common type have been recorded from Peiraeus.<sup>237</sup>

The name 'Peiraeus' still appears in Byzantine times, although mostly in ancient connotations.<sup>238</sup> In the 12<sup>th</sup> c., the writer Ioannes Tzetis confirms that "the Attic harbour Peiraeus still exists".<sup>239</sup> Peiraeus occurs also as name of a 'χωρίον' in the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup>-c. *Praktikon of Athens*.<sup>240</sup> From the 13<sup>th</sup> c. to the early modern period the port is known as Πόρτο της Αθήνας, Porto Leone or Porto Drako.<sup>241</sup> The latter two names occur due to the erection of a Roman lion statue in the main port. The monument is unique in that a Runic

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<sup>232</sup> Steinbauer 1983, 44. Steinbauer suggests a connection of these buildings with the function of the harbour during the Early Byzantine period. Unfortunately, insufficient publication does not allow us test his suggestions.

<sup>233</sup> Steinbauer 1980: 118 Kolokotroni st. The height of the vaulted ceiling of the main room was estimated to reach 8 m. Steinbauer (*ibid.*, 67) mentions a Byzantine basilica 300 m away from the bathing complex, for which he does not offer a reference; this is probably the one at Zea reported by Philios (1880, 47); see below.

<sup>234</sup> Alexandri 1976, 47: 7 Perikleous st., two Late Roman graves built on top of a Classical and Hellenistic building. Steinbauer 1983, 43: 81 Vas. Konstantinou st., Late Roman pit grave. I was not able to locate this street on *Road map*.

<sup>235</sup> Petritaki 1997, 80-81: Emmanouilidou and Soutani st., 250 m north of the modern Karaiskaki Stadium. The building consists of one room (2.3x1.6x0.4 m), paved with lime mortar; on this, a fragment of a cross-shaped belt buckle was found. The use of the building remains unclear.

<sup>236</sup> Petritaki 2009, 476, No. 72: Tziropoulou st.

<sup>237</sup> Sironen 2008, Nos. 13505-13509. Three of them mention the occupation of the deceased (πλακουντάριος [pastry-cook], μαχερᾶς [knife-maker], ἰητρός [doctor]).

<sup>238</sup> See *TIB I*, 233 for a collection of relevant references.

<sup>239</sup> Lambakis 1994, 294.

<sup>240</sup> Grandstrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou 1976, 30.

<sup>241</sup> *TIB I*, 233. Panagos 1995, 303, note 4, 345. For a description of the famous Lion statue, and the inscription, apparently in Runic letters, which was engraved on its back probably in the 11<sup>th</sup> c., see Panagos 1995, 293-305, with further references. Although little is known about the context, date and circumstances of its display, the sculpture is now generally considered to be Antonine in date. The Lion was transported to Venice in 1688 by Morosini.

inscription was written on its back shortly after 1034, commemorating the sack of Peiraeus by Norwegian Varangians under the command of Harald Hardrada (who acted in the service of the emperor Michael IV), apparently as a consequence of his fury.<sup>242</sup>

The unquestionable position of defence for the harbour of Peiraeus was the hill of Mounichia.<sup>243</sup> Its later name ‘Kastella’ indicates the existence of a medieval or later castle on the hill, but no such remains have been preserved.<sup>244</sup> Lubenau (16<sup>th</sup> c.) saw a fort “with sturdy bastions and retaining dams” on one of the Peiraus peninsulas, possibly on Kastella.<sup>245</sup>

Two medieval or later towers stood at the entrance of the main harbour, equipped with large iron mounts that held a chain barrier for blocking the passage. A similar chain may have closed the mouth of Zea, where an ancient circular tower seems to have functioned in the Middle Ages.<sup>246</sup> A further medieval or post-medieval tower is known to have existed on the small peninsula ‘Keratopyrgos’, at a short distance NW of Peiraeus and west of Keratsini.<sup>247</sup> Moreover, the placename ‘Τρεις Πύργοι’ at the east end of the Phaleric Gulf, where *KvA* (map B.1.f) marks a church of Agios Georgios<sup>248</sup> (actually Nikolaos) shows a strategic control

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<sup>242</sup> *TIB* I, 233; Gregorovius 1889, I, 169-171. Gregorovius is cautious with accepting this transliteration of the inscription. For a safe interpretation a new study of the inscription is needed. Hardrada came from Norway and became a *spatharokandidatos* for his services to Michael IV: see Hendy 1970.

<sup>243</sup> Travlos (1988, 340) collects narrations of ancient writers which show that the army which was in control of Mounichia had a doubtless advantage also over the control of Athens itself.

<sup>244</sup> Bires (1971, 49) thinks that this castle must have been built during the Frankish period. *KvA* Blatt IIb records a chapel of Prophetes Elias on its top, which is preserved until today. Morosini, after his occupation of Peiraeus and Athens, designed to erect a new fort on Kastella, but never executed its erection: see Sophou 1973, esp. pl. 112.

<sup>245</sup> *Reinhold Lubenau*, ed. W. Sahn, Teil II, 176: “Nebst diesem Port ist ein grose, festes von weissem Marmor Schlos mitt gewaltigen Pasteien und Streichwehren gebauet, welches auf einem Vorgeburge, so sich weidt ins Mehr erstreckt, leidt, und vor Zeiten Martisbergk genandt, in welches Metten ein gewaltiger Tempel, dem Abgott Marte zu Ehren, sol gestanden sein (...). Es sollen gewaltige Mauren gebauet gewesen sein, die den Port beschlosssen haben, aber zu meiner Zeit wahr nichts mehr davon verhanden. Es ist aber sonst ein groser, herlicher und sicherer Port...“ (the word „Pastei“ here instead of „Bastei“). Sahn notes (*ibid.*, 177, n. 1) that Lubenau thinks of the Athenian Areopagus, when speaking of ‚Martisbergk‘. The credibility of his account is certainly not unproblematic.

<sup>246</sup> Sophou 1973, 251-252. Langdon 1995, 478.

<sup>247</sup> Langdon 1995, 478. The tower is marked as ‘Venetianischer Turm’ on *KvA*, Blatt IIb.

<sup>248</sup> Orlandos 1933, 152.

for the open bay of Phaleron, which would have functioned in combination with the fort of Kastella.<sup>249</sup>

Monuments and remains datable to the Middle Byzantine period are so far absent from Peiraeus.<sup>250</sup> Yet, two lead seals of the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> c. have been recovered: one belonged to a person with the name ‘Μαβροζούμης’, while the second bears a metric inscription.<sup>251</sup> Remains of a church of unknown date were found in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. next to the Hellenistic theatre of Zea, at a site earlier called ‘Francokklesia’.<sup>252</sup>

Milchhöfer offers the valuable information that “the ancient remains of Peireaus were never covered under deep-soil, due to the early desolation of the area and its rocky ground. The modern city, which in an unusual way lies deeper than the ancient one, has removed the thin covering soil to a great extent (...).”<sup>253</sup> The invisibility of Byzantine remains may therefore be due to reasons of geomorphology and site formation process. Continuous occupation and intensive use of the area appears to have destroyed relatively recent remains, and careful excavation is needed in order to cover this gap.

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<sup>249</sup> On ‘Treis Pyrgoi’ see Milchhöfer 1883, 1; Langdon 1995, 47; Palles 2009, 414, 417, 424.

<sup>250</sup> The monastery of Agios Spyridon, which became well known during the Ottoman period, has been suggested (Milchhöfer 1881, 34; Kakavas 2001-2004, 511) to have succeeded a monastery of the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> c., but evidence about this is so far absent. On the existence of the monastery in Ottoman times see Orlandos 1993, 152; *TIB* I, 233; Palles 2009, 424-429. The modern church of Agios Spyridon is located between Philonos st., Pouri st., Akte Miaoule Avenue and Themistokleous Sq.

<sup>251</sup> Konstantopoulos 1917, 172, No. 660: ‘[+Π]αύλου [σ]φράγισμα τοῦ Μαβ[ρ]οζούμη’, and 187, No. 710: ‘Εἰ β[ούλ](ει) μαθ[ε]ῖν τις εἰμὶ τὴν γραφ(ήν) ὄρα.’ respectively. The information that these lead seals were recovered in Peiraeus was published by Avramea – Galani-Krikou – Touratsoglou 1990, 245, Nos. 43-44.

<sup>252</sup> Philios 1880, 47. The theatre and the church are located in the courtyard of the Archaeological Museum of Peiraeus. Fragments of monolithic columns around the church show the existence of a previous religious or secular building on the spot. The church is mentioned also by Travlos (1988, 344) who calls it an “Early Christian basilica”. Travlos deduced that its erection designates the existence of a “small settlement” in the area, and that this settlement was destroyed during the Middle Ages. In fact, archaeological evidence is not adequate to comment neither on the extension of the Early Byzantine settlement, nor on its continuity / discontinuity during the Middle Ages.

<sup>253</sup> Milchhöfer 1881, 35.

### 1.23. Moschato

Moschato lies between Athens and Peiraeus, along the ancient Long Walls.<sup>254</sup> The section of this area which extends north of the Long Walls, and which includes modern Rentis and Moschato, has been identified with the ancient *demos* of *Xypete*.<sup>255</sup>

South of the South Long wall, 100 m east of the Transfiguration church, a sanctuary with a statue of Kybele was excavated; the surface layer of the excavation contained small finds of the Early and Middle Byzantine periods.<sup>256</sup> Disuse of the sanctuary is believed to have coincided with “the end of Antiquity”, and a building made of rubble masonry was found on top of the sanctuary ruins.

An excavated section of the road which ran south (externally) of the South Long Wall showed successive construction layers, which date to the Classical, Hellenistic, Late Roman and Byzantine periods; the latter is securely attested through numismatic finds.<sup>257</sup> A cemetery with 30 graves of the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c. extends along this road.<sup>258</sup>

### 1.24. Tavros

Tavros lies between Rentis and the Hill of Nymphs, and its district was crossed by the Long Walls. An Early Christian basilica, dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> c., was excavated in 25<sup>th</sup> March

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<sup>254</sup> The name possibly derives from the homonymous vine variation, which may have been cultivated here, according to Bires (1971, 70). Apparently the area was covered with vineyards at least in the early modern period; see Palles 2009, 415. On Moschato in ancient times see Travlos 1988, 288-289.

<sup>255</sup> Petritaki 2009, 470. Traill 1975, 50. Within this *demos* lay the *kome* (or *demos*, according to Stephanus Byzantius) of *Echelidai*, on which see Traill 1975, 87; Petritaki 2009, 470 and note 65.

<sup>256</sup> Papachristodoulou 1973a, 6: Chrysostomou Smyrnis and Thermopylon st.

<sup>257</sup> Petritaki 2001-2004, 453: 105 Eleutherias st.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.* All graves are oriented east-west, and nine of them contained coins and clay vessels. Most graves belong to the tent-shaped type.

st.<sup>259</sup> The main road which led from Athens to Peiraeus during the ancient, Roman and LRom/EByz period, and which ran parallel and close to the northern Long Wall, was partly re-located northwards during the LRom/EByz period. Graves of the LRom/EByz period were revealed along the road.<sup>260</sup> A further LRom/EByz cemetery was excavated at the junction of 180 Peiraeus st. and Lamias st., on top of an earlier, Classical cemetery.<sup>261</sup>

### 1.25. Kallithea

In Kallithea, the area NE of Moschato, building remains of the LRom/EByz period were excavated in 92 Sophokleous st.<sup>262</sup>

### 1.26. Daphne

The area of Dàphne (not to be confused with Daphni) has been tentatively identified with the *demos* of *Alopeke*.<sup>263</sup> House ruins which were dated “up to the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.” were excavated near the Metro station of Dàphne.<sup>264</sup> Further north, a square vaulted building, interpreted as a Late Roman grave, was revealed.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>259</sup> Petritaki 2001-4, 456-457: P. Katsarou and Co. plot. Due to the very ruined condition of the basilica, relatively little information was reported about it. The width of the main aisle is 9 m, while the width of the side aisles is 4.35 m. Its floor was first paved with clay slabs. Two graves were excavated outside the north aisle: an amphora burial of the early 6<sup>th</sup> c., and a tent-shaped grave which contained no skeletal remains or other finds.

<sup>260</sup> Petritaki 2001-4, 451: Kyprou st. – Peiraeus st. (Δίκτυο ΔΕΠΙΑ). The excavation results do not attest if the re-location of the road was due to encroaching of buildings on the route of the ancient road or to a re-design of its route.

<sup>261</sup> Petritaki 2009, 478, No. 160 (= Petritaki, *AD*, *Chronika*, 62 [2007], forthcoming).

<sup>262</sup> Petritaki 2009, 478, No. 177 (= Petritaki, *AD*, *Chronika*, 61 [2006], forthcoming).

<sup>263</sup> Kaza – Kakavoyanni – Andrikou – Dova 2009, 198.

<sup>264</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou 2000, 105: Kalogeron Square.

<sup>265</sup> Lazarides 1965, 132: junction of Karpou and Pytheou st. This might actually be identified with one of the “vaulted cisterns”, which Milchhöfer (1883, 28: “einige zum Theil später überwölbte Cisternen”) reported from this area. That said, Milchhöfer suggests that these structures possibly attest to medieval occupation

An Ottoman *metochi* of the Agios Ioannes Kynegou Philosophon monastery (Mt Hymettus) lies on Vouliagmenis Avenue. Its latest phase belongs to the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>266</sup>, but the underlying church belongs to the Middle Byzantine period, “around the 12<sup>th</sup> c.”<sup>267</sup> The topographic coincidence of the Late Roman structure (grave) and the Middle Byzantine *metochi* may be due to their location near a route which leads from Athens towards the SE coast<sup>268</sup>; the grave could well be part of a cemetery flanking the road, as happens usually, while the *metochi* may have used the road for the distribution of goods.

### 1.27. *Halimous* – *Alimos*

*Halimous* [C] is the name of an ancient *demos* located along the coast SE of Phaleron.<sup>269</sup> The main feature of the area is a rocky hill called ‘Pani’ (96 m), with the lower hill of Agia Anna to the south.<sup>270</sup> The Agia Anna hill is now considered as the central settlement of the *demos*, as well as its public and religious centre<sup>271</sup>, but no extended settlement has been revealed archaeologically in its territory.

Continuity of activity at *Halimous* – *Alimos* is attested not only through toponymic sequence, but also through renewed building activity at a single-aisled Early Christian basilica [A] (Pl. 5c) located on the Agia Anna hill, at the important religious site of the Classical

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(not use as a cemetery). It is possible that Milchhöfer did not recognize vaulted graves, although his judgments, even for structures unknown to him, are usually stunning.

<sup>266</sup> Orlandos 1933, 151. Palles 2009, 396-397. The *metochi* lies at the junction of Vouliagmenis Ave. and Kasomouli st.

<sup>267</sup> Lazarides 1970, 142f.

<sup>268</sup> The modern Vouliagmenis Avenue has replaced an older road (marked in *KvA*, Blatt IV) which goes back to the ancient period, as shown by the finds presented in Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006.

<sup>269</sup> Traill 1975, 43.

<sup>270</sup> An extended description of the landscape can be found in Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 21-23.

<sup>271</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou 1993, 67: Roma st., Lourantou Bros. plot. Just south of the hill, the excavator found remains of an ancient theatre. Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 77-85.

*Thesmophorion of Halimous*.<sup>272</sup> The discovery of an *enkainion* shows that it housed remains of a local saint or martyr. A second construction phase took place later in the Early Byzantine period and a third phase in transitional or Middle Byzantine period. Recent archaeological investigations on the hilltop of Agia Anna revealed two graves of the LRom/EByz period.<sup>273</sup>

Further south, in the site of the Ottoman village Chasani, excavations revealed a cemetery of the LRom/EByz period (4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c.), founded on top of an ancient cemetery.<sup>274</sup> Two LRom/EByz burial inscriptions have been reported from Chasani.<sup>275</sup> Furthermore, an Early Christian epigraphic invocation of the 6<sup>th</sup> c., possibly addressed to the Virgin, has been found in Alimos.<sup>276</sup>

Middle Byzantine activity in Alimos is well attested through the excavation of a building complex [A] 100 m east of the Agia Anna hill.<sup>277</sup> The building (Pl. 6a) had two construction phases. According to the excavators it was used for storage during the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> c.

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<sup>272</sup> Soteriou 1929b, 195. The basilica was excavated by the German Archaeological Institute, under W. Wrede, early in the 20<sup>th</sup> c. The short report and the ground plan which were offered to Soteriou are the only published information about this church. During World War II, the site of the sanctuary and the basilica was occupied and used by the German army, and all remains were destroyed or covered with soil. On the site see Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 77-81, 141. The basilica is also reported in Orlandos 1933, 155-156; *TIB* I, 170.

<sup>273</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou 2001-2004, 475. These were a built cist grave and a large pit, with a conch on one side, which was used as a grave and ossuary

<sup>274</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 58-59; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2009, 443. The cemetery was found in the ‘Αμαξοστάσιο Τραμ’, at the NE border of the Old Airport area.

<sup>275</sup> Sironen 1997, 234, No. 193, 237, No. 196bis = Sironen 2008, 94, No. 13470, 99, No. 13484. One of them belongs to a Christian deceased, as his name, Theodosius, and an inscribed cross attest. It is possible that the inscriptions were found in the area of the excavated cemetery.

<sup>276</sup> Sironen 1997, 339-340, No. 333; Sironen 2008, 41, No. 13317. The inscription reads: [+ Θεοτόκε, παρέχ]ε προστα / [σίαν - - - - -]Υ του δού / [λου σου - - - - -]’ρου, followed by a Christogram. The exact site of discovery is unknown.

<sup>277</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou 1989, 57-59. Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 143.



A further Middle Byzantine installation was excavated 1.5 km N/NW of the Agia Anna hill.<sup>278</sup> It is a farmhouse consisting of two rectangular rooms and a courtyard. Rural activity is attested just north of the Pani hill, in an ancient quarry which was used as a shed for shepherds.<sup>279</sup>

The Pani and Agia Anna hills offer the example of a coastal settlement, the central settlement of a *demos*, which survived from the ancient through the Middle Byzantine period. The Roman phase is not adequately attested, but remains of Roman walls were found in the rooms δ and ε of the Middle Byzantine complex east of the Agia Anna hill. The form of the settlement (contracted or dispersed) remains unknown in all post-ancient periods. The existence of the LRom/EByz basilica, which was rebuilt, shows that the site was seen as an important religious site and a regional focal point throughout these periods.

### 1.28. *Euonymon* – Trachones

Trachones is the name of an Ottoman village located at the NE border of modern Alimos.<sup>280</sup> Its location has been identified with the ancient *demos Euonymon* [C].<sup>281</sup>

A single-aisled basilica with a narthex [A] has been excavated ca. 1.5 km NE of the Agia Anna basilica.<sup>282</sup> The chronology of the Trachones basilica is not clear, and the

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<sup>278</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou 1983, 47. Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 142-143: 6 Kazantzaki st. The building was made of rubble and had subsequent additions and alterations. A glazed jug enables its dating to the Middle Byzantine period.

<sup>279</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou 1993, 105-106. A beehive and Middle Byzantine stewpots were found in this installation: Kaza-Papageorgiou (2006, fig. on p. 146) dates the stewpots from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup>. One of the stewpots still contained the skull and other bones of a goat or sheep, the last meal which was cooked in it.

<sup>280</sup> On the Ottoman village see Palles 2009, 398-403. Milchhöfer (1883, 29) provides a description of ancient remains.

<sup>281</sup> Traill 1975, 38. Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 63, 111, 129.

<sup>282</sup> For the excavation see Lazarides 1964, 96-97. On the Ottoman village Trachones see Palles 2009, 398-403. On the church of Panagia see Orlandos 1933, 156 (Εισόδια Θεοτόκου). On the name 'Trachones' see Palles 2009, 398.

excavator dated it vaguely “between the end of the Early Byzantine and the beginning of the ‘Dark-Age’ period”. The masonry of the basilica consists of large-sized conglomerate stones, set vertically in the ground, with rubble masonry between them (Pl. 6c). The basilica had two successive floors at different levels, which show lengthy use and/or renewed activity. Furthermore, it housed a cemetery; ten tent-shaped graves, similarly belonging to two different levels, were found in the narthex.

### 1.29. Argyroupoli

A farmhouse was partly excavated on the east side of the modern Vouliagmenis Avenue.<sup>283</sup> The excavator dated it to the ‘Late Roman’ period, without presenting any dating evidence; however, the presence and the description of an excavated storage pit applies better to a later chronology, in the Middle or the Late Byzantine period.<sup>284</sup>

Further finds in Argyroupoli are a LRom/EByz cist grave built of tiles<sup>285</sup> and a pillar capital with Early Christian decoration, part of a marble sarcophagus and an inscribed burial marble column<sup>286</sup>.

### 1.30. Aixone – Glyphada and Elliniko

*Aixone* [C] was a coastal *demos* located between the promontories Kolias and Zoster.<sup>287</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> Liagouras 1967, 140-141. The farmstead included a storage room with pithoi and a storage pit dug in the ground, a room interpreted as a wine or an oil press.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*: “Ευρέθησαν (...) ως και κυκλικός σιρός, εκτισμένος δια μικρών λιθαρίων, πηλού και οστράκων διαφόρων αγγείων, εφαπτόμενος του δυτικού τοίχου του δωματίου.”

<sup>285</sup> B Archaeologiki Periphereia 1966, 103: 20 Argonauton st. No objects were found in the grave.

<sup>286</sup> Davaras 1965, 122. For the inscription see Sironen 1997, 230-231, No. 187. Sironen 2008, 92-93, No. 13465. The inscription reads: *Κοιμητήριον Αφροδισίου βαλα|νέος, ί τις αν με|τακινήση μηδέ | τάφοι τοί|χη*. According to Sironen, the curse at the end follows pagan models.

A three-aisled Early Christian basilica [A] was excavated on the shore of the small gulf north of Cape Punta<sup>288</sup>, at the site of an extended Classical cemetery which was used until the Early Byzantine period (Pl. 6b). Despite its modest size, the basilica shows luxurious architectural elements. It was dated to the turn of the 5<sup>th</sup> towards the 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>289</sup> or a little later<sup>290</sup>, and had a Middle Byzantine and an Ottoman construction phase.<sup>291</sup> Christian tent-shaped graves were found south of the basilica, but their ruined condition did not allow a firm dating.<sup>292</sup>

On the coast NE of Cape Punta, presumably not far from the basilica, Keramopoulos excavated a rectangular building<sup>293</sup> paved with a mosaic floor which has been dated to around 420<sup>294</sup> (Pl. 7a). The building was separated to two rooms later, perhaps in the Byzantine period, as suggested by the excavator. A bread stamp with a relief cross, found among the ruins, seems to confirm this date.

On the north side of Cape Punta, directly opposite a little islet, Eliot saw remains of hydraulic establishments of LRom/EByz date.<sup>295</sup>

Middle Byzantine activity is attested further NE, where an extended secular building [A] of this period was excavated.<sup>296</sup> It is a square building (52x52 m) with a large central courtyard and a tower (Pl. 7b)

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<sup>287</sup> Eliot 1962, 6.

<sup>288</sup> Orlandos 1930. The excavation was started by N. Kyparissis, who did not publish his results on the cemetery apart from a marble lekythos (Eliot 1962, 19; Orlandos 1930, 258, note 1), and was continued by Orlandos. A description of the church is provided also in *RbK*, Band II (1971), 1128-1129 (Koder).

<sup>289</sup> Orlandos 1930; Soteriou 1929b, 186. Later, Orlandos (1933, 154) preferred a chronology in the 5<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>290</sup> Pallas (1986, 58, 60) thinks that it dates relatively late compared to the other Early Christian basilicas of Attica. His argumentation may need revision.

<sup>291</sup> Orlandos 1933, 154.

<sup>292</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1986, 27.

<sup>293</sup> Keramopoulos 1919, 37-44. Petropoulakou – Pentazos 1973, 111.

<sup>294</sup> Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 141.

<sup>295</sup> Eliot 1962, 20.

<sup>296</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou 2001-2004, 471-473; junction of Gounari and Valaoritou st. Kaza-Papageorgiou 2009, 445-448.

### 1.31. *Halai Aixonides* – Voula and Vouliagmeni

*Halai Aixonides* [C] was situated on the narrow coastal plain which is currently occupied by Voula and Vouliagmeni.<sup>297</sup> A LRom/EByz building was excavated west of Palaiochori, near the coast.<sup>298</sup> It is noteworthy that no further remains of post-Roman periods have been reported from the area of either habitation centre of the ancient *demos*.<sup>299</sup>

Two tent-shaped graves of the LRom/EByz period were opened in a large Classical building which was excavated on Cape Zoster, near the Apollo sanctuary, and was interpreted as a priest's house.<sup>300</sup>

### 1.32. *Anagyrous* – Vari

Vari is the Albanian name used for the area of the ancient *demos Anagyrous*, located east of *Halai Aixonides*.<sup>301</sup> The central settlement of the *demos* was used in the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times, but does not appear to have survived to the LRom/EByz period<sup>302</sup>, from which only scant habitation remains have been reported.

A house dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. was excavated near the coastal *astike odos*<sup>303</sup>, while a Late Roman grave was found in the central square of modern Vari.<sup>304</sup> Remains of a house

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<sup>297</sup> For the identification see Eliot 1962, 25-34. Traill 1975, 50.

<sup>298</sup> Onasoglou 1987, 87: Junction of Eliou and Kerkyras st. The αστική οδός towards Sounion passed through Palaiochori. One of the excavated sections of this road in Palaiochori showed continuous use of the road from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> c., as attested through coins which were found in the ridges which had been created on the rock by wheeled traffic; see Tsirigoti 1982, 57: Spetson st., Pollentri plot.

<sup>299</sup> Apart from the lack of excavated remains, the report of Milchhöfer (1889, 17), who mentions ancient ruins and “mortar-bonded remains of the Turkish period”, but nothing which appears to him as medieval, is also instructive.

<sup>300</sup> Stavropoulos 1938, 1-31. Each grave contained an unglazed jug.

<sup>301</sup> Eliot 1962, 35.

<sup>302</sup> Eliot 1962, 43.

<sup>303</sup> Kasimi 1983, 52.

complex of moderate size, occupied in the “Late Roman” period and interpreted as a farmhouse, were seen by Eliot on the foot of the mountain NE of Vari and 1 km east of the homonymous cave.<sup>305</sup>

An important religious site, dedicated to the cult of the Nymphs, is the Nympholeptos Cave [A] on the SE foot of Hymettus. The cave contains ancient rock-cuttings, nearly a thousand of LRom/EByz oil-lamps (Pl. 8a), and numerous coins, which attest use from ca. 600 to ca. 150 BC and from the early 4<sup>th</sup> c. to at least the early 5<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>306</sup>

The Classical Vari House, below the Nympholeptos Cave, was re-used in the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> and in the late 11<sup>th</sup> – early 12<sup>th</sup> c., as attested through numismatic and ceramic evidence.<sup>307</sup>

### 1.33. Varkiza

A sanctuary of the sub-Geometric period, located on a coastal hill just south of Varkiza, was re-used in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c., as shown by sixteen fragments of oil-lamps.<sup>308</sup> The site probably had rather a religious than a strategic role.

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<sup>304</sup> B' Archaeologiki Periphereia 1966, 106.

<sup>305</sup> Eliot 1962, 44, 'E' on fig. 3.

<sup>306</sup> Weller – Dunham et al. 1903. On dating evidence based on coins see p. 284-285, 335-337.

<sup>307</sup> Jones – Graham – Sackett 1973. Late Roman re-use was attested through lamps, while Middle Byzantine re-use through a coin of Alexius I and Middle Byzantine coarse pottery; see *ibid.* p. 366, 373 (coin: No. 4, Pl. 71b), 414 (pottery: Nos. 180-190, Pl. 78a-b). No building or part of a building was found which could be connected with either of these later occupations of the site.

<sup>308</sup> Lauter – Lauter-Bufe 2010, esp. 78-83.

## B.2. Mount Hymettus

### 2.1. Geographical description and main roads

[Printed map B.1.a; CD maps B.2.a-b]

Mt Hymettus separates the basin of Athens from the Mesogeia plain. Its ancient name survived throughout the medieval period.<sup>309</sup> Hymettus is divided into a northern and a southern part through a gorge and passage; while Euzonos (1026 m) is the highest peak of the northern part, Mavrovouni (770 m), ancient Anydros, designates the southern part, which reaches the sea in the area of Vari.

Rainwater from Hymettus forms small rivers, the most important of which is the Ilissos.<sup>310</sup> The smaller river Eridanos starts from the Kaisariane monastery and meets the Ilissos in the area of Pangrati. Water streams on the east side of Hymettus are numerous but small; in the area of Glyka Nera (Kantza) they feed numerous springs, as well as the stream Megalo Revma, which waters the northern part of the Mesogeia plain. Geologically Hymettus consists of marble and schist layers.<sup>311</sup>

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<sup>309</sup> *Michaelis Acominati Opera*, ed. S. P. Lambros, II, 44 (No. 28): “(...) ὡς μόλις τῶν τριῶν τούτων ενιαυτῶν τῆς διαλέκτου σύνεσιν μελετῆσαι ἄνευ τῶν ἔτι περισωζομένων ἀδιαφθόρων ὀνομάτων, τοῦ Πειραιέως, τοῦ Ὑμηττοῦ, τοῦ Ἀρείου Πάγου, τῆς Καλλιπρόης, τῆς Ἐλευσίνας, τοῦ Μαραθῶνος (...)”. This letter was written in 1185 (*ibid.*, 586). From the 13<sup>th</sup> c., the name Trellovouni was used next to the ancient one; this derives from the mis-transcription of ‘Hymettus’ as ‘il Matto’; see *TIB I*, 174.

<sup>310</sup> Its main branch, called Tshatmáki in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. (Milchhöfer 1883, 21), starts from the monastery of Agios Ioannes Theologos and continues W/SW.

<sup>311</sup> Philippson 1952, 805ff. Hymettian marble, albeit of lesser quality than the one of Mt Penteli, was quarried, worked and exported to Rome during the Early Roman period, but seems to have gone out of fashion already under Hadrian (Day 1942, 103, 155, 203). The largest Hymettian quarries are situated south of the Kaisariane monastery and north of the Kareas monastery, and are bordered by a steep cliff called Kakorhema: see Goette 2002, 96-98.

Based on ancient sources, Philippson deduces that high vegetation in antiquity was very restricted, and that the mountain would be covered in macquis.<sup>312</sup> Hymettian flora was ideal for honey production, for which Hymettus was renowned not only in the Classical and Roman<sup>313</sup> but also in the Late Roman<sup>314</sup> and the Byzantine<sup>315</sup> periods.

Direct communication between the basin of Athens and the Mesogeia plain was always important. Apart from the roads which pass round Hymettus, geomorphology of the mountain offers three passages which cross it with an E-W direction.<sup>316</sup>

The northern passage crosses a saddle (330 m altitude) which separates the northernmost tip of Hymettus, crowned by the Byzantine monastery of Agios Ioannes Kynegos, from its main part.<sup>317</sup>

The central passage starts from the spring Goudi (near the recently rebuilt church of Agios Thomas), continues east, following a branch of Ilissos called ‘Kamaraki’,<sup>318</sup> and

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<sup>312</sup> Philippson 1952, 803.

<sup>313</sup> On beehives from the Classical House of Vari, at the southern tip of Hymettus, see Jones 1976. Hymettian honey was exported to Antioch and probably to Egypt in the Hellenistic period: see Day 1942, 21-22. For export of Attic honey in the Roman period see *ibid.*, 158, 202-203, and for its export to Egypt in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD *ibid.*, 255.

<sup>314</sup> Bishop Synesius of Cyrene, who flourished ca. 400, wrote to his brother Euoptyus (*Epistulae* cxxxvi): “Today Egypt has received and cherishes the fruitful wisdom of Hypatia. Athens was aforetime the dwelling-place of the wise: today the bee-keepers alone bring honour. Such is the case of that pair of sophists in Plutarch who draw the young people to the lecture room – not by the fame of their eloquence, but by pots of honey from Hymettus.” Translation taken from FitzGerald, *Letters of Synesius*, reproduced in Day 1942, 264.

<sup>315</sup> *Michael Psellos*, ed. K. N. Sathas, vol. V, 373: Letter addressed “τῷ ὀστιαρίῳ καὶ πρωτονοταρίῳ τοῦ δρόμου κῦρ Ἰωάννη. (...) Ἄλλ’ εἴ ἴσμεν ὡς, εἰ καὶ ἀφελῆ τὰ ἡμέτερα, ἠδίῳ σοι τῷ λογιωτάτῳ τοῦ Ὑμηττίου φανήσεται μέλιτος.» Wheeler 1682, 411-413. Chandler 1776, 142.

<sup>316</sup> On these see Milchhöfer 1883, 22; Kolbe 1916, 135-140, esp. 135-136; Langdon 2002.

<sup>317</sup> According to Langdon (2002, 63), “traces of a well-built path, defined by a line of stones on its downslope side, survive in accessible areas not far below the monastery. Whether the visible remains here are actually ancient is not certain. The inscription on a column standing at the bottom of the pass which honours Neophytos for building a road in AD 1238 (Koukoules 1931) is usually explained as recording the establishment of a link facilitating access to the Kynegos monastery from the main road coming from Athens. The vestiges that we see today may be part of Neophytos’ work, though there is little doubt in my mind that this labour consisted mainly of upgrading a wellworn ancient path”. Some Roman and Late Roman sherds found in Stavros, on the mound 243.7, and around the Neophytos column (Grigoropoulos 2009, 473, FO 040), as well as on the mound 260.3 (*KvA*) (Grigoropoulos 2009, 472, FO 037) at the western entrance of the passage, testify to the use of the road which encircled the mountain.

ascends Hymettus from the lowest saddle (646.8 m) of its main part (*KvA*, map B.2.a). It then follows an E/SE direction, and, after descending the mountain, reaches the area ‘Miskopi’, just northwest of Paiania.<sup>319</sup> This is the shortest way connecting the urban centre of Athens with Mesogeia. Langdon believes that this is a very old path, established already in antiquity.<sup>320</sup> North of this passage, Hymettus rises sharply; a small plateau (on 726.2 altitude) houses remains which have been characterized as a tower (medieval, according to Milchhöfer)<sup>321</sup> or as a *peribolos* with an altar<sup>322</sup> (Pl. 8b) (*vidi*). Among Classical and Hellenistic sherds, a fragment of a 6<sup>th</sup>-c. AD lamp was found on the site.<sup>323</sup> Ober judges that the site is Classical and Hellenistic, and was perhaps re-occupied in Late Antiquity. The medieval use of the structure as a tower is indeed questionable. However, the discovery of the 6<sup>th</sup>-c. lamp fragment confirms that the structure, and obviously the road itself, were used in this period. The unhindered view from Korakovouni to the whole of the Mesogeia and the east coast supports a strategic role.

The southern passage starts from modern Glyphada and uses the gorge which separates the southern from the northern part of Hymettus, namely the summits Mavrovouni (770 m) from Zeze / Prophetes Elias (659 m). The gorge is separated by a saddle (454 m altitude) into a western and an eastern section. The western section is known as the Pirnari

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<sup>318</sup> The name is delivered by Milchhöfer (1883, 22). The trail of the central passage is to be seen on *KvA* Blatt IV, starting from ‘Quelle Gudi’ and ‘Thomas’.

<sup>319</sup> A description of this route can be found in Langdon 2002, 63-64; Kakavoyanni 2009, 185-186. The modern road starts from the Kaisariane monastery, passes from the Taxiarchon Asteriou monastery, and only reaches the saddle above Miskopi.

<sup>320</sup> Langdon 2002, 63-64. The road marked as ‘δρόμος του Πόρτο Ράφτη’ on a French map of the 17<sup>th</sup> c. (Laborde 1854, vol. I, 228) may have used this central passage (instead of the southern one), as it is shown to run slightly northwards from the city of Athens, in front of the Panathenaic Stadium.

<sup>321</sup> Milchhöfer 1883, 22. Ober (1987, 201) simply mentions it as “watchtower”, without referring to it as being ancient, although a few Classical and Hellenistic sherds were found on the site. Langdon does not include it in his studies of 1995 and 2002; he may have considered it as not Byzantine or non-datable.

<sup>322</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I, 233-235.

<sup>323</sup> Ober 1987, 201. During my visit I only saw black-glazed tile fragments and non-diagnostic sherds, while I was not able to see any mortar in the masonry.



gorge.<sup>324</sup> East of the saddle is the Doukas gorge, beyond the exit of which one reaches the Kastro tou Christou hill (ancient *Sphettos*). This road may have been the ancient *Σφηττία Ὀδός*.<sup>325</sup> Langdon argues that this road was used by wheeled vehicles, based on ancient retaining walls which he found along its route.<sup>326</sup> The use of this road in the medieval period is supported also by Koder and Hild.<sup>327</sup>

## 2.2. Kynegou Philosophon monastery

On the northernmost tip of Mt Hymettus stands the Byzantine monastery dedicated to Agios Ioannes Prodromos and known as ‚Philosophon‘ [A] presumably from the name of his owner. In 1208, Michael Choniates addressed a letter to the abbot Luke.<sup>328</sup> The architecture of the *katholikon* has been dated from the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> c. to the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>329</sup> The *katholikon*, despite its small size, shows a very careful construction and clear artistic intentions (Pl. 9a-b).

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<sup>324</sup> The passage is briefly described by Milchhöfer 1883, 30. Today much of the Pirnari gorge is occupied by a military base (not shown on the *HMGS* and *Road* maps).

<sup>325</sup> This view is supported by Tomlinson 2002; Korres – Tomlinson 2002, 48-59; Kakavoyanni 2009, 188. Langdon (2002) does not offer any opinion on the identification of this route with the ‘Sphettia Odos’. Kakavoyanni (2009, 188) points out that the correct name of the western gorge is ‘Sourmena’, not ‘Pirnari’; ‘Pirnari’ lies further south. This is probably right, but since ‘Pirnari’ has been written on the *KvA* map, it has been used by most later scholars, and a change of names might cause confusion.

<sup>326</sup> Langdon 2002, 65-69. A few years earlier, Lauter (1985b) introduced his study of Lathureza by noting the Pirnari pass and stating that it does not come into consideration for vehicular traffic, but he was not aware of the evidence presented by Langdon. Koder and Hild mark this road with red colour as ‘wahrscheinlicher byzantinischer Strassenverlauf’ (*TIB* I, map 1), and with the description: “(...) noch die südliche Umgehung des Hymettus-Hauptstockes am Pirnari-Pass” (*TIB* I, 174). In their map, the westernmost section of this road turns slightly northwards from a point within the gorge, and does not use the natural exit towards Glyphada. This, according to Langdon (2002, 69-70), is wrong.

<sup>327</sup> *TIB* I, 99.

<sup>328</sup> ‘Τῶ καθηγουμένῳ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κυνηγοῦ τῶν Φιλοσόφων’: Lambros 1880-80, II, 247f. (No. 120). Stadtmüller 1934, 259.

<sup>329</sup> Orlandos 1933, 173: beginning of 12<sup>th</sup> c. Megaw 1931-32, 97-99, 116, 125f., 129 (esp. 97-99 and 129): second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> c. Bouras - Boura 2002, 200: beginning of 13<sup>th</sup> c.

### 2.3. Gur-i-Korakut / Lithari

The hill known with the Albanian name Gur-i-Korakut (363 m) forms a NW foot of Hymettus in modern Cholargos area. Remains of a rubble wall were noticed on its top by Dodwell<sup>330</sup>, who judged that they belong to a fortification. McCredie was unable to visit the wall, since it lay within a restricted military area.<sup>331</sup> The possibility that the circuit is medieval cannot be excluded.

Wrede located “late antique house ruins on the north slope of mound 233.3” (*KvA*, map B.1.c), which rises just north of Gur-i-Korakut.<sup>332</sup> The possibility that the rubble wall was used in connection with the settlement recorded by Wrede cannot be excluded, but the area today lies at the border of the modern city, and soil has been heavily disturbed.

### 2.4. Taxiarchon Asteriou monastery

This monastery (*vidi*) is located NE of Kaisariane, just south of the central passage of Hymettus. Its *katholikon* dates to the 11<sup>th</sup> c. (Pl. 9c).<sup>333</sup> An inscription on marble, embedded in the pediment of the north wall, reads + ΣΤΑΥΡΟΠΗΓΙΟΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΟΝ.<sup>334</sup> This raised status strengthens the hypothesis that this perhaps was the monastery *abbatia St. Michaelis* which is included in the letter of Pope Innocent III in 1209.<sup>335</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> Dodwell 1819, 481. Milchhöfer's (1883, 21) attempt to locate the wall was unfruitful.

<sup>331</sup> McCredie 1966, 52.

<sup>332</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 472, FO 036. Fragments of a LRA2 and of a further LRom/EByz coarse vessel were collected.

<sup>333</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 358.

<sup>334</sup> Lampakis 1894, 34. I was not able to see the inscription during my site visit, since the monastery was locked.

<sup>335</sup> *TIB* I, 268. Koder 1977, 133, 140. The monastery is listed in the Pope's letter right after 'Sancti Siriani', which can be with confidence identified with Kaisariane.

## 2.5. Kaisariane monastery

The Kaisariane monastery [A] is located west of the Euzonos peak. The *katholikon* (Pl. 10a) was recently dated to the early 12<sup>th</sup> c. by Bouras<sup>336</sup>, and is characterized by high quality of construction and by stylistic austerity. The monastery certainly existed by 1209.<sup>337</sup>

SE of the monastery circuit wall lie remains of three further churches which succeeded each other chronologically. The earliest one is a three-aisled Early Christian basilica with a narthex, dated tentatively to the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>338</sup> On the remains of the basilica a Middle Byzantine cross-in-square church was built; Lazarides dates it to the 10<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>339</sup> The third phase is represented by a Frankish church.

## 2.6. Kareas monastery

The monastery dedicated to Agios Ioannes Prodromos, known as Kareas monastery [A]<sup>340</sup> is mentioned in the *Praktikon of Athens*<sup>341</sup>; it might also be identified with the *monasterium Copreae* of the papal letter of 1209.<sup>342</sup> The *katholikon* and surrounding

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<sup>336</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 159-162. The initial chronology around 1000, given by Strzygowski (1902, 51-96), was followed by Koder – Hild (*TIB* I, 178). Megaw (1931-32) moved the chronology to the last quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> c., while Orlandos (1933, 161), probably following Megaw, vaguely mentions a chronology in the 11<sup>th</sup> c. Megaw's arguments appear to be superseded by the ones of Bouras.

<sup>337</sup> *Acta Innocentii III*, No. 256, Col. 1560D: *abbatium Sancti Siriani*.

<sup>338</sup> Lazarides 1960, 66.

<sup>339</sup> Lazarides *ibid.* If Lazarides' chronology is correct, one might argue for a possible pre-12<sup>th</sup>-c. phase of the Kaisariane monastery. However, any firm conclusions about the chronology of the cross-shaped church need further research.

<sup>340</sup> Orlandos 1933, 157. For a detailed description of the monuments and their history see Palles 2009, 380-389.

<sup>341</sup> Grandstrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou 1976, 19-21, 33.

<sup>342</sup> *TIB* I, 175. Koder 1977, 141. Neroutsos (1892, 70, note 2) suggested that it may be identified with a church of Panagia in Κοπρίη, which, in his times, was identified with Koropi. Today we know that the ancient *demos* of *Kopros* was located east of Eleusis (see relevant chapter). Although *Copreae* etymologically lies close to the names of the ancient *demos* *Kopros* and *Kropidai*, both lying east of Eleusis, the significance of the Kareas monastery in the Ottoman period offers ground to the argument proposed by Koder and Hild.

buildings probably belong to the Ottoman period, but include Early Byzantine spolia in their masonry.

The *Praktikon of Athens* offers an additional piece of information connected with the Kareas monastery: “Εἰς τ(ο) χωρ(ίον) Πέρσαι <χωράφ(ιον)>, ανατ(ο)λ(ήν) [(καί)] δύ(σιν)....., ἀνά οργ(υία)ς ν’, ἀρκτ(ον) τὴν μον(ήν) τ(ης) Καρέ(ας) (...)”. The publishers of the *Praktikon* arrive at the conclusion that “a piece of property which belonged to the monastery known as Agios Ioannis Kareas lay in the territory of this community [i.e. Persai]”, which they place in Marathon [F].<sup>343</sup> However, it is the location of the Kareas monastery which is known with certainty, while about the location of Persai only hypotheses have been formulated. For this reason it is most reasonable, in my opinion, to consider Persai as a locality south of the Kareas monastery, as attested by the *Praktikon*. A χωρίον called Persai, located south of the Kareas monastery on Hymettus, belonged to the unidentified Athenian monastery (or the Metropolis of Athens), the properties of which are listed in the *Praktikon*. It did not belong to the Kareas monastery, as deduced by the authors of the *Praktikon*.

## 2.7. The summit of Hymettus

An ancient sanctuary of Zeus [A] (*Zeus Ombrios*) located near the summit of Hymettus shows use in the Early Byzantine period, since fragments of ca. 120 LRom/EByz lamps and a coin of Arcadius (395-408) were found there.

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<sup>343</sup> Grandstrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou 1976, 21. Their opinion has been followed by Palles (2009, 382).

## 2.8. Kopanas

The hill Kopanas (260 m), a western foothill of Hymettus, rises 3.5 km W/NW of the Kareas monastery. Ceramic sherds of the LRom/EByz periods attest to activity on this site.<sup>344</sup> From a geomorphological point of view, the site is similar to the north of Gur-i-Korakut, where a settlement of the same period appears to have existed.

## 2.9. The site of Prophetes Elias

The site is located on the east slope of Hymettus, W/NW of Koropi, and is currently occupied by an early modern church dedicated to Prophetes Elias [A]. Kotzias, while looking for the sanctuary of Rainy Zeus (*Zeus Ombrios*) and Apollo Proopsios, found remains of an earlier church, of which a rough ground plan is shown in his site plan (Pl. 10b).<sup>345</sup> A coin of Heraclius (616/7) was found south of the church.<sup>346</sup> Elsewhere<sup>347</sup>, Kotzias mentions the discovery of “Roman sherds bearing incised horizontal or wavy lines”. A coin of Alexius I Comnenus, found near the one of Heraclius, along with a further coin of Manuel I, suggest some kind of activity at the site in the 12<sup>th</sup> c., and are corroborated by ceramic evidence.

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<sup>344</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 472, FO 039: a LRC Form 3 rim fragment (No. 29), a lamp fragment of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. (No. 162) and a LRA2 fragment were collected.

<sup>345</sup> Kotzias 1949; 1950.

<sup>346</sup> Kotzias 1950, 157: “Φαίνεται δε ακόμη, ότι η το πρώτον επ’ εκείνου κτισθείσα εκκλησία ανηγέρθη πρωίμως, διότι προς Ν ταύτης και παρά το πολυμερές οίκημα Σ (Kotzias 1949, pl. 1) ανευρέθη χαλκούν νόμισμα του Ηρακλείου (616-7), παριστών έμπροσθεν τον Ηράκλειο, τον Κωνσταντίνο και τη Μαρτίνα, όπισθεν το στοιχείο Μ, CON έτος 41 [;] και νομισματοκοπέιο Β (βλ. BMC αρ. 172).”

<sup>347</sup> Kotzias 1949, 73.

## B.3. East Attica: The plain of Mesogeia

### 3.1. Geographical description and main roads

[Printed map B.3.a; CD maps B.3.b-d]

The plain of Mesogeia or ‘inner land’ has a diameter of ca. 20 km, defined by Mt Hymettus to its west, Mt Penteli to its north and the small mountains Paneion and Merenda to its south. At its east, the hills Etos, Agia Kyriaki, Zagani and Pyrgari close the view towards the sea; only the broad valley of Brauron provides an exit to the east coast. The main harbour of the Mesogaia is the gulf of Porto-Raphte (ancient *Steiria*).

Water runs mostly underground and is collected in deep wells. Two seasonal rivers cross the plain: the stream ‘Μεγάλο Ρεύμα’, flows W-E through Pallene and Pikermi, into the small golf of Raphena.<sup>348</sup> The stream *Ερασίνος* gathers underground water from the plain and flows across the eastern part of the plain through the valley of Brauron.

The main ancient road from Athens to Mesogeia passed from Stavros and Yerakas and split in three branches: the northern branch led east towards Raphena (Pl. 11a, road 5.1), parallel to modern Marathonos Ave.; the southern one SE, towards *Erchia*/Spata (road 5.3), and the western one along the foothills of Hymettus (*Στειριακή Οδός*) (road 5.5).<sup>349</sup> The road of *Steiria* (Porto Raphte) turned SE near Agios Athanasios of Paiania.<sup>350</sup>

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<sup>348</sup> For a description of the route of the minor streams which form Megalo Revma see Milchhöfer 1889, 32.

<sup>349</sup> Steinhauer 2009, 49-59.

<sup>350</sup> Kakavoyanni 2009, 185-186.

### 3.2. Pallene – Charvati

The area of modern Pallene<sup>351</sup> belonged to the Classical *demos* of *Kydantidai* [C]. Charvati is a Croatian family name, which appears also in southern Slav regions.<sup>352</sup>

Milchhöfer notes ancient and medieval remains in the area ‘Loutro’.<sup>353</sup> Recent excavations revealed sections of the ancient road, with use up to Late Roman times, which led from Stavros (ancient *Pallene*) to Spata (ancient *Erchia*).<sup>354</sup>

A Late Roman farmstead was excavated just south of the second section of the road (in Loutro).<sup>355</sup> It shows two Late Roman construction phases, with the latest coins dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> c.

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<sup>351</sup> Charvati did not preserve any remarkable remains of Antiquity, and for this reason skipped close attention of early travellers and Classical archaeologists. Although Milchhöfer (1883, 35) saw some ancient blocks in Charvati, these seemed to him to have been moved from neighbouring areas. Charvati (or modern Pallene) is not mentioned in Steinhauer 2001 or Goette 1992-1998.

<sup>352</sup> Vasmer 1941, 123.

<sup>353</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 3: “On the right [south] side of Megalo Revma, and on the way from Charvati to Papangelaki, one can see dispersed remains of ancient and medieval settlements at several spots. The area is called ‘Loutro’ (= Bath), the usual name for strong Byzantine mortar constructions of secular character. Normally it is rectangular ruins with vaulted roofs; as preserved examples show, which belong to strong towers, the upper floors of which could be reached only with ladders from the interior.” The spot is marked as: ‘Grundmauerreste antiker Wohnplätze’ on *KvA* Blatt VII. I was not able to find these remains. They probably did not survive to present day, since this area has known extensive building development.

<sup>354</sup> Steinhauer 2005, 164-165. One section of the road was found in Yerakas, at the junction with modern Marathon Avenue; another was excavated in modern Λουτρό Παλλήνης (the area lying just west of the one which is described by Milchhöfer), near the junction of the modern road of Spata and the road of Leontari. Both roads are shown on *Road* map, ed. 2007. The two excavated sections of the road shared the same features: they had a straight NW-SE direction, a width of 3.5 m, traces of wheel-ruts, and were flanked by low rubble walls, in a construction manner similar to major ancient Attic roads. The road was eventually destroyed by the river streams (creeks of the Megalo Rema) which crossed it at several points. Five Roman graves were found in the immediate vicinity of the second section of the road (in Λουτρό Παλλήνης). Unfortunately no topographic plan of the discovered section of the road has been published.

<sup>355</sup> Steinhauer 2005, 166-168. The Late Roman farmstead, which succeeded a Late Classical and Hellenistic predecessor, had dimensions 40x45 m, a symmetric ground plan with large rooms and several spaces which show both agricultural use (wine press) as well as, possibly, some industrial activity (cisterns are found in all rooms). Despite the large size and careful construction, no luxury rooms or baths were included in the complex, a fact which may point to the absence of the owner.

### 3.3. Pikermi

The name ‘Pikermi’ seems to derive from the Byzantine term ‘*Ἐπικέρνης*’, the imperial office of a cup-bearer, which was probably obtained by a local landowner.<sup>356</sup> Milchhöfer notes that Finlay and Leake counted Pikermi as one of the most populated parts of ancient and medieval Attica, protected with a fort.<sup>357</sup> Two river streams surround the Pikermi district and meet at its east, forming the major stream Megalo Revma.<sup>358</sup>

The northern part of the town, called ‘Ano Pikermi’, is situated at the site of the *demos* *Τειθράς* [C]. Ruins of an Early Christian basilica [A] (*non-vidi*)<sup>359</sup> are reported by Travlos to have stood near the Metamorphosis church.<sup>360</sup> A 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c. funerary inscription has been found in the area.<sup>361</sup>

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<sup>356</sup> Lambros 1896, 4-5. Lambros cites two Late Byzantine sources where this title is to be found; Kriaras (1968ff.), ‘*Ἐπικέρνης*’, notes that this title was translated in Greek from the Latin term ‘pincerna’ and used already from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. This prevents us from defining the chronology when the toponymic ‘Pikermi’ might have started to be used. See also Oikonomides 1972, 77, note 17, and 133, note 102: the term ‘*πιγκέρνης*’ or ‘*Ἐπικέρνης*’ is used in the treatise of Philotheos, written in 899 AD. Ladas (1952-58, 26) thinks that the Epikernes after whom the area was named is also the founder of the Tao monastery in SE Penteli; but his reading of the word ‘epikernes’ on the relevant inscription of Tao is only based on the depiction of what he interprets as a cup, turned upside-down (see sub-chapter on the Tao monastery); his theory is therefore not adequately supported by the epigraphic evidence.

<sup>357</sup> Milchhöfer 1881, 38. The fort may have been situated on the hill Etosi, 1.5 km to the east of Pikermi. It is topped with a rubble circuit wall. While there is no historical or archaeological evidence for use in the Byzantine period, its privileged position hints at use in times of difficulty.

<sup>358</sup> The northern stream departs from Mt Penteli, passes through Draphi and continues through the old town of Ano Pikermi; it is called ‘Valanaris’ at the Pikermi area. The southern stream departs from the northern tip of Mt Hymettus and continues with an eastern direction until the area of Skemphthi, to the south of Pikermi; it then turns to the NE and meets the northern stream.

<sup>359</sup> Today the land around the church has been redesigned in land plots with houses and large gardens. Travlos notes that the basilica foundations have been recorded with red colour and with the indication ‘Mauerreste’ on *KvA*, Blatt XII; these, however, have been drawn on *KvA* to the south of the Metamorphosis church, rather than to its north, where Travlos reports to have seen the foundations. It is not clear, therefore, whether these foundations were located to the north or to the south of the Metamorphosis church.

<sup>360</sup> Travlos 1988, 355.

<sup>361</sup> Sironen 1997, 257, no. 225: christogram in relief inside a circle *κοιμητήρ / ιον Θαλλού / σης, Ἐνθα / κίτε +*.



The Metamorphosis church [A] has an Ottoman and an early modern phase, and according to Makrokostas it has preserved the south wall of an initial, Byzantine phase (Pl. 10c)<sup>362</sup>, which could date to the 11<sup>th</sup> c.

### 3.4. Skemphthi (Agios Vasileios), Vourva

An Early Byzantine basilica [A] has been located 3 km SE of Pikermi, in the area called ‘Skemphthi’ or ‘Skympte’ (*vidi*) (Pl. 12a-b).<sup>363</sup> Based on its ground plan, Pallas considered it as somewhat earlier than the basilica of Brauron, which itself has been dated to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>364</sup> A single-aisled chapel replaced it at an uncertain date.

Milchhöfer saw dispersed ancient remains in the wider area, and noted that the greatest concentration of habitation remains was to be found around the basilica.<sup>365</sup> A recent field inspection confirmed that “a Late Roman – Middle Byzantine settlement existed around the basilica”.<sup>366</sup> I was able to see considerable quantities of LRom/EByz sherds and tiles on the soil surface in a radius of ca. 350 m from the basilica, with a higher concentration in the area between the church and the stream.

At a distance of 3.5 km south of Ano Pikermi, the area called ‘Vourva’ lies in the fertile plain to the west of the Zagani hill and at an important crossroads.<sup>367</sup> The name ‘Βουρβά’, derives from the name of a landowner and goes back to Byzantine times, according

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<sup>362</sup> Mastrokostas 1956, 32 and fig. 9. Since then, the building has been slightly modified. The window on the south aisle, belonging to the original phase, does not currently exist and its form is known to us only from a photo of the 1950s.

<sup>363</sup> Mastrokostas 1956, 31-32. Lazarides 1964, 99. Lazarides 1965, 138. The basilica is marked on *KvA* as “verfallene Kapelle mit antiken Säulenstümpfen”.

<sup>364</sup> Pallas 1986, 53-55.

<sup>365</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 3: „...insbesondere aber finden sich Reste alter Bewohnung (Fundamentspuren) östlich im Umkreis der ‚verfallenen Kapelle‘ nach der nördlichen Biegung des Rhevma zu. Hier scheint die spätere Besiedlung weniger getilgt zu haben.“

<sup>366</sup> Christodoulou 2001-2004, 310.

<sup>367</sup> Travlos 1988, 335-6.

to Kambouroglou.<sup>368</sup> Vasmer argues for a Slav origin.<sup>369</sup> A chapel dedicated to Agios Georgios, still preserved (*vidi*), was recorded at the same spot on *KvA*.

### 3.5. *Araphen* – *Raphena*<sup>370</sup>

The name ‘Raphena’ derives from the name of the ancient *demos*, *Araphen*, which was located here.<sup>371</sup> ‘Araphen’ is mentioned as a ‘χωρίον’ in the ‘Praktikon of Athens’<sup>372</sup>; its property was cultivated or managed by a priest. It is perhaps of some significance that ‘Araphen’ does not occur in the Greek portulans<sup>373</sup>; this might be due to its lesser role in long-distance trade compared to Porto Raphte, at least in the late medieval period.

A large Roman bath complex, with use into the Late Roman period, has been excavated 1 km inland of the sea coast, near the north bank of Megalo Revma (Pl. 12c).<sup>374</sup> Steinhauer thinks that Roman *Araphen* would have had an urban character, similar to the one found in Porto Raphte.<sup>375</sup> Seven Roman graves dug in the close vicinity of the bathing

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<sup>368</sup> Kambouroglou (1930, 376) argues that the genitive case (nominative case ‘Βουρβάς’), attests to the name of the landowner.

<sup>369</sup> Vasmer 1941, 121. The placename ‘Vourva’ is similar to the ancient Slav word “vrba”, which means field.

<sup>370</sup> In modern times, and especially after the 1970s, Raphena developed rapidly as an important harbour town of eastern Attica. The area was then unprotected archaeologically, and no excavation preceded the intensive house construction; antiquities were subsequently destroyed, and only very few of them have been recorded archaeologically.

<sup>371</sup> Traill 1975, 40. Travlos 1988, 380.

<sup>372</sup> Grandstrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou 1976, 25, 41: ...Ἐν τῷ χωρ(ίῳ) Ἀρα[φῆνι], κρεῦς ὁ ἄ... (illegible).

<sup>373</sup> It is not included in the documents published by Delatte (1947).

<sup>374</sup> Travlos 1988, 380, figs. 478-479. The bathing complex was excavated by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ephorate of Antiquities (information provided by Travlos), but I was not able to find any relevant report. Travlos (1988, fig. 479 = Pl. 11c of the present study) furthermore “reconstructed” the ground plan of a large Early Christian basilica, based on scant wall remains which were revealed just at the south of the bath; however, according to Steinhauer (2001, 146 and note 51) this reconstruction is not based on adequate evidence.

<sup>375</sup> Steinhauer (as above).

complex, in which four glass vessels and two gold earrings were found, supports the image of a prosperous coastal town.<sup>376</sup>

In the area of Neos Voutzas, 3 km north of Raphena, a large farm of Roman and Late Roman times was excavated. It included numerous rooms, storerooms and an oil-press. Children burials were found in one of the rooms.<sup>377</sup>

### **3.6. Loutsa and the hills to its west: Agia Kyriake, Velanideza**

Loutsa is the modern name of the level sea coast, today built-up, bordered by the small gulf of Raphena to the north, the low hills of Agia Kyriake, Velanideza, Zagani and Kokkinadeza to the west, and the valley of Brauron to the south. A salt lake at the south of the promontory which separates Loutsa from Raphena was used during Antiquity, but also in the 19<sup>th</sup> c., when it was called ‘Alyki’.

The *demos* of *Halai Araphenidai* has been located here [C].<sup>378</sup> A Roman farm was excavated at a distance of 1 km from the Artemis temple<sup>379</sup>, and a few Middle and Late Roman ceramic sherds were collected by Wrede<sup>380</sup>.

Milchhöfer reported a ‘Byzantine’ three-aisled church ruin, ca. 25x15 m, located less than 1 km west of the salt lake. A later church dedicated to the Presentation of Christ (Υπαπαντή) stands in its immediate proximity.<sup>381</sup> He also reported remains of medieval habitation (*non-vidi*) on the east side of the hills which separate the plain of Spata from the

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<sup>376</sup> See Rammou 2005, 74. The recovery, at an earlier date, of a LRA2 amphora sherd at the port of Raphena by Wrede, confirms that evidence about activity in this port was visible in earlier decades; see Grigoropoulos 2009, 481, FO 081.

<sup>377</sup> Oikonomakou 2009, 279: 25<sup>th</sup> km of Marathon Avenue.

<sup>378</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 6. Traill 1975, 40. Steinhauer 2001, 122-128.

<sup>379</sup> Skaraki 2005.

<sup>380</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 477, FO 061.

<sup>381</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 6-7. The proximity to Hypapanti has been noted by Travlos (1988, 211-212), who assumed that the church seen by Milchhöfer is an Early Christian basilica.

coast, at the exit of the two passages which lead through the hills (east of Vourva and of Spata / Lappari).<sup>382</sup>

### 3.7. Spata and the Airport area

The Albanian name ‘Spata’ has been assigned since the 15<sup>th</sup> c. to the settlement located in the middle of the Mesogeia plain.<sup>383</sup> South and east of Spata an extended flat plain forms the heart of the Mesogeia plain.

The *demos Erchia* [C] included the territory to the south of modern Spata.<sup>384</sup> The Magoula hill (164 m), today integrated to the urban nexus of Spata, formed, according to Vanderpool, the acropolis of *Erchia*. The *demos* of *Myrrhinoutta* or *Konthyle* (or both) [C] was located to the east and north-east of Spata, but the extension of their territory is not as clear.

Reported Late Roman and Byzantine remains from the broader Spata area do not follow the geographical distribution of the ancient *demoi*. Instead, they fall into two different geographical entities. The first entity, regarded as such also by Milchhöfer<sup>385</sup>, is the small plain surrounded by hills to the north of Spata, called ‘Yalou’. The second entity is the large flat plain to the south and east of Spata, part of which is now occupied by the new airport, and where field survey and excavation revealed farmsteads and small agricultural settlements.

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<sup>382</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 5.

<sup>383</sup> Lambros 1896, 25, 31-32. The name ‘Spatas’ belonged to a powerful Albanian family which moved from Epirus to Attica in the early 15<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>384</sup> Vanderpool 1965. Daux 1963. Steph. Byz., «Ἐρχιά, δῆμος ταῖς Ἀττικῆς, ταῖς Αἰγίδος φυλῆς, ἀπὸ Ἐρχίου τοῦ Ξενίσαντος Δήμητραν. Τρισυλλάβως δὲ τοὺς Ἐρχιάς φασιν. ὁ δημότης Ἐρχιεύς. (...)»

<sup>385</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 4.

### 3.7.1. North of Spata: Yalou and Boura

Early Byzantine remains in Yalou have been reported only by Langdon, at a spot marked as ‘Pyrgos’ on *KvA*. Langdon saw a large monolithic limestone column drum, a small pedestal marble column base, and two small marble fragments from a basilica screen, indicating the existence of an Early Christian basilica (*non-vidi*).<sup>386</sup>

The church of Agios Nikolaos, on the NE slope of the Boura hill, possibly marks the location of a medieval settlement, although no spolia or earlier remains are to be seen around it (*vidi*). Milchhöfer reported that “some old wells [on the east slope] up to Agios Nikolaos allow the hypothesis for the existence here of medieval, and possibly ancient, habitation”.<sup>387</sup> At ‘Pyrgos’ he saw remains of a strong tower and house remains, and at the churches of Agios Demetrios and Agia Triada he recorded ancient blocks and wells; at Agia Triada he additionally saw remains of a third settlement. I was not able to find any of these remains.

At the SW border of modern Spata, on Magoula hill, Milchhöfer saw the traces of a strong circuit wall with mortar<sup>388</sup>, which testifies the continuation of the use of the hill as a defence point in post-Roman times. Also the name of the Pyrgari hill suggests the earlier existence of a tower on its top, but already in the late 19<sup>th</sup> c. no traces of such a structure were to be seen.<sup>389</sup>

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<sup>386</sup> Langdon 1995, 488, no. 36. Good parallels for these architectural members, cited by Langdon, can be found in Bouras 1985-6, 67, Δ 603 (parapet / reredos fragments) and 76, Δ 677 (pedestal base). Milchhöfer (1889, 4) noted, only passing, the remains of a strong tower at this spot. Langdon tried to find the tower, but unsuccessfully; instead, he found and reported the scant remains of the Early Christian basilica noted here.

<sup>387</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 4.

<sup>388</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 4. These remains must have been destroyed by modern building activity, as I was not able to find them.

<sup>389</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 4.

### 3.7.2. The Airport area

Two farmsteads of the LRom/EByz period have been excavated in the plain SE of Spata.<sup>390</sup> A large farmstead was excavated in the north part of the Airport area, 500 m NE of Vathy Pegadi, and just a few hundred metres south of the old road which connected Spata with the east coast (Loutsa) through the low hill passes. The farmstead was built on the ruins of a Hellenistic farm during Roman times, and was continuously used until the 4<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>391</sup>

The second farmstead (rather a villa) was excavated in the south part of the Airport area and 400 m north of an ancient road leading from *Erchia* to Brauron.<sup>392</sup> It presents an interesting architectural type of a three-aisled structure with an entrance stoa (a plan reminiscent of contemporary basilicas), surrounded with rooms and a cistern on the remaining three sides. The building covered a surface of 800 m<sup>2</sup> and was dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. In later (Byzantine?) times, a large storeroom with *pithoi* in its interior was erected on its ruins.

The scattered character of habitation, indicated by the LRom/EByz farms, succeeded a similar type of settlement pattern which prevailed during late Classical times (Pl. 13a).<sup>393</sup>

A small rural Early Byzantine settlement was excavated on the Karababa hill, in the central-east part of the Airport area. The excavation revealed small houses consisting of two or three rooms (Pl. 13b), storerooms and a well preserved wine press. Pottery and coins of Justinian I and Justin II date the last phase of activity to the 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>394</sup>

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<sup>390</sup> Steinhauer 1982, 123-126. Steinhauer 2001c, 144. Unfortunately no plan or photos of either rural farmstead was ever published.

<sup>391</sup> The farmstead covered an overall surface of 1600 sq. m. Its rooms were arranged in an L-shape and communicated with a large rectangular yard. According to the excavator, the building did not show any features of wealth, but this impression may have been due to its poor preservation state, since its great size and the fact that it included a bath do indicate a degree of prosperity.

<sup>392</sup> Steinhauer 2001c.

<sup>393</sup> Steinhauer 1994, 176. Five Classical farms have been located and excavated in the airport area. These were simple structures with a small central yard and many ancillary rooms, set at a distance of 120-250 m apart from each other.

<sup>394</sup> Steinhauer 1982, 123-126. Steinhauer 2001c, 144.

Remains of farmstead of the late 6<sup>th</sup> / 7<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>395</sup> were found just west of the 15<sup>th</sup>-c. church dedicated to Agios Petros and Paulos and 500 m south of the major crossroads at Vathy Pegadi. The 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup>-c. remains were badly damaged by fire and by subsequent occupation, since a much larger and more organised agricultural building complex, used from the late 11<sup>th</sup> until the mid 13<sup>th</sup> c., succeeded them (Pl. 14a-c). Moreover, a small cemetery dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> c. to the 14<sup>th</sup> c. was excavated around the Agios Petros and Pavlos church (Pl. 14d).<sup>396</sup>

The church of Agios Petros and Paulos itself, although dated to the early Ottoman period, includes *spolia* of the Early Byzantine period (*vidi*).

The excavation of the Byzantine agricultural settlement can be combined with a piece of information which Milchhöfer offers about ruins of a tower and traces of houses located ca. 1 km west of Agios Petros and Paulos.<sup>397</sup>

### **3.8. Brauron – Vraona**

Brauron is the ancient name of the sanctuary, dedicated to Artemis, which developed at the homonymous bay. Toponymic continuity between Antiquity and the modern era is noticeable. The sanctuary belonged to the ancient *demos* of *Philaidai* [C], but no ancient habitation site of historic times has been found in the area.<sup>398</sup>

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<sup>395</sup> The excavator suggests a dating of this first phase of use to the 7<sup>th</sup> c. The only evidence available is a dish of the type AfRS Hayes Form 104-105, displayed in the Airport Museum (Pl. 14b, lower right). This dates from the late 6<sup>th</sup> to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> c., or later: Hayes 1972, 166. An example of AfRS Form 105 was found in Deposit 30 of Sarachane, which was dated 655-700: Hayes 1992, 100-101, No. 40, Fig. 40.

<sup>396</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 2001, 165.

<sup>397</sup> Milchhöfer (1889, 5) describes the location as being to the north of the Agioi Asomatoi church, apparently referring to a metochi which existed in the area. Langdon (1995, 488, No. 37) tried to find the tower remains, but these had apparently already been erased; he did, however, find piles of rubble and noticeable quantities of glazed pottery at the same spot.

<sup>398</sup> For a full bibliography on research on the site and sanctuary of Brauron see Travlos 1988, 56-57.

A cemetery consisting of 25 graves of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c. has been excavated 400 m to the west of the Christian basilica, on the south slopes of the hills ‘Kapsala’ and ‘Leth-Despoti’.<sup>399</sup> Koder and Hild consider as certain that the site of the Artemis sanctuary was inhabited in the Early Byzantine period (they also mention the recovery of a Justinianic *solidus* of 538), and that at some point during the Middle Byzantine period a resettlement took place, which survived beyond 1204.<sup>400</sup>

Although it seems that the ancient sanctuary had ceased to function already some centuries earlier, the location and monumentality of the Early Christian Brauron basilica [A] (*vidi*) (Pl. 15a-b), of the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>401</sup>, demonstrate that it was meant to replace a pagan sacred site which still enjoyed great fame and probably attracted religious activity.<sup>402</sup> A 7<sup>th</sup>-c. marble plaque with low relief decoration<sup>403</sup> (Pl. 15c) possibly hints at a phase of renovation. A single-aisled chapel, built in the main nave after the destruction of the basilica, represents a third phase of church construction.<sup>404</sup>

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<sup>399</sup> Eustratiou 1989, 76 and pl. 57a. The excavator dated all the vessels to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., but the jugs shown in pl. 57a date to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> c. The site is marked as ‘Δεδεσπότη’ on the *HMGS* map.

<sup>400</sup> *TIB* I, 137. No reference is provided for the recovery of the *solidus* or the resettlement. Brauron is included in the catalogue of Stephanos Byzantios (ed. A. Meineke 1849, 184): “Βραυρών, δῆμος τῆς Αττικῆς, ἀπό Βραυρῶνος ἥρωος, ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ Βραυρωνία ἢ Ἄρτεμις. τα τοπικά Βραυρωνόθεν Βραυρωνᾶδε Βραυρῶνι, ὡς Μαραθῶνι”, but this does not attest to the form of habitation in its area in the Early Byzantine period, since Stephanos Byzantios’ sources were apparently ancient.

<sup>401</sup> Stikas 1952, 104. Pallas 1986, 51, 52, 60; he thinks that it is somewhat later than the Lechaion basilica at Corinth, and probably earlier than the basilica of Laureotic Olympus, which he places just before 559.

<sup>402</sup> For its excavation see Stikas 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954. For a description and discussion of its architecture see Pallas 1986, esp. 46-49.

<sup>403</sup> Stikas 1952, 82. For a parallel see Soteriou 1929, 83, fig. 101, dated also in the 7<sup>th</sup> c. but only on stylistic ground. Orlandos (1960, 249, pl. 185b) presented an impost capital with similar iconographic theme and similar stylistic execution, which was found among column capitals of the tectonic type; he dated them to the 6<sup>th</sup> c., but a comparison of these capitals with the ones exhibited in the Byzantine Museum of Athens would be an argument for their chronology in the ‘Dark Age’ period. Pallas (1986, 49) thinks that the Brauron plaque should be dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c., but the parallel that he cites is a mosaic and its similarity with the Brauron plaque is only an iconographic one, not a stylistic one.

<sup>404</sup> Its ruins can be seen in Stikas 1952, 76, fig. 3 and 78, fig. 5. Today only its plan can be discerned on the ground.



On the hill which rises ca. 500 m south of the basilica Milchhöfer saw “building remains of an ancient *demos*, (...) where among the remains of Antiquity a Byzantine circuit wall, made of very compact mortar masonry, can be seen”.<sup>405</sup> My effort to locate these remains were unfruitful.<sup>406</sup>

The ‘medieval’ tower of Brauron [A] stands almost intact 3 km W/SW of the Christian basilica (*vidi*) (Pl. 15e). Gun slits hint to a chronology not before the 16<sup>th</sup> c.

### 3.9. Kantza<sup>407</sup>

Scholars include Kantza to the territory of the *demos* of *Pallene*.<sup>408</sup> A large spoil heap in the village contained Late Roman offerings to a sanctuary which appears to have been dedicated to Aphrodite.<sup>409</sup> An Early Christian basilica is known to have stood in Glyka Nera, just west of Kantza, on an ancient cemetery<sup>410</sup>: architectural members of a basilica, consisting of a monolithic, rather small marble column, and a double-faced mullion from a two-light window, were found.<sup>411</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 7. See *KvA* Blatt VII, far low right, ‘Ruine eines antiken Demos’.

<sup>406</sup> Site visit: November 21<sup>st</sup> 2009.

<sup>407</sup> Bires (1971, 47) states that the town’s name derives from the surname of the old Athenian family ‘Kantza’ or ‘Kantzia’.

<sup>408</sup> Arapoyanni 1986, 55; Goette 1992-98, 112. The area was earlier thought to have belonged to the territory of the *demos* of *Paiania*. The latter theory (Traill 1986, 129, ‘Upper Paiania’) was based not only on the short distance of ca. 3 km which separates the centre of Kantza from the ruins of ancient Upper Paiania, but also because the so-called ‘Lion cave’, located just 3 km to the west of Kantza, on a height of 540 m on Mt. Hymettus, is known through an ancient source to have belonged to the *demos* of Paiania (Vanderpool 1967, 309-311 [and map]).

<sup>409</sup> Kakavoyanni *et al.* 2009, 429 and figs 13a-b: junction of Heroon Polytechniou st. and Galenou st., location ‘Scholeia’, in Kantza. The offerings were human figurines (see Kakavoyanni 2005, 185, figs. 12a-b), clay dove figurines (hence the connection to Aphrodite), oil-lamps and vessels with relief decoration. Excavation report in Kakavoyanni 2001-2004, 320.

<sup>410</sup> A 4<sup>th</sup>-c. BC grave and Classical sherds were found in the surrounding area, which the excavator assumed to have been illegally dug from other graves.

<sup>411</sup> Andreiomenou 1961. The basilica was not excavated.

A Byzantine church with a semi-circular apse once stood just to the east of the Lion of Kantza<sup>412</sup>, beneath the standing church of Agios Nikolaos [A] (Pl. 15f) (*vidi*).<sup>413</sup> The church stands on the road towards *Steiria*/Porto Raphte.<sup>414</sup> Excavation southwest of the standing basilica revealed architectural remains of a small monastery attached to the older, Byzantine church.<sup>415</sup> Movable finds date from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> c. **Table 1** lists ceramics datable up to the 12<sup>th</sup> c. (Pl. 16).

The church of Palaiopanagia [A] (*vidi*) is located 1.3 km east of Agios Nikolaos. It is a small single-aisled basilica of the Ottoman period, but its north wall has incorporated the north apse of a triconch church of the 12<sup>th</sup> c. (Pl. 17b-d).<sup>416</sup>

Finally, Milchhöfer reports the existence of a rectangular building known as ‘Loutro’, with mortar in its masonry, at the site of Glyka Nera, just west of Kantza; he thought that the building was certainly not a bath, and he tentatively dated it to the Middle Ages (*non-vidi*).<sup>417</sup>

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<sup>412</sup> The marble statue of a lion, a burial monument of the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, which stands in front of the church of Agios Nikolaos at the northern outskirts of the modern town, was the landmark of the area at least since Early Modern times. The Lion was seen by Milchhöfer (1881, II, 31) and Dodwell (1819, 523-524). For its chronology see Goette 2001, 235. Local legends connected the lion monument with the above-mentioned cave, which shows use during ancient times: the myth that “the monster has a den on the mountains”, which a countryman shared with C. Wordsworth just before 1837, proved to contain some truth, since E. Vanderpool (1967) discovered a cave on the neighbouring slope of Mt. Hymettus, with sherds of Classical and Roman date lying outside its entrance and in its interior (*non-vidi*). The lion sculpture marks the location of a Classical cemetery: see Arapoyanni 1986, 256.

<sup>413</sup> Chatzesoteriou 1973, 212. The standing church was built as a *metochion* of the Agios Ioannis Kynegos monastery in 1592.

<sup>414</sup> Kakavoyanni 2009, 186.

<sup>415</sup> Arapoyanni 1986. A detailed description of the architectural finds, as well as a catalogue of the Middle Byzantine movable finds, constitute Appendix I.

<sup>416</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 234-5. Bouras - Boura 2002, 176-177.

<sup>417</sup> Milchhöfer 1883, 31. Stuart – Revett 1829-31, 217.

### 3.10. *Paiania* – *Liopesi*

The territory of the ancient *demos* of *Paiania* [C] was occupied by the medieval and early modern town ‘*Liopesi*’.<sup>418</sup> The latest evidence for the use of the ancient name *Paiania* is attested on an inscription of the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> c. mentioning the demotic *Παιανιεύς*.<sup>419</sup>

#### *Early Byzantine occupation*

An Early Christian basilica has been excavated in the SE outskirts of modern *Paiania*, underneath the Ottoman-dated church of *Agios Athanasios* [A] (Pl. 18a-b) (*vidi*).<sup>420</sup> According to Pallas, it dates after the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. Archaeological finds attest to the existence of a settlement around the basilica. In its close proximity part of a room, probably used as a cistern, was excavated, which was tentatively dated to the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>421</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou convincingly deduced that a Middle Byzantine settlement existed in the area. It is therefore probable that the basilica of *Agios Athanasios* was still functioning in Middle Byzantine times.

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<sup>418</sup> This is a name of Albanian provenance: Phourikes 1929, 124-128.

<sup>419</sup> Sironen 2008, 147, no. 13627: *Φαῖδρος Ζωΐλον / Παιανιεύς ἐποίη[ι]*. The inscription is connected with the construction of the Horologium of Phaedros close to the Athenian Agora.

<sup>420</sup> Mastrokostas 1956, 27-31. *Churches of Attica*, 235-237. The updated description of its location is on the south edge of the modern town, some 200 m north of the fork to Markopoulo or Koropi, and just east of the Stavros – Markopoulo road.

<sup>421</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1991a, 84-85, fig. 5, pl. 50δ. The movable finds contained in and around the fill of the cistern were two coins of Manuel Comnenos (1143-1180), undecorated pottery, and glazed pottery of the Late Byzantine period. In the deepest layers, LRom/EByz pottery was found. A large pit, the walls of which were coated with carefully built tiles, was also found in the same area: Gini-Tsophopoulou 1991b, 83-84, pl. 50γ.

A further Early Christian basilica has been located in the centre of the modern town, underneath an Ottoman-dated church of Agia Paraskevi [A] (Pl. 18c-d) (*vidi*).<sup>422</sup> A church of the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> c., dedicated to Panagia [A], east of the town centre, contains a large number of Early and Middle Byzantine *spolia* (*vidi*).<sup>423</sup> A hoard of bronze coins of Maurice and Phokas was recovered in Paiania.<sup>424</sup>

It is noteworthy that all known Early Byzantine remains from Paiania are concentrated in a limited area. Judging from the known remains, one would assume that the Early Byzantine centre lies underneath the modern town, and that it therefore occupied a different site from the centres of ancient *Upper* or *Lower Paiania*.

A small 18<sup>th</sup>-c. single-aisled basilica of Prophetes Elias, 1 km south of the Panagia church, contains LRom/EByz spolia (Pl. 18e-f) (*vidi*).<sup>425</sup> Traces of walls, possibly belonging to an earlier basilica, are visible around the standing church.

### Middle Byzantine occupation

Milchhöfer reports the existence of medieval remains in the area ‘Kokkina’ (modern ‘Proselio’), between the chapels of Agios Andreas and Agia Triada. These were foundations of a square tower built of stones, bricks and mortar, connected with a wall to its south. Milchhöfer further reports the existence of “a rampart-like circuit-wall made of roughly worked, nearly polygonal blocks” (*non-vidi*; apparently not preserved<sup>426</sup>), and continues: “The site lying between the churches of Agios Andreas and Agia Triada is called ‘Miskopi’,

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<sup>422</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 234-235.

<sup>423</sup> Panousakis 1982. Goette 2001, 234. An impost block with relief decoration of a cross probably stems from the basilica of Agios Athanasios, since an identical impost block has survived in that basilica.

<sup>424</sup> Galani-Krikou *et al.* 2002, 62, No. 37. Touratsoglou 1999, 350, note 3.

<sup>425</sup> Architectural study by Panetsos (1982). The spolia are three impost blocks of trapezoid shape and with a Latin cross inside a rectangular frame, of the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> c. (for parallels see Mavroei 1999, 35f., Nos. 23-24) and three small monolithic columns.

<sup>426</sup> Langdon (1995, 488, no. 35) was also not able to find any remains of these structures.

probably corrupted from ‘Ἐπισκοπή’. It seems therefore, that the remains belong to a fortified medieval settlement with a bishopric<sup>427</sup>, thus demonstrating that the circuit-wall appeared to him to be of Byzantine date. This is a very well situated area, since it controls the central passage of Mt Hymettus.

Since Paiania never was a suffragan bishopric of the Metropolitan church of Athens, the name ‘Miskopi’ probably derives from acquisitions of the Metropolis. The letter of Pope Innocent III includes a monastery dedicated to *sanctae Trinitatis*, the location of which is uncertain so far.<sup>428</sup> Its identification with the Agia Triada church of Paiania is a reasonable hypothesis, although there is no clear evidence as yet that the Agia Triada church belonged to a monastery.

The church of Agia Triada [A] (Pl. 19a-b) (*vidi*) consists of a single-aisled basilica with a dome, which belongs to the original phase, and of an elongated narthex of a later date. Bouras, Kalogeropoulou and Andreadi earlier dated the church and the fresco of the Christ Pantocrator in the dome (Pl. 19c) to the 12<sup>th</sup> c., although they added that some of its architectural features point to a 13<sup>th</sup>-c. date.<sup>429</sup> Bouras, however, did not include the church in his recent study of 12<sup>th</sup>-c. architecture.

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<sup>427</sup> Milchhöfer 1883, 31. The name ‘Episkopi’ is attested also by Chatzesoteriou (1973, 218-219, 326, esp. 337, with further bibliography).

<sup>428</sup> *Acta Innocentii III*, No. 256, Col. 1561A. Koder and Hill (*TIB* I, 143; Koder 1977, 140) tentatively identify *Sancte Trinitatis* with the church of Agia Triada in Parnes (see Chapter B.7.7), but do not base their arguments on further evidence. Their theory is followed by Kontogeorgopoulou (2011, 319). Earlier, Neroutsos (1892, 51ff.) identified it with the Agia Triada monastery in Lambrika. None of these scholars mention the name ‘Miskopi’, reported by Milchhöfer, and requiring an explanation.

<sup>429</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 238.

The church of Agios Andreas [A] is a small single-aisled basilica of Ottoman date (Pl. 19e) (*vidi*).<sup>430</sup> No other hints for the existence of an earlier church are visible, but an old report notes ruins in the area.<sup>431</sup>

In the rural area ‘Chalidou’<sup>432</sup>, marked by the church of Agios Nikolaos, Milchhöfer saw remains of old terraces and two ruined chapels.<sup>433</sup> Agios Nikolaos is a small cross-in-square building [A] (Pl. 20a-b) (*vidi*). The original wall-paintings have been dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>434</sup> (Pl. 20c), while the architecture of the monument may date shortly or long before its wall-paintings.<sup>435</sup> The existence of a settlement in the medieval, and probably also the Middle Byzantine period has been supported by a few scholars [see A].

A church of Ottoman date, dedicated to Agios Georgios Sklepios, located in the village of Karela, contains numerous ancient stone blocks in its masonry (*vidi*). The name of the church and the existence of spolia suggest that a sanctuary of Asklepios stood on the site of the present church.<sup>436</sup> Both Ross’ testimony<sup>437</sup> and the evidence for cult continuity allow the hypothesis that the site was used, and possibly inhabited, in Byzantine times. This

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<sup>430</sup>The church has a semi-circular apse, which, due to its very large diameter compared to the size of the church, evokes the hypothesis that it might have been built on the ruins of an apse of an earlier, larger basilica. Mouzakes (2006, 343, 359-360), however, notes that semi-circular apses of large diameter compared to the main aisle appear not only in Early Byzantine basilicas but also in some Late Byzantine – Early Ottoman churches; additionally, apses with a ground-plan larger than a semi-cycle are common in Late Byzantine Attica.

<sup>431</sup>Chatzesoteriou 1973, 218. Stone blocks and clay sherds were seen south of the church during my visit.

<sup>432</sup>According to Kotzias (1925-26, 196), the name is of Albanian provenance and means an area or a settlement lying close to a mountain.

<sup>433</sup>Milchhöfer 1883, 32. Milchhöfer (*ibid.*) hesitantly suggested the location, in the area of Chalidou, of the ancient *demos* of *Cholleidai*, based only on the resemblance of the name. Traill (1986, 132), on the other hand, tentatively suggested the existence here of the ancient *demos*-site of *Kikynna*, based on slight epigraphic and literary evidence.

<sup>434</sup>Mouriki 1980-81, 119. *Churches of Attica*, 233-234. (In the slightly earlier, Greek edition of *Churches of Attica*, *Εκκλησίες της Αττικής*, 1969, 233-124, the authors expressed the opinion that the church may date to the Ottoman period, which was soon abandoned after the closer study of the frescoes.)

<sup>435</sup>Bouras - Boura 2002, 319.

<sup>436</sup>Goette 2001, 235.

<sup>437</sup>Ross 1855, 219: “Slightly to the south of Karelas there are ruins of an old *demos* with many churches”.

seems to be confirmed by the testimony of a ‘χωρίον Ἀσκληπιός’, included in the list of the *Praktikon of Athens* of the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>438</sup>

### 3.11. Koropi<sup>439</sup>

The area west of Koropi belonged to the ancient *demos* of *Sphettos*, and the centre of the *demos* has been localized on the hill ‘Kastro tou Christou’.<sup>440</sup> The hill overlooks the road (Σφηττία Ὀδός) which departs from Koropi and the western Mesogeia plain and ascends Mt Hymettus, leading to its southern passage.<sup>441</sup> The name of *Sphettos* was known to Synesius of Cyrene in ca. 400<sup>442</sup>, and from his account one can safely deduce that the centre of the *demos* still existed. Cemeteries and other remains of the *demos* of *Oa* have been found north of Koropi.<sup>443</sup>

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<sup>438</sup>Grandstrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou 1976, 25, 39: “Ἐν τῷ χωρ(ί)ῳ Ἀσκληπ(ι)ῶ· Μιχ(α)ήλ) ὁ Πεταλωτ(ή)ς, Ἐχ(ε)ί (γ)υν(α)ί(κ)α Μαρί(α)ν, ζε(υ)γαρά(τ)ος.” The publishers of the document note that the known Attic sanctuaries of Asklepios are three: in Athens (on the south slope of the Acropolis), in Peiraeus and in Eleusis. As they comment, none of these can be meant in the document, since they were all located in rather large towns, which cannot have been referred to as *χωρίον*. A temple dedicated to Asklepios is also known to have been founded in 220/19 BC at Sounion: Day 1942, 15; *IG* II-III<sup>2</sup> 2857; *AE* 1900, 141-144. But this sanctuary can hardly be supported to be the one referred to in the *Praktikon*, since this one apparently did not give its name to the area of Sounion. The identification of the ‘chorion Asklepios’ with Karelas is supported also by Kontogeorgopoulou (2011, 311-312).

<sup>439</sup>The name ‘Koropi’ is of Albanian provenance: Lambros 1896, 35. Late Roman and Byzantine remains have not been found in Koropi, but in the area of *Sphettos*, as well as from sites located to its east.

<sup>440</sup>Kalogeropoulou 1969. Numerous ancient sculptures, reliefs and inscriptions have been found in the wider area: Milchhöfer 1887, 97-102. Activity on the hill during the Roman period, mentioned by Kalogeropoulou (1969, 62), has not been backed up with any kind of evidence.

<sup>441</sup>On the roads see Sub-Chapters B.2.1. and B.3.1.

<sup>442</sup>The bishop Synesius of Cyrene wrote to his brother Euoptius: “I hope that I may profit as much as you desire from my residence at Athens. It seems to me that I have already grown more than a palm and a finger’s length in wisdom, and I can give you at once a proof of the progress I have made. Well, it is from Anagyrus that I am writing to you; and I have visited Sphettus, Thria, Cephesia, and Phalerum. But may the accursed ship-captain perish who brought me here! Athens has no longer anything sublime except the country’s famous names.” J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXVI. *Epistulae* cxxxvi. The translation is that of A. FitzGerald, *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene*, London 1926.

<sup>443</sup>It is possible that this *demos* extended to the east of the modern town, where ancient building remains and pottery have been reported since the 19<sup>th</sup> c.: Kakavoyanni 1998.

### Early Byzantine period

A Late Roman farmstead was recently excavated at ‘Liotrivi’, ca. 2 km east of Koropi, partly built on a Classical building.<sup>444</sup> A Byzantine coin was found in the upper layer. 500 m north, at the area ‘Patema’, a similar Late Roman structure was excavated.<sup>445</sup>

A number of architectural sculptures and inscriptions of the LRom/EByz period survive in later monuments. A 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> c. inscription preserved in the church of Agios Athanasios, a building of Ottoman date located in Philiati, attests to the existence of an Early Christian church in the area.<sup>446</sup> The church of Agioi Anargyroi (Pl. 21a-b) (*vidi*), located 1 km east of Koropi, in the area ‘Skoupéri’, on the old road to Brauron, preserves several sculpted LRom/EByz architectural members.<sup>447</sup>

### Kastro tou Christou

The Kastro tou Christou hill is protected by a strong medieval circuit wall [A] (Pl. 21c-d, 22a-b) (*vidi*). Based on earlier finds, the site shows use in the LRom/EByz period, and possibly in the 12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> c. The prominence of the hill, near the exit of the southern passage of Hymettus, its direct access to water source (on its north slope), in combination with its defensive character, show that it played a strategic role.<sup>448</sup>

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<sup>444</sup> Nezeri 2005, 193-195. The farmstead had a size of 50x20 m and consisted of fourteen rooms. It has a character of self-sufficiency, since it was used not only for habitation and for storage, but also for industrial works. A small structure interpreted as a kiln, as well as an eight-shaped limestone kiln which was probably also used for the melting of metals, show that the farmstead produced some industrial materials. Ceramic finds and a large number of coins date the use of the farmstead in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>445</sup> Kakavoyanni *et al.* 1997. I was not able to find and consult this volume.

<sup>446</sup> Sironen 2008, 35, no. 13301 (= Sironen 1997, 343, no. 339): *ἀὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ Κυρίου, δίκε[οι] / ἠσελεύσοντε ἐν αὐτῇ*. For a good photograph of the inscription see *Churches of Attica*, 12, fig. 19. The inscription is embedded in the central apse of the church, while further Christian inscriptions, covered with white wash and therefore hardly decipherable, survive in the church walls: see Sironen 2008, 40, no. 13315 and 111, no. 13518 (= Sironen 1997, 261, no. 226bis and 348, no. 344bis). An impost capital from a small Byzantine column, decorated with three leaves, has also been preserved: see *Churches of Attica*, 11.

<sup>447</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 13-14.

<sup>448</sup> This is also the opinion of Milchhöfer (1883, 32).



### Middle Byzantine period

Three standing churches attest to Middle Byzantine activity east of Koropi. The Metamorphosis church [A] (Pl. 22c-d) (*vidi*), at the SE border of the town, is a church of the cross-in-square type, dated to the third quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> c., with early 11<sup>th</sup>-c. wall-paintings on the dome.<sup>449</sup> 200 m to its south, the early modern church of Agios Modestos has incorporated the east apse of a church of the late 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>450</sup> or probably the early 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>451</sup> (*non-vidi*) (Pl. 23a-b). A large number of non-fluted marble columns lie around the church, thus suggesting the existence of an earlier (Roman to Early Byzantine) monument.

Agioi Anargyroi, located ca. 1200 m east of Koropi, was already mentioned owing to its LRom/EByz spolia. The east part of the church has been argued to date to Middle Byzantine times, due to its lofty and agreeable architectural proportions and its semi-hexagonal apses (Pl. 21b).<sup>452</sup>

The late medieval settlement ‘Philiati’ lies to the west of modern Koropi, just north of *Sphettos*.<sup>453</sup> A small single-aisled vaulted Byzantine basilica (Pl. 23c) was excavated near the

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<sup>449</sup> Orlandos 1961, 13-19.

<sup>450</sup> Mamaloukos 1982.

<sup>451</sup> Bouras (2002, 336) notes the strong similarities of this church with Agios Petros at Kalyvia, and thinks that they are contemporary.

<sup>452</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 14.

<sup>453</sup> Gardikas 1920, 31. Kalogeropoulou 1969, 56. Lambros (1896, 38) argued that the placename ‘Philiati’ derives from the name of a land owner of the early Ottoman period, called ‘Triantaphyllis’ or ‘Phoulis’. It is not quite clear in which chronological period Philiati was active as a village. The significant number of 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup>-c. churches still standing in its area (Agios Athanasios, Agios Demetrios, Agioi Asomatoi, Agios Petros) suggests that the village flourished during this period, or at least that it existed until then. Its existence may have started considerably earlier.

recent church Agioi Pantēs.<sup>454</sup> Spolia were used in its masonry, among which part of an architrave from a church screen (Pl. 23d), datable to the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>455</sup>

Ruins of a church with a semi-circular apse, built in a rough *cloisonné* technique, and still known as Agia Photēini (*non-vidi*), were found ca. 200 m north of Agioi Pantēs, just west of the 16<sup>th</sup>-c. chapel of Agios Petros.<sup>456</sup>

Fifty metres west of Agios Athanasios, a medieval or Ottoman tower<sup>457</sup> once controlled part of the *Sphettia Odos*, and may have been connected with the fort on the Kastro tou Christou hill.<sup>458</sup> Two further towers are reported to have stood in Philiati, at unspecified locations.<sup>459</sup>

On the SE foothill of Mt Hymettus ‘Kontra’ (334 m) stands a fully preserved church of Middle or Late Byzantine times, dedicated to Agios Nikolaos (Pl. 23e). Milchhöfer saw two wells, remains of foundations and of stone walls (latter possibly from a fortification) at this spot.<sup>460</sup>

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<sup>454</sup> Lazarides 1965, 137. The site is called ‘Xylokena tou Kaliana’ or ‘Katounista’; the latter name means ‘little village’ in Albanian (Kotzias 1925-6, 197 and note 2), which suggests the existence of a settlement.

<sup>455</sup> The cross with the curved outline finds a parallel in Vanderheyde 2008, 356, fig. 7, which she compares with reliefs from the Boeotian 9<sup>th</sup>-c. Skripou church. I visited the site but was not able to find the church remains, which may have been buried for preservation or demolished by illegal activity. The area around the modern church of Agioi Pantēs is scattered with bricks and sherds of coarsewares which date to medieval times, but no securely datable sherds were seen.

<sup>456</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1991d, 81. The building remains were covered by high vegetation, and only part of the apse, preserved to a height of 2 m, was visible.

<sup>457</sup> Gardikas 1920, 31. Kalogeropoulou 1969, 56. *Churches of Attica*, 11. Unfortunately, the tower was pulled down by the owner of the land on which it stood. No description of its masonry exists, apart from the detail that ancient blocks were built into it (Gardikas 1920, 31), thus its chronology is impossible to specify. The area is scattered with large semi-dressed stones and sherds of the medieval and post-medieval periods (*vidi*).

<sup>458</sup> Michael-Dede 1988, 449.

<sup>459</sup> Petrides 1890, 121.

<sup>460</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 14.

### 3.12. *Lamprae* – Lambrika

Lambrika retained its name since the Classical period, when its area was occupied by the northern part of the split *demos* of Upper and Lower *Lamprae* [C]. The name of *Lower Lamprae* changed completely, due to Albanian occupation in late medieval times, to the placenames ‘Kitsi’ and ‘Kiapha Thiti’.<sup>461</sup> Both sites of *Upper* and *Lower Lamprae* show a remarkable degree of continuity in occupation from Classical to Late Byzantine times.<sup>462</sup>

#### *Upper Lamprae* – Lambrika

LRom/EByz remains have been noted 2 km W/NW of Lambrika, where Eliot saw house remains, a ruined church of Agios Nikolaos, and pottery.<sup>463</sup>

At Lambrika itself there is evidence for the existence of an extended Byzantine settlement: four churches of the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> c. (Agios Loukas, Agia Triada, Agios Ioannis, Agios Konstantinos) (*vidi*), one of which (Agios Loukas) has a 12<sup>th</sup>-c. phase of construction in a visible state<sup>464</sup> (Pl. 23f), numerous house ruins over an area of ca. 1000 square meters, and Byzantine pottery.

Wheler attests to the existence of a “ruined town” in Lambrika already in 1682<sup>465</sup>, while Milchhöfer noted the existence of numerous wells, house remains of the destroyed town, and remains of a tower.<sup>466</sup> According to Koder, Agios Loukas possibly is the church

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<sup>461</sup> Lambros (1896, 37) states that these names sound rather Albanian than Greek.

<sup>462</sup> For toponymics, ancient accounts and archaeological remains of both periods see Eliot 1962, 47-59.

<sup>463</sup> Eliot 1962, 58. I was not able to find these remains.

<sup>464</sup> The narthex of the church dates to the 12<sup>th</sup> c., while the rest of the building has been reconstructed since then; see Bouras - Boura 2002, 203. In *Churches of Attica*, 86ff. the original phase of Agios Loukas is dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> or the 13<sup>th</sup> c. Koder and Hild (*TIB*, 193) support the 12<sup>th</sup>-c. chronology, also proposed earlier by Lazarides 1966, 137f.

<sup>465</sup> Wheler 1682, 449.

<sup>466</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 14.

listed in the letter of Pope Innocent III among the properties of the Church of Athens.<sup>467</sup> Agios Konstantinos preserves monolithic Ionic columns flanking the *bema* entrance. A fifth chapel, ca. 300 north of Agios Konstantinos, which was found in ruins in 1990, had immured spolia from ancient funerary monuments of the area.<sup>468</sup>

The area east, south and southeast of Agios Loukas shows numerous large stone piles, tile and brick fragments of medieval or early post-medieval date, and vessel fragments. No LRom/EByz pottery was seen<sup>469</sup>; diagnostic sherds belong to the 12<sup>th</sup> c. and later. The ceramic material recovered during excavation in two large pits just SE of Agios Loukas, dating from Classical to post-Byzantine times, also suggests that occupation in the area was continuous.<sup>470</sup>

#### Lower Lamprae – Kiapha Thiti

This locality is marked by the small hill ‘Kiapha Thiti’ (189 m) (Pl. 24a), on top of which excavation revealed an Early Byzantine fortified site, used probably also in the ‘Dark-Age’ period [see A], built upon a Hellenistic sanctuary (Pl. 24b) (*non-vidi*).<sup>471</sup> The middle part of the hill (‘Mittelburg’) is protected with an Early Byzantine fortification wall,

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<sup>467</sup> *Acta Innocentii III*, Col. 1560D (*monasterium sancti Lucae*). Koder 1977, 141, no. 69. No architectural remains of a monastery are to be seen today, but it is clear that soil has been added recently around the church.

<sup>468</sup> Kakavoyanni 1998, 73. My efforts to find this chapel were unsuccessful, and it is possible that it collapsed recently or was demolished for the construction of a modern farm. I was not able to enter the monastery of the Agia Triada, in order to see if it preserves any Byzantine remains. Milchhöfer refers to it as “the oldest” of the churches that he saw in Lambrika.

<sup>469</sup> This, however, may be due to the fact that subsequent occupation was heavy, and the earlier material remains may have been thrown away or buried under later strata. Eliot (1962, 55) was impressed that he did not find any single Classical sherd in the same area during his own meticulous research in the area, given the fact that ancient inscriptions and spolia demonstrated the location of the ancient demos centre; Eliot concluded that these must have been buried underneath later layers. And yet, two Classical sherds were indeed seen during my visit.

<sup>470</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1990, 93. The short report seems to imply that the pottery found in the pits covered all periods between the Classical and the post-Byzantine, but it does not state explicitly whether the Roman and the Early and Middle Byzantine periods are represented as well.

<sup>471</sup> Hagel – Lauter 1990, 69-107. For the wall see pp. 92-93. My effort to visit the site proved unfruitful, since a modern villa has recently occupied the site of the sanctuary and the subsequent fortification. The villa has presumably been built illegally, since the hill is an archaeological site.

inside which a small LRom/EByz building with two rooms was excavated.<sup>472</sup> The most important finds were excavated on top of the hill: a second fortification wall, with a few rooms attached to its inner face, and a small basilica in the centre of the fortified area.<sup>473</sup> The basilica has three construction phases (Pl. 25a), the first of which was dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> c. The wall was built at the same time (or soon after) the church was constructed, and was repaired at some point in the Middle Byzantine period.

Pottery found on top of the hill belongs to three distinct groups: the first belongs to the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c. (Pl. 25c); the second group was dated by the excavators to the 5<sup>th</sup> and especially the 6<sup>th</sup> c., but we date to the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c. [A] (Pl. 26a). The third group is dated to not after the 11<sup>th</sup> c. by the excavators.

The excavators state that this fortified site is neither a regular settlement (since too few buildings which could be characterised as domestic were found) nor a regular *φρούριον* or monastery (since the excavated pottery is too little); they support its characterisation as a *refugium*. Although this possibility cannot be excluded, the location of the site, controlling the main route from Vari to Koropi, strongly favours its interpretation as a guard post. The fortified site would have been easily seen from the road (from the side of Koropi), while much better locations for protected *refugia* would have been offered by the nearby hilltops and ridges of Mt Hymettus. On the other hand, the existence of two lines of fortification, the lower of which encloses a space which is large enough to protect a small

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<sup>472</sup> *Ibid.* The chronology of the building relies on its masonry (which the excavators could not identify with any of the known ‘ancient’ types of masonry), as well as on the discovery of ‘combed ware’ (“Rillenware SR-30”, which could be interpreted as a Late Roman 2 Benghazi amphora sherd) inside the building. Latter sherd is not depicted in the publication, its chronology therefore oscillates between the Late Roman and the (early) Middle Byzantine periods.

The chronology of the fortification wall is based (a) on the fact that it lies upon a Hellenistic structure, which appears to have laid in ruins for a significant amount of time before the fortification wall was built; (b) on the assumption that it must have been related to the two-room building and to the church on the top of the hill; both structures were dated to Late Roman or Early Byzantine times.

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid.*, 69-92.

community, supports the excavators' theory. It is highly possible, therefore, that the site functioned both as a guarding post and as a *refugium* in cases of emergency.

The old church Panagia Mesosporitissa<sup>474</sup> or 'Panagitsa tou Thiti'<sup>475</sup> (*vidi*) lies 800 m east of Kiapha Thiti. Its erection is dated by inscription to 1763.<sup>476</sup> In Classical times, the hill was a *temenos*.<sup>477</sup> The use of the hill between the two periods remains uncertain, but one can deduce cult continuity.

#### Lower Lamprae – Ag. Demetrios – Megalo Metochi – Mikro Metochi

Further LRom/EByz settlements were found by Eliot at two sites lying SE of Kitsi.<sup>478</sup> Both are located at a distance of 2 km from the sea, on either side of the hill called 'Megalo Metochi'. In the same district, two Byzantine sites are known: the first lay at almost half way between the two Early Byzantine settlements, on top of the hill called 'Megalo Metochi'. In the 1960s, when Eliot visited it (his site G), much of it still stood in ruins, and he concluded that it must have been a medium-sized village of the Middle Ages. Remains of at

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<sup>474</sup> The name 'Mesosporitissa' means 'worshipped in the middle of sowing season'. In the Orthodox calendar, Virgin Mary has two major festivals: one on August 15<sup>th</sup> (Dormition), and one on November 21<sup>st</sup> (Presentation of the Virgin). 'Mesosporitissa' designates that in this church the Virgin has its festival on the latter date.

<sup>475</sup> The placename 'Kiapha Thiti' has so far been assumed to be of Albanian origin. 'Kiapha' is indeed an Albanian word, meaning 'hill'; however, I was not able to find any interpretation of the word 'Thiti' as an Albanian one. Dr Archibald Dunn informs me that the Greek word 'θύτης' was used as a poetic form of the word 'bishop' during the Early Byzantine period. A combination of an Albanian and a Greek word used as a toponymic occurs in various Attic sites (e.g., 'Pousi Kalogeri', 'Monk's Well').

<sup>476</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 88-90. Eliot (1962, 56) saw "broken-down houses from a recent period" on the slopes of the hill.

<sup>477</sup> This is attested by two *horos* inscriptions engraved on the rock on the N and the S slope: Eliot 1962, 56-58. Ancient architectural members have been immured in the eastern wall of the church.

<sup>478</sup> Eliot 1962, 59. Eliot argues (*ibid*, 61) that this area belonged to the territory of *Lower Lamprae* in ancient times. Site E is marked on *KvA* (Blatt XIII), but Eliot does not specify how exactly the site has been recorded in *KvA*. I think that it is the site noted as 'Grundmauerspuren' and / or 'Spuren', with red letters. The area is currently covered with intensive cultivation and houses, so that I was not able to find any of these remains.

least two churches were to be seen.<sup>479</sup> The placename of the area attests to possession by the Church or by a private owner.

The second Byzantine site lay by the 11<sup>th</sup>-c. church of Agios Demetrios, 700 m north of the coast [A] (pl. 25d) (*vidi*).<sup>480</sup> Eliot did not find any remains from the Classical period around the church, and he concluded that the site was uninhabited until the Late Roman period.<sup>481</sup>

The small plain located 1-2 km north of Megalo Metochi is known as ‘Mikro Metochi’, and it probably belonged to the same owner as the former, since the two sites lie in close proximity to each other.

### 3.13. Markopoulo<sup>482</sup>

The broader area of Markopoulo was occupied by three *demoi*: *Myrrhinous*, SE of Markopoulo [C], *Hagnous* [C], and *Angele* [C], east of Markopoulo, marked by the church of Agia Triada.

Around the remains of an ancient tower, on a low knoll in the area of Limiko, 4 km NE of Markopoulo, Langdon saw “a great quantity of sherds and small stones from decomposed walls”, which, according to him, belonged to Roman and medieval times.<sup>483</sup>

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<sup>479</sup> This settlement has also been reported by Milchhöfer (1889, 14), who identified them as “Spuren mittelalterlicher Ansiedlung”. Once more, I was not able to find any of these finds.

<sup>480</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 90-91. On its frescoes see Gini-Tsophopoulou 1988, 437f.

<sup>481</sup> Eliot 1962, 59: “Of course, it may have been farmed at an earlier date since it is accessible from both west and east, but the centre from which it was worked must have been outside the valley.” Unfortunately, Eliot provides no information as to what kind of Late Roman or medieval remains, if any, he saw around the church. The coast lying south of Agios Demetrios was called ‘Aliko’ or ‘Porto Lombardo’ in early modern times: Stuart – Revett 1829-31, 208. Nothing is known about activity during the Byzantine period.

<sup>482</sup> The name of Markopoulo goes back at least to 1506, when it was considered as an Albanian village, as attested by an Ottoman defter: Kiel 1987, fig. 10. In this document the name is mentioned in the genitive case, as ‘Markopoulou’, which probably shows its derivation from the name of the original owner or powerful landholder of the area. Lambros (1896) does not include the name ‘Markopoulo’ in his catalogue.

<sup>483</sup> Langdon 1982, 97.

Five Late Roman graves were excavated in the ancient cemetery extending in the area to the northwest of the Panagia Merenda church.<sup>484</sup> An Early Byzantine inscription has been found in a field northeast of Panagia.<sup>485</sup> A large Classical building, located at the centre of the New Hippodrome, was used for habitation in the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>486</sup> Furthermore, a LRom/EByz funerary inscription with a curse has been found cut on a rock north of Markopoulo.<sup>487</sup>

In ‘Dagla’ [A], near the surviving church dedicated to the Taxiarches, ruins of a Late Roman building, probably a bath, were excavated under two successive layers belonging to a basilica (the first layer dating to the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c.) (Pl. 26b).<sup>488</sup> Around the church a cemetery was created; published finds, including two decorated bronze buckles of the late 9<sup>th</sup> / 10<sup>th</sup> c., date to the Middle Byzantine period (Pl. 26c-d). A further buckle of the same type (Pl. 26e) is reported to have been found “in Markopoulo”, perhaps in the same cemetery.<sup>489</sup> This type of buckle was probably worn by well-off, but not the wealthiest social strata.<sup>490</sup> Interestingly, the saint to whom the church was dedicated, Agios Aimilianos, was still known to the people of the area in the 1960s. Fifty metres east of Taxiarches a medieval rectangular tower still stands up to its second floor (Pl. 27a) (*vidi*).<sup>491</sup>

<sup>484</sup> Vavritsas 1970 B, 127.

<sup>485</sup> [Κ(ύρι)ε] βοίθι τῶ / γ<ρ>άψαντι / χέρε κύρι ὦ / γράψας / ὡς φή / λυ χέρε / θε, ὡς ἐ / <χθ>ρὺ ἀπά / νζαθε.  
“[Lord], help the one who wrote (this). Be merry, you who wrote this. All of (my) friends be merry, all of (my) adversaries go hang yourselves!” Sironen 1997, 337-338, no. 332bis. The discovery of the inscription is reported in Kakavoyannis 1987, 96-98, with no information on further finds.

<sup>486</sup> Kakavoyanni – Vlachodimitropoulou 2003. Kakavoyanni 2009, 75. A *spatheion* amphora was found in the building.

<sup>487</sup> Sironen 2008, 111, no. 13519 (= Sironen 1997, 262, no. 227). The inscription was found in an unspecified area to the north of Markopoulo, in the field of K. A. Alagiannes, and reads: + κοιμητήριον Πολυ / κάρπου ἔχι δε πρὸς τό / [φοβερὸν β] ἡμα το Ὡ / [Θεο Ὡ ἐν] ἡμέρα κρίσεος / [.....] / [.....] / [...] τῶν / [...] αὐτοῦ +.

<sup>488</sup> Lazarides 1960. The basilica was in a ruined state in the 1960s, but still quite well preserved.

<sup>489</sup> *O kosmos tou Vyzantinou Mouseiou*, 270, No. 243.

<sup>490</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 252.

<sup>491</sup> Its date is uncertain; Langdon saw Byzantine sherds in addition to the Ottoman pottery around the tower, but these may well be connected with use of the site preceding the construction of the tower. Langdon 1995, 490f. and 498.



The church of Panagia Merenda, 2 km east of Agios Aimilianos, shows an equally long period of use (Pl. 26f) (*vidi*). It consists of three architectural phases, the latest of which is dated by its wall-paintings to the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>492</sup> The second phase was a vaulted basilica of unknown date.<sup>493</sup> The first phase was an even earlier basilica, which was excavated beneath the standing monument and was dated from the 7<sup>th</sup> c. onwards.<sup>494</sup>

The church of Agia Triada at *Angele* is a two-aisled basilica with two apses (*vidi*). It belonged to a monastery of the early Ottoman period, but incorporates sections of walls of an earlier basilica, monolithic marble columns and Early Christian spolia<sup>495</sup>, as well as two Middle Byzantine relief plaques.<sup>496</sup>

On the northern slope of Mt Merenda, and just south of Panagia Merenda, the ruins of a medieval, or later, settlement were seen by Milchhöfer<sup>497</sup>, but are not to be seen today. A hoard with 203 bronze coins of John II, Manuel I, Alexius II and Isaakios II was found in the area of Markopoulo.<sup>498</sup>

The 12<sup>th</sup>-c. cross-shaped, domed church known as ‘Panagia tou Varamba’ survives 2 km north of Markopoulo (Pl. 26g) (*vidi*).<sup>499</sup> The church stands at the junction of two roads.<sup>500</sup>

The *Praktikon of Athens* lists vineyards ‘*εἰς τό χωρίον Μυρόντα, ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τοποθεσίᾳ τοῦ ὩΚοκκίλα*’, as belongings of its recipient.<sup>501</sup>

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<sup>492</sup> Coumbaraki-Panselinou 1976, 125-6. Bouras 1988, 273.

<sup>493</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 336-337.

<sup>494</sup> Lazarides 1963, 55-56.

<sup>495</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 154-156. *TIB*, 214.

<sup>496</sup> Mavroeidi 1999, 122, No. 164 offers a 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> -c. parallel for the one of the two relief plaques.

<sup>497</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 11.

<sup>498</sup> Galani-Krikou *et al.* 2002, 103, No. 90.

<sup>499</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 153-154. Bouras - Boura 2002, 226-227.

<sup>500</sup> Both roads are clearly visible in *KvA*, Blatt VII: the road leading from the bay of Brauron westwards to Koropi (and further to the *Σφηττία Οδός*, across Hymettus) and Lambrika, and the one leading from the important junction of Vathy Pegadi (noted as ‘Merkuri’ in *KvA*, 2 km east of Spata) southwards to the south passages of the Mesogeia plain and the Laureotic district.

<sup>501</sup> Grandstrem *et al.* 1976, 10, 19, 32.

Two letters of Michael Choniates, addressed to the bishop of Neopatras and the bishop of Thebes, refer to monastic institutions in *Myrrhinous*. In the former letter, Choniates mentions the *ἡγουμενεία τοῦ Μυρρινίου* due to a scandal which has taken place in the monastery.<sup>502</sup> In the letter addressed to the bishop of Thebes, Choniates refers to the monks of this monastery as *Μυρρινιωῖταις*.<sup>503</sup>

The written sources attest, therefore, to the existence of a monastery and a village in the area of *Myrrhinous*/Merenda in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c. The possibility that the village ruins seen by Milchhöfer went back to these centuries, cannot be excluded. Ross testifies that the medieval village of Merenda was destroyed during an attack by Albanians in 1770.<sup>504</sup> Wheler, however, writing already in the 17<sup>th</sup> c., mentions only ruins, and that at his time only 20-30 houses remained.<sup>505</sup> It is therefore possible that the heyday of the settlement seen by Wheler dates many decades, or even a few centuries, before his time.

### **3.14. *Steiria* and *Prasiae* – Porto Raphte**

Porto-Raphte<sup>506</sup> is the largest and safest harbour on the east coast of Attica, and, as we shall see, the only site of the Mesogeia plain which offers safe archaeological evidence for the existence of urban features, at least in Early Byzantine times. Late medieval Greek portulans

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<sup>502</sup> Lambros 1880, 119.

<sup>503</sup> Lambros 1880, 138. Herrin (1976, 262) suggests that the monastery “τοῦ Μυρρινίου” or “τῶν Μυρρινιωτῶν” may have been situated nearer Thebes than Athens, but does not provide any argument for this suggestion.

<sup>504</sup> Ross 1855, 226f.

<sup>505</sup> Wheler 1682, 447.

<sup>506</sup> Porto Raphte owes its name to two small islands, Raphtes (= tailor) and Raphtopoula, which protect its bay from the east; a large marble statue of Roman Imperial times stood on each islet (today only the one on Raphtes is partly preserved). The sculptures obviously do not actually represent tailors. The real provenance of the name ‘Ράφτης’, both for the sculptures and for the town, is unclear. It is possible that the name of the harbor was phonetically influenced by the neighbour harbouring of Raphena.

refer to the harbour with the name of the islet, *Ραύτη*.<sup>507</sup> Early travellers, like Niccolo da Martoni and Wheler, arrived at this harbour (not Peiraeus) and refer to it with the same name, ‘Raphte’.<sup>508</sup>

Two ancient demoi shared the bay and the harbour of Porto Raphte: The *demos* of *Steiria* [C] was located at the northern half of the bay, which is now occupied by ‘Drivlia’. It remains unknown if the name ‘Drivlia’, or ‘Trivala’, as it occurs in Wordsworth<sup>509</sup>, was the Byzantine name of the site. The *demos* of *Prasiai* [C] occupied the southern part of the bay, and still preserves its ancient name in a slightly corrupted form, ‘Prasas’. The only known archaeological evidence from later periods in Prasiai are two Late Roman buildings, founded on top of Hellenistic houses.<sup>510</sup>

*Steiria*/Drivlia, on the contrary, has been explored more systematically, and preserves remains of an important LRom/EByz settlement (Pl. 27c). An Early Christian three-aisled basilica, dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. and including two subsequent construction phases, was excavated, along with a very extended cemetery which surrounded it.<sup>511</sup> Burial finds date mainly to the 5<sup>th</sup> – early 7<sup>th</sup> c., and indicate the existence of a prosperous community. A Late Roman bath (possibly of the 4<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>512</sup> and a large apsidal building, apparently of some public function, were excavated.<sup>513</sup> Sections of the settlement which surrounded these prominent buildings

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<sup>507</sup> Delatte 1947, 223f.

<sup>508</sup> Niccolo da Martoni: “(...) At dusk we left the harbour [Porto Raphte], 24 miles from Athens, and all night we walked in the rain through the mountains and the desolation, and towards morning (...) we reached the city of Athens” (Van der Vin 1980, 615). Wheler 1682, 447.

<sup>509</sup> Wordsworth 1837, 220.

<sup>510</sup> Kakavoyanni 1984, 45; Kakavoyanni 1985, 66. No more information is provided on the Late Roman town of *Prasiai*.

<sup>511</sup> Skarmoutsou 1979, 122. Gini-Tsophopoulou 1991, 85-86. Gini-Tsophopoulou – Yangaki 2010. 172 cist graves were found. A large number of clay vessels, coins, bronze and silver earrings, belt buckles, pendants and glass vessel fragments were collected from their interior.

<sup>512</sup> Skarmoutsou 1981, 83.

<sup>513</sup> Petritake 1982, 61-63. Travlos (1988, 364) thought that this building was a philosophical school. The walls showed numerous additions and repairs during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c.

have also been excavated. Considerable quantities of 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c. coins are indications of numismatic and commercial activity in this period.<sup>514</sup>

No archaeological remains of the transitional period are yet known from Drivlia.<sup>515</sup> A church of the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c. has been found on the north slope of a low hill called 'Monasteri' [A] (Pl. 27b) (*vidi*). In its immediate vicinity, remains of the Early Byzantine town were found, but no Middle Byzantine remains. A small Late Byzantine construction, found at the south of the Early Christian basilica mentioned above, is the only so far excavated remain of a settlement of later medieval times.<sup>516</sup>

Remains of medieval habitation, namely stones from collapsed houses, were seen by Milchhöfer on the promontory of Pounta / Agios Nikolaos. Ruins of a mole are also reported at the spot ('*Cist.*' on *KvA*).<sup>517</sup> Theochares witnessed the existence of a medieval wall which cut off the east part of the promontory from the mainland, as well as of numerous medieval house remains.<sup>518</sup>

### The islet of Raphte

Ceramic remains of the late 6<sup>th</sup> and the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> c. were found during a non-systematic survey on the islet by S. Hood [B].<sup>519</sup> Hood connected them with the Slav invasions of mainland Greece, and assumed that Byzantines would have sought refuge on these small islands. However, the discovery of 6<sup>th</sup>- and early 7<sup>th</sup>-c. vessels in the graves of the excavated Early Byzantine cemetery of *Steiria* disproves abandonment of the town in this

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<sup>514</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1990, 92-93.

<sup>515</sup> But some of the buckles which were found in the cemetery under publication may date to these centuries.

<sup>516</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1990, 93.

<sup>517</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 9.

<sup>518</sup> Theochares 1953, 630-631.

<sup>519</sup> Hood 1966. I was not able to find the periodical where Hood's 1966 report was published, and therefore my relevant information on the discovery relies on a later article by S. Hood (1970, 38, fig. 1; 43).

period. Occupation of small barren islets in gulfs of mainland Greece which knew intense commercial activity during Early Byzantine times has by now become a not uncommon picture.<sup>520</sup> Similarly, the Raphte islet appears to have been part of the commercial network, the centre of which was the city of *Steiria*.

### 3.15. *Prospalta* – Kalyvia

Kalyvia occupies the location of the ancient *demos* of *Prospalta*, which had several habitation centres. The highest concentration of ancient remains has been observed in the area ‘Ennea Pyrgoi’ (= Nine Towers), located 1 km west of Kalyvia. A second habitation centre has been located 1.5 km east of Kalyvia, at the site distinguished by the Byzantine church of Agios Georgios.<sup>521</sup>

Both sites show some degree of continuous activity between ancient and Middle Byzantine times. In the area of the ancient cemetery situated just NE of Agios Georgios, a 4<sup>th</sup>-c. grave has been excavated. Scant remains of a farm, tentatively dated to the same period, were found ca. 300 m south of the cemetery.<sup>522</sup> The church of Agios Georgios itself (*vidi*) (Pl. 28a-b) has three construction phases, the earliest of which dates to the Early Christian period, the second around 1000, while the third is Ottoman.<sup>523</sup> The church has been embellished with frescoes of the 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>524</sup>

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<sup>520</sup> T. Gregory surveyed two such islets in the gulf of Thisve (Boeotia), on which he found both architectural and ceramic evidence for economically healthy settlements of the 4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. In his words, “These island communities are to be viewed as parts of a larger commercial and settlement pattern in the gulf of Domvrena-Thisve and beyond. Settlements contemporary with those on [the islets] Kouveli and Makronisos have been identified on the mainland at Vathy and Alyki. From these ports goods could be transported with relative ease across the coastal ridge and into the interior of Boeotia.” Gregory 1986, 21.

<sup>521</sup> Steinhauer 2001, 108. Several ancient inscriptions have been found in both locations: see Milchhöfer 1887, 281-286 (unfortunately no chronological indications are provided for the inscriptions). For further archaeological evidence for ancient habitation in the area see Milchhöfer 1889, 12-13.

<sup>522</sup> Kakavoyanni 1984, 46.

<sup>523</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 159-161. Orlandos 1923, 173-176.

In the southern part of Kalyvia, the Byzantine church dedicated to Taxiarches has been erected on a three-aisled Early Christian basilica (Pl. 28d) (*vidi*).<sup>525</sup> Some 500 m west of the Taxiarches church, a small chapel, still existing in a very ruinous state, lies next to a recently built chapel of Agios Andreas. Several “marble pieces of Roman and Byzantine times” were found in the old chapel in the early 20<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>526</sup> The Metamorphosis Soterios church, located in the cemetery of Kalyvia, preserves Early Byzantine marble capitals in its colonnades (*non-vidi*).<sup>527</sup>

### Ennea Pyrgoi

The name attests to the existence of towers, and indeed large stone piles from collapsed buildings can still be seen lying in an area of ca. 2000 sq.m. Considerable amounts of pottery, dating both to the LRom/EByz and the Late Byzantine periods, are found on the ground surface.<sup>528</sup> Excavation at the site Gur-i-Bim (= Alb. Hard Rock) revealed remains of a church, known as Agios Ioannis, with ceramic finds of the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>529</sup> and a decorated bronze buckle of the 7<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>530</sup>

The church of Agios Petros is a cross-shaped domed church [A] (Pl. 28e) (*vidi*).<sup>531</sup> Architectural elements point to a date shortly after the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>532</sup> The impost capital used in the two-light window of the central apse bears a monogram cruciform inscription which reads

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<sup>524</sup> Mouriki 1975-6.

<sup>525</sup> Orlandos 1923, 165-173. Soteriou 1929b, 185. Orlandos 1932.

<sup>526</sup> Petros-Anagnas 1984, 37.

<sup>527</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1984, 70.

<sup>528</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1990, 87-88.

<sup>529</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1991, 80-81. Gini-Tsophopoulou 2001, 153.

<sup>530</sup> Entry written by Gini-Tsophopoulou in: Papanikola-Bakirtzis (ed.) 2002, 395, No. 486.

<sup>531</sup> Orlandos 1923, 181-190. Coumbaraki-Panselinou 1976, 39-50.

<sup>532</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 336.

*Ἐπισκ(ό)που Ἰγν(α)τί(ου)* (Pl. 28c).<sup>533</sup> The interior of the church preserves wall-paintings of good quality, dated by inscription to 1232.<sup>534</sup> A painted inscription in the narthex mentions the donor, Ignatius, ‘*Νήσων προεδρεύων δε Θερμείων Κέω*’.<sup>535</sup> The foundation of a church in the Mesogeia by the bishop of the suffragan see of Kythnos and Keos is noteworthy.

One of the wall-paintings depicts Michael Choniates. It is known that Attic monasteries which survived after the Frankish occupation kept their close relationships with their former Metropolitan Choniates.<sup>536</sup> Such may have been the relationship between Ignatius and Choniates; we need to remember here that Choniates fled to Keos in 1205 and lived there for the rest of his life.

Two hundred meters S/SW of Agios Petros, a further church of similar architectural type and chronology is Panagia Mesosporitissa, a small domed basilica with a semi-hexagonal apse, with later annexes attached to its western and northern side. It was recently dated toward the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>537</sup> (Pl. 28f).

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<sup>533</sup> Orlandos 1923, 186-187 and fig. 16. Orlandos suggests that this Ignatius may have been the head of ‘some other Attic bishopric, which had its see in the Mesogeia plain; this is also suggested by the placename ‘Piskopi’ in the area of Paiania.’ It is difficult to support such a theory, since no other evidence exists for the location of a bishopric in Paiania, apart from the placename ‘Piskopi’, which, however, can be interpreted in different ways (see Sub-Chapter B.3.10). The impost capital was recently broken during a vandalism; despite its subsequent conservation, the inscription is now lost; See Gini-Tsophopoulou 1984, 71. The inscription had fortunately already been drawn by Orlandos (1923, fig. 16).

<sup>534</sup> These have been studied systematically by Coumbaraki-Panselinou (1976, 51-120 and 1987-8).

<sup>535</sup> For the use of the term ‘*πρόεδρος*’ in ecclesiastical hierarchy, and its use instead of the words ‘bishop’ and ‘abbot’ see Panselenou 1987-8, 174-5. The bishopric of Thermia and Keos is first mentioned in the *Notitia* of Neilos Doxapatris, dated to 1142/43 (see Darrouzes 1981, 154). The suffragan bishopric of Kea (but not of Thermia) is also included in the list of bishoprics compiled in the letter of 1209 by Pope Innocent III (see Koder 1977, 138).

<sup>536</sup> Longnon 1948, 344-345.

<sup>537</sup> Chronology discussed in Bouras - Boura 2002, 169-170. See also Orlandos 1923, 176-180.

### 3.16. *Kephale* – Keratea

The name ‘Keratea’ derives from the appellation ‘Keratovouni’ (= Jagged Mountain) used for the eastern summit (648 m) of Mt Paneion. The *Πανικόν Όρος* mentioned by Choniates<sup>538</sup> can be identified with *Πάνειον* or *Πάνι*.<sup>539</sup> Choniates’ parallelization of Mt Paneion with Mt Hymettus, a mountain which is well known from its sacred character since antiquity and for its Middle Byzantine monasteries, indicates a sanctity which is archaeologically invisible today.<sup>540</sup> An 18<sup>th</sup>-c. church dedicated to Zoodochos Pege, on the western summit of the mountain, preserves architectural members with relief decoration of the 11<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>541</sup> Modern Keratea lies at the centre of the territory of the ancient *demos* of *Kephale* [C].

#### Megali Avli

This is an area located 1.5 km NW of Keratea. Milchhöfer saw “medieval” surface remains (stones and brick/tile fragments).<sup>542</sup> Two burial inscriptions, recently dated from the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c., were seen in Keratea by 19<sup>th</sup>-c. travellers.<sup>543</sup>

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<sup>538</sup> *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, letter no. 99, lines 5-13. This reference to Paneion, along with the one by Strabo (*Geographica*, vol. II, 9.1.21.10) are the only ones known to me to reveal its name during ancient and medieval times.

<sup>539</sup> Lambros 1880, vol. II, 609: “Ἐνταῦθα διεσώθη ἡμῖν πάντως το παρ’ ουδενί ἄλλω των συγγραφέων περισωθέν αρχαίον ὄνομα του ὄρους του σήμεραν καλουμένου Πάνι. Εἶναι δε το δυτικώτατον ἄκρον του αττικού ὄρους Κερατιάς, κειμένου νοτιοδυτικῶς των αρχαίων Πρασιῶν.” Strabo further notes the existence of a sanctuary on Paneion: *Strabonis Geographica*, vol. II, 9.1.21.10: “...περί δε Ἀναφλυστόν ἔστι καί τό Πανέϊον καί τό τῆς Κωλιάδος ἱερὸν...”. It is not certain, however, that Strabo refers here to the mountain Paneion. The sacred character of the mountain has been certified by archaeological finds of the Sub-Geometric and Geometric periods on the peak of Keratovouni: see Smith – Lowry 1954, 27; Brommer 1972, 271, no. 295; Langdon 1976, 103.

<sup>540</sup> On this sanctity see also Kontogeorgopoulou 2004-2006.

<sup>541</sup> Tzakou 1979. Michael Choniates may refer to this peak with his words “την τοῦ Πανικοῦ ὄρους ἀκρόρειαν”.

<sup>542</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 12.

<sup>543</sup> Sironen 1997, 267f., No. 232 (whether its text was Christian or not depends on the word restored at the beginning of the text ) and No. 233 (Christian). No. 232 was sheltered in the church of Agios Thomas (which I was not able to locate with precision), and No. 233 in a private house



Megali Avli is designated by the existence of the 12<sup>th</sup>-c. church of Agia Kyriaki [A] (Pl. 29a-b) (*vidi*). It is a small single-aisled basilica with no distinctive architectural features, but with well-preserved wall-paintings, dated by a painted inscription to 1197/8.<sup>544</sup>

The church of Agioi Theodoroi (*vidi*) (Pl. 29c) stands ca. 700 m north of Agia Kyriaki, in the modern village Peta. It is a small single-aisled basilica with several construction phases, the initial of which is given away only by the wall-paintings preserved in the apse and on the north wall, dated to the late 12<sup>th</sup> or early 13<sup>th</sup> c. on the basis of stylistic analysis (Pl. 29d).<sup>545</sup>

Milchhöfer provides some vague evidence about two medieval settlements located ca. 2 km south of Panagia Garika. He reports of a “ruined settlement” (“Trümmerstätte”), called ‘Gramba’, lying on the south coast of the river Potami. The name sounds Byzantine, and probably belongs to a landowner of the area. A group of 4<sup>th</sup>-c. table dishes has been found at “the large tumulus in Gramba” by Wrede.<sup>546</sup>

The second site, called ‘Noka’, is similarly described as a “Trümmerstätte” and lies on the SW slope of the Ovriokastro hill. In Noka Milchhöfer saw “ancient stone remains, remains of foundations and the ruin of a chapel”, the original name of which at the time of Milchhöfer was probably forgotten; he recorded it with its Albanian name, ‘Ekklesia Kuke’ (= Red Church) (*non-vidi*).<sup>547</sup>

### Ovriokastro

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<sup>544</sup> On the architecture and the painted decoration of the church see *Churches of Attica*, 93; Lazarides 1969, 98; Djuric 1976, 69-70; Velmans 1977, vol. I, 144; Mackenzie 1982, 139-146; Gini-Tsophopoulou 1988, 439-441; Bouras - Boura 2002, 284-5. The inscription is only partially preserved: “...ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ἸΨΕ” (6705 = 1197).

<sup>545</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1988, 441-443 and pl. 8, 9.

<sup>546</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 477, FO 066, Nos. 57-60, 63, 37. The dishes belong to the category Athenian Ware, Form Agora V K32/K42. See also Grigoropoulos *ibid.*, FO 067.

<sup>547</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 13.

An especially interesting site is ‘Ovriokastro’ **[B]** (*vidi*), located on top of the northernmost hill (313 m) of the Laureotic district, which houses remains of a settlement, surrounded by an enclosure (Pl. 30a).<sup>548</sup> The site consists of two adjacent enclosed areas: the upper one occupies the top of the hill at a stable height of ca. 305 m, and surrounds numerous building remains; the lower one forms the extension of the first enclosure on the NW slope of the hill. This extension can only be connected with cattle-breeding<sup>549</sup>, which apparently constituted a major economic source for the village.

The settlement on Ovriokastro appears, therefore, to have been a fortified village with agricultural economy, built on top of a hill which provides control of the main roads of the area, and communicates easily with the small plain of Mesochori to its north, the coast to its NE, and the hills to its south. Its defensive character is obvious, due to its fortification, but is not one of its main features, since the hill summit can be seen clearly from the plain below, and since its slopes are not steep enough to provide a high degree of safety. The connection of Ovriokastro with the hills to its south could provide places to hide for its population and their flocks. The plan of the two enclosures poses certain questions regarding the authority which erected them: it may have been the inhabitants as an independent community or a landowner.

### Daskaleio - Potamos

The ‘casale Potamos’ of the papal letter of 1209 has been located in the harbour and the small valley of Daskaleio, 7 km east of Keratea, based both on the location, in this area of

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<sup>548</sup> First recorded by Leake 1841, 71; Milchhöfer 1889, 13. See also Vanderpool 1975, 26. A systematic field survey was undertaken in the early 1990s: Lohmann 2001. I am grateful to Professor Hans Lohmann for his generous provision with aerial photographs of the site, photos of the enclosure and the buildings recorded during the field survey, and a detailed catalogue of the recorded finds. The largest part of this material has been included in the publication of the survey (Lohmann 2001).

<sup>549</sup> In civilian hilltop fortifications of Early Byzantine Bulgaria “double enclosures are common, the inner circuit protecting houses, the outer enclosure left vacant, perhaps used to corral stock when danger threatened”: Poulter 2004, 247.

the *demos Potamos Deiradiotes*, and on the useful geographical location.<sup>550</sup> No archaeological evidence exists for the use of the Daskaleio harbour in the medieval period.

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<sup>550</sup> *TIB* I, 99; 246-247. Koder 1977, 137.

## B.4. Mount Penteli

### 4.1. Geographical description and main roads

[Printed map B.4.a; CD maps B.4.b-c]

Mount Penteli, or Mendeli, separates the plain of Athens, to its SW, and the Mesogeia plain, to its SE, from the plain of Marathon, to its NE. Its highest peak (1108 m) is ‘Vayati’ (*KvA*) or ‘Pyrgari’ (*HMGS*); two further peaks, Byrza/Pyresa (897 m) and Megali Mavrenora (783 m) rise further to its east. The lower parts of the mountain were covered with thick pine-forest until recent years.<sup>551</sup>

The marble of Penteli<sup>552</sup>, intensively exploited since the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, was quarried also during Early and Middle Roman times.<sup>553</sup> Literary evidence by Pausanias has led to the general assumption that the greater part of the Pentelic quarries was exhausted then.<sup>554</sup> However, Goette has argued that a quarry located at Kokkinaras, in the western part of the

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<sup>551</sup> Today Penteli houses the outermost northeast suburbs of the city of Athens: Penteli, Nea Penteli, Draphi and Dioni on its south slopes, Hekale and Kastri on its western slopes, and Dionysos, Drosia, Stamata and Agios Stephanos on its northern slopes (see *Road map* 2007). Its northeast slopes remain uninhabited. Since the 1990s, rapid building development has led to destruction of the rich pine forest through fire, thus changing the once idyllic landscape.

<sup>552</sup> The origin of the name ‘Penteli’ bears some interest. The mountain itself was called ‘Vrilessos’ in ancient times (Thukydides II, 23 a.o.; Strabo IX, S. 399; Pausanias I, 32, I). The name ‘Πεντεληϊκός λίθος’ occurs epigraphically already in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, when the mountain was still called ‘Vrilessos’, probably due to the proximity of the quarries to the *demos*, or district, *Penteli* (see below). From Roman times onwards the mountain itself is called ‘Pentelikon’. The name of the mountain ‘Penteli’ replaces ‘Vrilessos’ during Roman times, as its use by Pausanias suggests. This assumption is accepted by Wrede *RE* 19/1, 1937, 534; Travlos 1988, 329; Goette 2001, 256.

<sup>553</sup> Pentelic marble was used extensively for the construction of statues and monuments in southern Greece, and even in Rome; Herodes Atticus revetted the Stadium of Athens (to the east of the ancient city) and the Stadium of Delphi with Pentelic marble in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD: Day 1942, 155.

<sup>554</sup> Day 1942, 197, 203.

mountain, was used for export also in Late Antiquity.<sup>555</sup> Pentelic marble was used in the apse floor of the basilica of Brauron.<sup>556</sup>

Streams flowing from the slopes of the mountain are: Kokkinaras, flowing towards Kephesia, the Revma of Chalandri, the Megalo Revma (or Valanaris) to the south, the Revma of Yero Tzakuli and Xylokeriza to the east, and many streams on the northern slopes of the mountain, flowing towards the lake of Marathon. The major Attic river Kephissos, which runs through the Athenian basin with a N-S direction, is fed by minor streams which spring both from Penteli and from Parnes. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. the Roman emperor Hadrian erected an aqueduct which departed from the south slope of the mountain, west of the Dormition (Tao) monastery, and brought water to the city centre of Athens. The cistern where the water was collected still survives on the south slope of Lykavettos hill, and was used up until the 19<sup>th</sup> c.

Traill locates six ancient *demoi* in the area of Penteli: *Trinemeia*, *Kolonai* and the late<sup>557</sup> *demos Penteli* [C] (on its S/SW slopes), *Ikarion*, *Plotheia*, *Hekale* and *Oion Dekeleikon* (on its N/NE slopes)<sup>558</sup> (Pl. 63). The increase of the significance of the place name ‘Penteli’, of whatever administrative status, was probably due to its proximity to the marble quarries.

During the Middle Ages Penteli was known as a district of monasticism; Metamorphosis (Daù), Agios Nikolaos of Kalesia and Taxiarches were founded in the 12th c. at the latest. An important landmark of the south slope of Mt Penteli is the 16<sup>th</sup>-c. Dormition

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<sup>555</sup> Goette 2009, 170: He refers to a monolithic column of a Late Antique building in Ostia, which consists of the finely crystallized greyish blue marble of Kokkinaras. The ancient road described by Goette, starting from the marble quarry of the Davelis Cave (Kokkinaras), and descending towards Kephesia and towards Phlya (Chalandri), must have been used in Late Antiquity as well.

<sup>556</sup> Stikas 1951, 58.

<sup>557</sup> See Traill 1975, 87-94, on the ‘Late Roman’ (actually Middle Roman) *demoi* of Attica. For their significance for our present study see Appendix D.

<sup>558</sup> Traill 1975, 41 (*Ikarion*, *Plotheia*), 46 (*Hekale*), 51 (*Trinemeia*), 52 (*Oion Dekeleikon*), 54 and 92 (*Kolonai*). For *Kolonai* see also Thompson 1970, 64-65.

monastery, for the earlier history of which nothing is known.<sup>559</sup> A find of this period is a hoard with 5 *folleis* of Nicephoros III, found in the modern town of Penteli.<sup>560</sup>

## 4.2. The Davelis cave

Early Byzantine activity is represented in a small rock-cut church dedicated to Agios Spyridon, formed in the Davelis cave (Pl. 31a) (*vidi*). Religious inscriptions<sup>561</sup> and reliefs of angels and eagles have been carved on the south wall (Pl. 31b).<sup>562</sup> Although a precise dating in the 7<sup>th</sup> c. (following Soteriou) appears as uncertain, a broader dating in the Early Byzantine period on iconographic grounds is secure.

A further Byzantine chapel, dedicated to Agios Nikolaos, was later annexed to the Agios Spyridon chapel. According to Moutsopoulos and Lazarides, the architectural form of Agios Nikolaos, which recalls churches of the ‘transitional’ type of mainland Greece, should be dated towards the later 10<sup>th</sup> or the early 11<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>563</sup> Graves and a large ossuary have been opened in the rock-cut walls and the floor of Agios Nikolaos.<sup>564</sup> This chapel was painted with frescoes in 1233/4; the Metropolitan Michael Choniates has been depicted in an image similar to the Choniates fresco of Agios Petros in Kalyvia, Mesogeia.<sup>565</sup> Conservation works showed

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<sup>559</sup> See Orlandos 1933, 191; Palles 2009, 256-273. The Dormition monastery occupies a very good location, on the north side of the road which departs from the Athenian basin, ascends the relatively even, south slope of Penteli and continues with a SW-NE direction on a saddle between the peaks Pyresa and Megali Mavrinoira. This is the shorter way which connects the Athenian basin with the Marathonian plain, and was more convenient compared with the longer coastal way in pre-industrial times: Milchhöfer 1889, 37.

<sup>560</sup> Galani-Krikou *et al.* 2002, 81, No. 59.

<sup>561</sup> Orlandos (1933, 196-197) has transcribed the inscriptions as follows:

+ Χριστέ βοήθι τῷ δούλῳ σου Σω...ίνου ἀμὴν / καὶ τοῖς μετὰ αὐτοῖς· δέσποτα δέχ[ου] ἄγιε / Χριστέ τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν.

Ὁ κατακο[v] ε[v] βο / ἦθια τοῦ υψίστου / [ε]ν σκεπή τοῦ θεοῦ / τοῦ οὐρανοῦ [αυλισθήσεται] (from the 90<sup>th</sup> Psalm).

<sup>562</sup> Soteriou (1927b) dated them to the 7<sup>th</sup> c., but without providing firm evidence.

<sup>563</sup> Later 10<sup>th</sup> c.: Lazarides 1973, 71. Early 11<sup>th</sup> c.: Moutsopoulos 1960, 35.

<sup>564</sup> Mourike 1974, 81 and fig. 1.

<sup>565</sup> Orlandos 1951, 214. Coumbaraki-Panselenou 1976, 51-52. Mourike 1974, 112.

that an earlier layer of frescoes underlies the dome wall-paintings of 1233/4.<sup>566</sup> Mourike has suggested that the two chapels were the core of a small monastic complex; rock-cuttings in the cave may have been used as cells, while the preserved part of a ‘διαβατικόν’, a vaulted entrance, as well as the existence of graves, further strengthens this hypothesis.<sup>567</sup>

On the neighbouring summit Pyrgari, a dish imitating a LRC form dating to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. has been found.<sup>568</sup> This is one of the rare non-lamp finds of the LRom/EByz period recovered from mountain peaks. The site probably was an ancient sanctuary.<sup>569</sup>

A Classical farm situated ca. 1500 m W/SW of the Davelis Cave was re-used in the LRom/EByz period.<sup>570</sup> Further north-west, a settlement with use in the LRom/EByz and in the Middle Byzantine period was found in the area of Kokkinaras, just north of an ancient quarry road.<sup>571</sup> According to Goette, this is the location of the *demos Trinemeia*.<sup>572</sup>

### 4.3. Kalesia

The monastery of Agios Nikolaos at Kalesia is located on the southeast tip of the mountain, ca. 2 km west of the minor peak Mikre Mavrinora. The existing church and adjacent building (cells?) were erected in the 16<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>573</sup> The letter of Pope Innocent of 1209 confirms the ownership of the *casale Calixtes* by the Metropolis of Athens.<sup>574</sup> In 1218, the

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<sup>566</sup> Mourike 1974, 87.

<sup>567</sup> Mourike 1974, 110-111.

<sup>568</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 440, No. 93, 473, FO 043.

<sup>569</sup> Langdon 1976, 102. Interpretation of these finds (both lamps and other wares) as indicative of defensive or religious activity on mountain peaks is discussed in Chapters C.2 and C.3.2.

<sup>570</sup> Goette 2009, 164.

<sup>571</sup> Goette 2010, 132. Nothing more is reported about this settlement.

<sup>572</sup> Goette 2010, 134-136.

<sup>573</sup> Orlandos 1933, 186-187.

<sup>574</sup> *Acta Innocentii III no. 256*, Col. 1560C. Neroutsos (1892, 68) falsely interpreted the place name *Calixtes* as the Kleiston monastery on Mt Parnes; Koder and Hild (*TIB* I, 179; Koder 1977, 132, 137) interpret *Calixtes* as Kalesia. They also state that the letter of Pope Innocent III confirms the ownership both of the *casale Calixtes* and of the *Abbatia S. Nicolai* by the Church of Athens (*TIB* I, 179); the identification of Agios

monastery *S. Nicolai de Kalliscia de Montepentell* was exempted from the payment of the one-tenth tax.<sup>575</sup> The existence of an earlier church in the area is probable, especially if one considers the information delivered by Lampakis about the integration of column capitals with the monogram of Christ in the church of Agios Nikolaos.<sup>576</sup>

#### 4.4. The Daoù (Tao) monastery

The monastery dedicated to the Transfiguration of Christ [A], also known as Taò or Daoù, is located on the SE tip of Penteli. In 1218 the *monasterium S. Salvatoris de Platania de Montepentell* was excepted from the one-tenth church tax.<sup>577</sup> The *casale Hu*, listed in the papal letter of 1209, has been already connected with the monastery of Tao.<sup>578</sup> The chronology of the monastic foundation is unclear.<sup>579</sup> The preserved architecture originates from the phase of its re-foundation and later; remains of the Middle Byzantine period (11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.) have been preserved only as sculpted architectural members.<sup>580</sup>

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Nikolaos of Kalesia, however, with the *abbatium S. Nicolai*, not connected with *Calixtes* in the document, is not certain.

<sup>575</sup> *Acta Honorii III*, 68 (Nr. 43).

<sup>576</sup> Lampakis (1894, 27) dated the column capitals to the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c., but current evidence is missing.

<sup>577</sup> *Acta Honorii III*, 68 (Nr. 43).

<sup>578</sup> *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 256, Col. 1560C. Neroutsos 1892, 68. *TIB I*, 267: “The letter of Pope Innocent III confirms the existence of the monastery by 1209 by listing the *casalia Platan* and *Hu* among the properties of the Metropolis of Athens.” The connection, by Koder and Hild, of the *casale Hu* with the *casale Platan* is, in my opinion, probably not correct. Admittedly, the toponymic *Platan* appears in the above-mentioned one-tenth church tax exemption. However, it is probable that *Platan* of the papal letter refers to a village located at *Platana*, one of the 12<sup>th</sup>-c. suffragan bishoprics of Thebes: see Dunn 1995, 759, 761. Ladas (1952-58, 31) thinks that the Tao monastery is referred to with the name ‘Curiomonaster’ in this letter, but his hypothesis is not supported by any kind of evidence.

<sup>579</sup> Koder and Hild (*TIB I*, 267) support the view that the monastery was built in the 12<sup>th</sup> c., and cite as dating evidence the inscription of a lead seal published by Konstantopoulos (1917, 60), which, however, they thought to have been transcribed falsely. On p. 60 of Konstantopoulos’ book the inscriptions of five lead seals are transcribed. It is not clear which inscription Koder and Hild refer to; nor do they propose an alternative transcription for it.

<sup>580</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 255-257, with further bibliography.



The inscription on a door lintel, which is now broken and embedded in the 16<sup>th</sup>-c. church, but most probably belonged to the Byzantine church, provides evidence for the founder of the initial church, Nikos Kamateros (Pl. 31c).<sup>581</sup>

#### **4.5. The north slopes of Mt Penteli**

The north slopes of Penteli and the eastern slopes of Parnes form an upland area (altitude 400-500 m) which extends to the west of the Marathonian plain, covered with grazing land and thick pine forest until recent years.

The Marathon Lake is an artificial lake constructed in the 1920s for the water provision of Athens. It was created through the erection of the Marathon dam at the junction of the river streams ‘Cheimarros’ and ‘Varnava’. The natural formation of the landscape, before the creation of the lake, is visible on Map B.5.b (*KvA*).

Milchhöfer reports that traces of medieval settlement were relatively dense in this area<sup>582</sup>, but these are difficult or impossible to see today, since most of these areas were, or still are, covered with pine-forests.

#### **4.7. *Ikarion* – Rapendosa – Dionysos<sup>583</sup>**

Dionysos is the site of the *demos Ikarion* [C], a major cult site of the god Dionysos. A church was built on top of a Hellenistic sanctuary of Dionysos, and was completely

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<sup>581</sup> This transcription was suggested by Orlandos (1933, 185).

<sup>582</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 55.

<sup>583</sup> The modern settlement of Dionysos was founded towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. by workmen of the neighbouring marble quarries. Until then, the only inhabited section of the area was a small village called Rapendosa, a name of Albanian origin, east of Dionysos. Milchhöfer (1889, 55) suggests an etymology from Arapis (= Arab but also ghost, terrifying creature) which is not convincing. He points out to the remoteness and the solitude of Rapendosa, where “only wild pigs live”, and notes that he was not able to find any remains of ancient habitation, although he thought that there must have been some in the immediate vicinity.

demolished around 1890 during excavation of the sanctuary. A photograph which was taken prior to (or during?) its demolition shows masonry of un-worked marble stones and earlier blocks (Pl. 31d). The church was characterised as “Byzantine” by the excavators, and its description reads as following: “Its fabric contained numerous ancient worked blocks, inscriptions, and fragments of sculpture, and its apse had been built on an ancient semi-circular monument. A few blocks from the Byzantine structure survive, and we illustrate one with decoration probably belonging to the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> c. AD”<sup>584</sup> (Pl. 31e). This is a door lintel or an epistyle, and its relief decoration should be dated between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> c. and not later, if compared with similar architectural members from Attica.<sup>585</sup>

The monastery dedicated to St Dionysius the Areopagite, included in the papal letter of 1209<sup>586</sup>, is probably not to be identified with this church, as Neroutsos believed<sup>587</sup>. The saint to which the church of *Ikarion* was dedicated has not been recorded by its excavators or early travellers. Koder notes that the existing evidence does not allow us to locate this monastery<sup>588</sup>; Bouras believes that it should be identified with Agios Dionysios on the north slope of the Acropolis hill<sup>589</sup>.

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<sup>584</sup> Biers – Boyd 1982, 1. This description apparently follows the notebooks of the excavators. No further information of photographs have been published by the American School. The church has also been listed by Orlandos (1933, 198).

<sup>585</sup> Parallels: For the vertical *plochmos* column: Mavroeidi 1999, 98, No. 137 (10<sup>th</sup> c.); Sklavou-Mavroeidi 2008, 288, 295, fig. 1 (10<sup>th</sup> c.); 301, fig. 14 (10<sup>th</sup> c.). For the interlacing circles see for example: Ivison 2007, 492, 506, fig. 9 (9<sup>th</sup> c.); Varalis – Tsekas 2008, 364, 371, fig. 3 (10<sup>th</sup> c.?).

<sup>586</sup> *Acta Innocentii*, Col. 1561A.

<sup>587</sup> Neroutsos 1892, 70.

<sup>588</sup> Koder 1977, 133, 140, no. 63.

<sup>589</sup> Bouras 2010, 168.

#### 4.8. Kastri

Kastri is a small fort on a pronounced outcrop of west Penteli, at a strategic location [A] (Pl. 32a). The architectural remains of Kastri match small fortifications of the Byzantine period, like Ovriokastro and Kastro tou Christou. McCredie argues for its chronology in the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC.<sup>590</sup> A hoard of 968 bronze coins of the later 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> c. has been found in the fortification.<sup>591</sup> Although no other Byzantine finds have been reported from Kastri, it is possible that it was re-used as a watch-post during the Byzantine period, since it commands an important strategic location at the north edge of the Athenian plain.

#### 4.9. Stamata – Amygdaleza

The Amygdaleza hill lies 2 km NE of the village of Stamata and ca. 1.5 km north of the Pournari hill (433 m). An Early Christian basilica [A] has been excavated on the top of the hill.<sup>592</sup> It is three-aisled (24.5x16.7 m), with numerous ancillary rooms and a baptistery (Pl. 32b), dated towards the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. Four Early Byzantine cist graves, two of which bear painted and inscribed decoration, were excavated to its east.<sup>593</sup> The undecorated graves III and IV contained multiple burials and five juglets which date towards the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>594</sup>

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<sup>590</sup> McCredie 1966, 56. His chronology is based on fragments of pottery of this period as well as concentrations of fragments of [black- (?)] glazed roof tiles, which he found in the fortification.

<sup>591</sup> École française d'Athènes 1953, 194. Galani-Krikou *et al.* 2002, 96, No. 84. Date of concealment: 1185-1195, or later.

<sup>592</sup> Basilica: Gini-Tsophopoulou 1979, 122; *Idem*, 1980; *Idem*, 1990, 90-92; *Idem*, 1995, 71-73.

<sup>593</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1990. The two graves with the painted decoration were transferred and are currently exhibited in the Byzantine Museum of Athens, along with ceramic and other finds from the basilica.

<sup>594</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou – Chalkia 2003, 755-756.

During the Middle Byzantine period a smaller church was constructed in the east part of the main aisle. Graves with multiple burials of the 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c. were opened.<sup>595</sup> The small Byzantine church survived until the 19<sup>th</sup> c., when it was reported as dedicated to Agios Nikolaos or Agia Paraskevi.<sup>596</sup> The survival of its name indicates that it continued in use until that period.<sup>597</sup>

On the lower slopes of the Amygdaleza hill parts of an Early Byzantine building complex were excavated. The excavated sections were possibly ancillary rooms of the main building, which had been destroyed. A second phase of construction took place during (later) Byzantine times.<sup>598</sup>

A tower is recorded by *KvA* (Map B.4.b) on the south slope of the Amygdaleza hill, but it is not mentioned by Milchhöfer. No remains of it exist today.<sup>599</sup>

The excavation results on the Amygdaleza hill suggest that a community lived here both in Early and Middle Byzantine times. The settlement lies near the main road which connects Kephesia with Marathon. A further road, connecting Athens with Rhamnous, and used for military purposes in ancient times, is known to have passed from Amygdaleza, north of a church of Panagia, and continued E/SE through the northern end of the small upland plain of Koukounarti.<sup>600</sup> This road provided the most direct route between Athens and the NE coast, and would certainly have been used in post-ancient times. It therefore places the Byzantine

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<sup>595</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1980, 93.

<sup>596</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1980, 85. It was also recorded by Travlos in the later 20<sup>th</sup> c. (I. Travlos, *Ευρετήριο αρχαίων, μεσαιωνικών και νεότερων μνημείων και αρχαιολογικών χώρων Αττικής, Μεγαρίδος, Αιγίνης και Σαλαμίνας*. Υπουργείο Δημοσίων Έργων, Υπηρεσία Οικισμού – Ρυθμιστικό σχέδιο Αθηνών, αρ. ευρετηρίου 16 – 07; photos are included in the archive of A. Kokkou, labelled as Φ76/15-11-1974), but was later filled in with soil and destroyed during building development in the area. Milchhöfer (1889, 58) reports on numerous antiquities in the valleys surrounding the hill, but not on the hill itself.

<sup>597</sup> Information from Gini-Tsophopoulou 1980, 85, note 4.

<sup>598</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1979, 119-121, fig. 1, pl. 29b.

<sup>599</sup> Langdon 1995, 483.

<sup>600</sup> Ober 1982; Ober 1985, 182; Steinhauer 2009, 48-49.

church and site in Amygdaleza in a well-connected position. The numerous “later” or “medieval” remains of the broader area, recorded by Milchhöfer, suggest that more minor settlements must have existed in the hills of Stamata and Boyati (mod. Agios Stephanos).

In the site of Old Stamata (Palaio-Stamata), an early American excavation cleared a ‘Byzantine’ church<sup>601</sup>, which may be identified with the Agios Nikolaos church noted in *KvA*. The church is explicitly described to have had three apses, and it probably had a ground plan of a free cross.<sup>602</sup>

North and northwest of the small Koukounarti plain, Milchhöfer reports “very primitive chapels among stone piles of destroyed houses, storerooms and traces of terraces, which provide indications for intensive medieval activity. Following the river stream of Stamata, we come across two sites of this kind”<sup>603</sup>.

Remains of a medieval building exist to the east of the Pirgarti hill (433 m), by the church of Agia Paraskevi (*KvA*).<sup>604</sup> Its dimensions are 10x5.5 m, and it survives up to a height of ca. 3 m. It probably belonged to a monastery, as it lies in immediate proximity to Agia Paraskevi and is surrounded with stone piles and clay sherds.

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<sup>601</sup> Waldstein – Tarbell 1886-1890, 189.

<sup>602</sup> This is revealed by the description of the masonry of the “north apse” by the excavators; the inner diameter of this apse was 2.50 m. The floor of the church was paved with stone slabs. Its masonry contained “stones of all descriptions, including pieces of sculpture and inscribed blocks (...) as is generally the case with these Byzantine churches on ancient Greek sites”. The ancient Greek site was, in this case, the *demos* of *Plotheia*: see Traill 1975, 41.

<sup>603</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 58.

<sup>604</sup> They are mentioned only by Langdon (1995, 493, no. 53) and Photiou (1982, 17); latter characterizes the building as a tower, which, according to Langdon, is wrong. A photo of this tower has been published in Osborne 1985, pl. 11.

#### 4.10. From Boyati (mod. Anoixi – Agios Stephanos) to the Marathon Lake

The modern towns Anoixi and Agios Stephanos both replaced the older village Boyati.<sup>605</sup> The area of Boyati has been identified with the *demos Oion Dekeleikon*.<sup>606</sup> Just southeast of Boyati Milchhöfer recorded stone piles, house remains and “storage containers dug in the ground” (a common feature of later Byzantine and post-Byzantine settlements), especially at the bottom of the slope, towards the village; above them an old church ruin of Agios Andreas, which contained ancient architectural members and a burial *stèle*.<sup>607</sup> Southwest of these remains, he recorded remains of a double church of Agioi Theodoroi (not noted on *KvA*), with “nice Byzantine decoration” and ancient marble *spolia*.<sup>608</sup>

He further recorded a second, “fortified village site”, on the hills just northeast of Boyati, over the Panagia church. Its traces included only loose stones and numerous clay sherds. Today these hills are covered by the modern town of Agios Stephanos.<sup>609</sup>

A third site was recorded further north and in the immediate vicinity of the previous one, in the area ‘Soriani’ (also covered by Agios Stephanos town). Despite the geographical proximity of the latter two settlements, Milchhöfer clarifies that their character is different: the third settlement is an “independent centre, the remains of which should be connected with other, poor remains in the small valley Chete Tutani to the east, which continue up to the ruined chapel Agios Konstantinos. Remains of a further small church, Agios Georgios, with non-fluted column shafts from an earlier church, lie on the hill slope which borders Soriani

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<sup>605</sup> The origin of the name ‘Boyati’ is probably Albanian, as is the name of the (today extinct) village ‘Spata’, further north (*KvA* Blatt XIX).

<sup>606</sup> Traill 1975, 52.

<sup>607</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 6990.

<sup>608</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 58-59.

<sup>609</sup> Petropoulakou – Pentazos (1972, 205) were not able to locate this site during their visit.

towards the south. Both medieval and ancient wall traces and loose stone blocks continue up to the hill ridge to the north.”<sup>610</sup>

The evidence reported by Milchhöfer, although it cannot be cross-checked with any modern archaeological evidence, suggests that the *demos*-centre of *Oion Dekeleikon* continued being inhabited in Early Byzantine and later Byzantine times. The third site recorded by him includes a church (the early phase of Agios Georgios) which, judging from the non-fluted columns could be Early Christian.<sup>611</sup> An Early or Middle Byzantine chronology is likely to apply for his second, fortified village site, about which he only notes “loose stones and numerous clay sherds”. A dating of a rural fortification to Middle Roman times would not be impossible, but the fact that Milchhöfer records it among two other sites which are most probably medieval hints at a similar chronology. The area of *Oion Dekeleikon* appears therefore to have been inhabited during the medieval period.

Five kilometres north of Boyati remains of an Early Christian basilica underlie a later chapel of Agia Triada (*vidi*).<sup>612</sup> A few marble architectural members from the basilica have been re-used in the later church.<sup>613</sup>

In the area ‘Sirati’, E/NE of the hill called ‘Spati’ in *KvA* and ‘Myti’ in *HMGS* (419 m), Milchhöfer reported “late houses, and among them the walls of a stronger construction just above a spring, near the river stream; also terrace remains and clay sherds. On the map,

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<sup>610</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 59.

<sup>611</sup> This “independent centre” does not appear to be ancient, since Milchhöfer does not mention any stone blocks or marble architectural members, which he records whenever he comes across an ancient settlement; on the contrary, the fact that he mentions “poor remains” shows that it dates to medieval times.

<sup>612</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 59. Mastrokostas 1956, 33-34. Only foundations of the east and the north walls of the basilica (today covered with soil) were visible; the north wall had a length of 18 m, and the width of the north aisle was 2.70 m.

<sup>613</sup> These are: two rectangular slabs from the Bema screen, each depicting a lozenge inscribed in a rectangle, with Latin crosses and rosettes (for a parallel see Xyngopoulos 1915, 64, fig. 17); a Corinthian capital (parallel: Xyngopoulos 1915, fig. 2), and two monolithic columns framing the door of the Bema of the later church.

the words ‘Vorratsbehälter’ and ‘verfallene Kapelle’ have also been noted, which underwent my attention”.<sup>614</sup> These remains appear to belong to medieval or Ottoman times (*non vidi*).

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<sup>614</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 58.



## B.5. The Marathonian district

### 5.1. Geographical description and main roads

#### [Printed map B.5.a; CD maps B.5.b-c]

The district of Marathon consists of a coastal plain and an upland hilly district. The plain is watered by two streams, Cheimarros/Charadros and Skorpio Potami. Michael Choniates' phrase "ὁ τὲ Μαραθῶν (...) μετὰ τῶν πᾶλαι τροπαίων καὶ τὸ σιτοφόρον προσαπεβάλετο"<sup>615</sup>, shows, despite his lamentation, that the plain was known, or at least remembered, as grain-producing also in Byzantine times.

The bay of Marathon, being wide and open to east winds, does not provide a good harbour. Nevertheless, it is almost certain that its northern part, especially, was used as a harbour also during the Early and Middle Byzantine periods (B.5.7).<sup>616</sup> 'Maratona' is recorded in 15<sup>th</sup>-c. Italian maps.<sup>617</sup> The southern and the northern limit of the main part of the Marathonian plain were occupied, until recent decades, by large swamps. The area of the southern swamp is called Vrexiza or Brexiza<sup>618</sup>, while of the northern one Kato Souli.

In *KvA*, Map B.5.b, the river Charadros is shown to pass through the valley between Kotroni and Stavrokoraki, and to debouch S/SE of the town of Marathon, in Plasi. In earlier years, however, Charadros followed an east direction; it ran along the southern foot of

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<sup>615</sup> *Michaelis Akominati Epistulae*, Epistula k', 4. The 'tropaion' mentioned is probably the monument erected by the Athenians in Plasi; the capital of this commemorative column was later integrated in the medieval tower by Panagia Mesosporitissa; see below.

<sup>616</sup> Braemer – Marcadé 1953, 142-145, fig. 5a-d, 6a-b.

<sup>617</sup> Kretschmer 1909 (ed. 1962), 637, "Maratona", with references to the relevant maps and atlases.

<sup>618</sup> The name derives from the word 'βρέχω' (= to make wet; hence the connection to the swamp) and the common Albanian ending '-za', which appears as combined with a Greek word in many Attic toponyms: Velanideza, Kokkinadeza etc. The same etymology is supported by Milchhöfer (1889, 44).

Stavrokoraki and debouched in the large northern swamp of Marathon.<sup>619</sup> The swamp was gradually filled with alluvial deposits from the river, the course of which eventually changed. The coastal area of Plasi, where numerous Roman and Early Byzantine antiquities were recently excavated, lay therefore to the south of the course of the river in these times.

Access to Marathon from Athens followed either the route through Raphena or the one from the northern slopes of Penteli (B.4.9). Passages which enabled communication between the Marathonian and the Oropia have been described by Milchhöfer and Ober.<sup>620</sup> The most important road departs from *Trikorynthos*/Kato Souli and follows a NE direction through the plain of Limiko. An inland road departs from Marathon and continues northwards through Epano Souli, approaching Grammatiko; the section between Epano Souli and Grammatiko was used in ancient times, as shown by burial monuments.<sup>621</sup> Further inland is the road Marathon – Vilia – Palaio Monasteri, to the direction of Varnava, and Marathon – *Oinoe*/Ninoi – Kalentze – Agia Anna, to the direction of Kapandrite. The medieval towers (preserved or reported by earlier scholars) in Palaio Monasteri, Varnava, Ninoi and Kalentze show that these networks were used in later medieval times as well.

The ancient Marathonian *Tetrapolis* consisted of four *demoi*: *Marathon*, *Trikorynthos*, *Oinoe*, and *Probalinthos*.<sup>622</sup> *Marathon* lay in the general area of the modern town of

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<sup>619</sup> Themelis 1974, 229. These observations are based both on geological observations and on the testimony of Pausanias (I, 32.7): «Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι λίμνη τὰ πολλὰ ἐλώδης... Ρεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμός ἐκ τῆς λίμνης, τὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ, βοσκήμασιν ὕδωρ ἐπιτήδειον παρεχόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τὴν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἄλμυρός ἤδη γίγνεται...».

<sup>620</sup> Milchhöfer 1900, 2. Milchhöfer 1889, 41, nos. 5-8. Ober 1985, 112-115.

<sup>621</sup> Milchhöfer 1900, 2.

<sup>622</sup> Camp 1992, 36, 40. After the reform of Kleisthenes (507/6 BC), these four *demoi* were directly subordinate to the city-state of Athens, just like any other Attic *demoi*. The name *Tetrapolis* went on in use, since it still defined a geographical, domestic and religious entity. There is some evidence that the meaning of the name *Tetrapolis* had been forgotten in the Middle Roman period, since the Latin writer Pompeius Festus, while commenting on an earlier Latin poem which used the term “*Quadrurbis*” probably in replacement of the Attic *Tetrapolis*, erroneously explained “*Quadrurbis*” as follows: “*quadrurbem Athenas Attius appellavit, quod scilicet ex quattuor urbibus in unam domicilia contulerunt, Braurone, Eleusine, Piraeo, Sunio*”; *Sextus Pompeius Festus*, ed. O. Mueller 1839, 258. The existence of the Marathonian *Tetrapolis* was known to

Marathon. *Oinoe* lay just west of *Marathon*, in the area known as ‘Ninoi’ in early modern times.<sup>623</sup> *Trikorynthos* has been safely located at Kato Souli<sup>624</sup>, while *Probalinthos* in the area of Nea Makre and Vrexiza, including Vrana.<sup>625</sup>

Properties of the Church of Athens (1209) which have been suggested to have existed in the Marathonia are discussed in Appendix [F].

## 5.2. Vrana

The modern settlement of Vrana lies at the location where the stream and the steep valley of *Rapendosa* meet the plain.<sup>626</sup> The name ‘Vrana’ has been connected with the Slav word ‘*vrānb*’ (= raven), but it probably designates an earlier owner of the area.<sup>627</sup>

Ruins of an extended site occupied from the Archaic to the LRom/EByz period have been located in Agios Andreas, Zouberi (south of Nea Makri); these are possibly the remains of the centre of *Provalinthos*, or of the neighbouring *demos Phegaia*.<sup>628</sup> Settlements of the

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Michael Choniates, who mentions it twice, albeit only in connection with the activities of Theseus (*Michaelis Akominati Epistulae*, Epistula ρογ’ (ed. Lambros, 1968, II, 345, 8); see also vol. I, p. 157, l. 6-7). This should probably be interpreted in that *Tetrapolis* was, for Choniates, a city which belonged to his past, although no direct evidence for the contrary exists in his text.

<sup>623</sup> The addition of an ‘n’ at the beginning of ancient place names starting with a vowel, especially ‘i’, during medieval or modern times is well known throughout Greece; see, for example, the islands of Ikaria (Nikariá) and Íos (Niós). This change may be due to the combination of the article in the accusative case, followed by the place-name: ‘την Ικαρία’ became ‘την Ικαριά’ and later ‘τη Νικαριά’.

<sup>624</sup> Oikonomakou 2004, 84-85.

<sup>625</sup> Traill 1975, 42 (*Probalinthos*), 53 (*Marathon, Oinoe, Trikorinthos*). For *Probalinthos* see also Camp 1992, 42-43.

<sup>626</sup> When Milchhöfer visited the settlement, water coming down the stream was not rich, but he considered as certain that it would have been substantial in earlier times: Milchhöfer 1889, 42.

<sup>627</sup> For the suggested Slav origin see Vasmer 1941, 121. According to Lambros (1896, 9) the latter option seems more likely, since in his times locals would call the area using the genitive case, ‘του Βρανά’. The Scottish Record Office has preserved a document of 1485 mentioning ‘Georgium de Brana quondam dominum Athenarum’, who was bishop in the sees of Dromore and Elphin of Ireland. Lambros (1910, 347) suggests that the title ‘dominus’ has replaced ‘άρχων’. The document therefore provides some evidence for the existence of an Athenian family with this name, even though in later centuries.

<sup>628</sup> Oikonomakou 2001-2004, 378f.

LRom/EByz period were recently reported in the same area, but with no further precision.<sup>629</sup> A Bronze Age tumulus grave in Vrana<sup>630</sup> was re-used in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. (Pl. 32c).<sup>631</sup> In the location ‘Skorpio Potami’, SE of Vrana, a large LRom/EByz cistern was excavated.<sup>632</sup>

One kilometre west of the modern settlement of Vrana, a church of Agios Georgios [A] (*vidi*) bears interesting evidence for cult continuity.<sup>633</sup> The monastery certainly existed in the 17<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>634</sup>, but the ritual still used, impressively similar to ancient rituals, strongly reminds ancient practices.<sup>635</sup>

### 5.3. The coastal part of the plain: Vrexiza, the tumulus area, Plasi

In ancient times, the coastal area did not house any prominent settlement of the Marathonian plain. It appears to have been, however, the religious centre of the *Tetrapolis*.<sup>636</sup> A prominent spot of the coastal plain is the tumulus which the Athenians constructed for the deceased of the Marathon battle (‘Soros’ on *KvA*).

#### Early Byzantine period

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<sup>629</sup> Oikonomakou 2009, 281.

<sup>630</sup> Marinatos 1970. Camp 1992, 38-39. This is the Tumulus 1, Grave No. 6.

<sup>631</sup> Marinatos 1970, 14, pl. 18b-19a. Grave No. 6 was a shallow pit dug in the tumulus. One skeleton with a bronze coin issue of Licinius (311-315) placed upon his breast and two jugs flanking his head was found.

<sup>632</sup> B’ EPKA 1978, 55. The walls of the cistern are laid with hydraulic mortar, while the floor was formed with tiles set vertically in the ground, in a way which appears commonly during this period. The cistern dimensions measure 11x7 m.

<sup>633</sup> This church is only mentioned in *TIB* I, 213. Also described by Goette – Weber (2004, 130, fig. 166).

<sup>634</sup> An Athonite codex of the 17<sup>th</sup> c. bears a stamp with the inscription ‘Σφραγίς μονής του αγίου Γεωργίου από τη Βρανά’. See Lambros 1896, 9, note 2.

<sup>635</sup> Two more churches mentioned by Milchhöfer (1889, 42), Agios Nikolaos and Agios Athanasios, do not bear evidence for use during our period of study. Until a few years ago, sculpted spolia lay in the courtyard of the church of Agios Athanasios: Goette – Weber 2004, 132 and fig. 168.

<sup>636</sup> Camp 1992, 40-41. Milchhöfer 1889, 46 (location of recovered inscriptions). The sanctuary of Dionysos, which had a prominent significance for the common identity of the four *demoi*, was in all probability located in Plasi, where the Charadros river debouches today (*KvA* Bl. XIX) and 500 m north of the coast. Two further, small sanctuaries of Dionysos, dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, were also found further south, in Vrexiza; see Arapoyanni 1988, 311.

An impressive Isaeum and a splendid bath of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c., used until the late 4<sup>th</sup> c., were excavated in Vrexiza (Pl. 32d).<sup>637</sup> North of these constructions Marinatos excavated “walls which belong to the Roman period or later”.<sup>638</sup> One kilometre west of the Isaeum, on the east outskirts of the Agrieliki hill, a complex of four ceramic kilns and a number of small adjacent buildings were excavated.<sup>639</sup>

A Late Roman building, possibly a nymphaeum (Pl. 33a), was excavated in the area ‘Valaría’, just south of the chapel of Agioi Theodoroi, noted on *KvA*.<sup>640</sup> Its space was re-used in Byzantine times. The chapel of Agioi Theodoroi, which was found almost dilapidated by Milchhöfer, is possibly of Byzantine date. It had three construction phases and made use of Roman and Early Byzantine spolia (Pl. 33c-d).<sup>641</sup>

In Plasi, Marinatos dug trial trenches NE of the tumulus of the Athenians which revealed everywhere Late Antique ruins.<sup>642</sup> A later excavation revealed five graves which were dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>643</sup>

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<sup>637</sup> Arapoyanni 1993. Dating relied on ceramic finds. Both buildings have been connected with the activity of Herodes Atticus.

<sup>638</sup> Marinatos 1972, 5.

<sup>639</sup> Onasoglou 1991: Junction of Marathonos Avenue with Museum road. All buildings were badly preserved, due to the small depth (0.30-0.50 m) in which they were found. The kilns were circular, with a diameter ranging from 3 to 4 metres. Their identification as ceramic kilns relied on the discovery of numerous fragments of vessels (pithoi, basins, amphorae and jugs), on a paved surface extending to their north and west of the kilns. In the kilns themselves, the lower part of a “Late Roman” amphora and an oil-lamp fragment were found, none of which was published. The construction technique, rubble masonry including tile fragments with finger imprints, similarly leads to a chronology in the later Roman times. To the north and west of the kilns, a number of rectangular buildings were revealed; in one of them, a cooking pot was found, which contained a 3<sup>rd</sup>-c. AD bronze coin depicting Athena

<sup>640</sup> Themelis 1974, 236, fig. 3. The building has a rectangular ground plan and a fountain in its centre.

<sup>641</sup> Themelis 1974, 236, fig. 4, 5. The screen slab (*thorakion*) and the marble base with a groove for its placement certainly come from a basilica; the columns, however, probably come from a secular building, e.g. the atrium of a villa, judging from their small size. The precise location of the chapel is only known from *KvA*; today the building has vanished, and its site appears to have been included in modern private property. Goette – Weber (2004, 130), who apparently also tried to find it, support this view as well.

<sup>642</sup> Marinatos 1970, 5.

<sup>643</sup> Theocharake 1979. Four tile-graves and one built grave with a vaulted roof were excavated. The built grave contained a skeleton oriented E-W (head to the W), and an “unglazed vessel” of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. Since all graves belonged to the same soil layer, the excavator was able to date all graves to the same period.

Two Early Christian basilicas have been revealed in Plasi. One was excavated in Agias Marinas street and 150 m inland of the coast (Pl. 33b).<sup>644</sup> 50 m SE of the basilica, the existence of a chapel dedicated to Agia Marina indicates that cult on this site was continuous. The second basilica was found 1.2 km east of the Soros, but no further information was provided by the excavator.<sup>645</sup> Mastrokostas identified this basilica with the chapel (built on top of the basilica?) reported earlier by Lolling<sup>646</sup>, Milchhöfer<sup>647</sup> and Eschenburg.<sup>648</sup>

The above finds suggest that the coastal area of the Marathonian plain in the Early Byzantine period was occupied by houses and workshops, among which two Christian basilicas stood. This settlement appears to have had an expanded character, and perhaps a greater density in Plasi.

#### *Middle – Late Byzantine period*

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<sup>644</sup> Mela 1981, 56-57. I applied for a study permit of the excavated ceramic material of this basilica, in order to specify, if possible, the chronology of its erection and use. However, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities answered that no pottery from this excavation is stored in their storerooms.

<sup>645</sup> Mastrokostas 1970, 18. The basilica was built on the remains of Roman buildings, and among houses of the Roman period. Travlos (1988, 223, fig. 271) notes two ‘Early Christian basilicas’ on his map of Marathon, both in the area of Plasi. While the inland basilica should be identified with the one on Agias Marinas st., the basilica located on the coast cannot be identified geographically with the one excavated by Mastrokostas. It is possible that Travlos slightly mislocated it on his map.

<sup>646</sup> Lolling 1876, 79. Lolling reports the “remains of a destroyed chapel”, and does not mention any architectural features which would point to the existence of an Early Christian basilica; this may, however, have lain underneath the reported chapel. Lolling locates the chapel to the NE of the Soros (tumulus), in the direction towards the Agios Georgios church on the Stavrokoraki hill, and on the north bank of Charadros (Pl. 33d). He, followed by Milchhöfer, reports the recovery of Byzantine coins from the chapel. “Schreitet man jetzt vom Soros in der Ebene weiter, in der Richtung auf die Kapelle des H. Georgios am Stavrokoraki, so stösst man am jenseitigen Ufer des Baches von Marathon wieder auf antike Trümmer, unbedeutende Mauerzüge und Steinhäufen. Etwas südlich davon liegen die letzten Trümmer einer verfallenen Kapelle. Dort gefundene byzantinische Münzen deuten darauf, dass der Platz in der Zeit der Byzantiner besuchter war als jetzt.”

<sup>647</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 47: “In Plasi beobachten wir nur unbedeutende Steinsetzungen und Trümmerhaufen, sowie Thonreste (auch am Strande) von später Bewohnung, bestätigt durch die geringen Überbleibsel einer Kapelle, bei welcher byzantinische Münzen gefunden wurden”.

<sup>648</sup> Eschenburg 1889, 35: “Die ganze Umgebung ist mit antiken Bautrümmern übersät, untermischt mit den Resten einer altbyzantinischen Kapelle, deren Material wiederum antiken Bauwerken entnommen ist.”

The above-mentioned chapels mentioned by Lolling, Milchhöfer and Eschenburg, already half-destroyed in their times, might go back to the Middle Byzantine period. Also an excavation of the Archaeological Service in 1974 produced numerous ceramic finds of the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>649</sup> Intensive agricultural activity and the thin layer of the topsoil did not permit the survival of other minor remains, belonging to houses, storerooms, workshops etc.<sup>650</sup>

Two medieval towers stood in the coastal plain. The first tower is located just west of the Panagia Mesosporitissa church [A]. Only the lowest part of the tower is preserved, built almost entirely of ancient blocks (Pl. 33e-f).<sup>651</sup> Based on ceramic evidence, the excavator concluded that the tower was probably built in the 11<sup>th</sup> or the 12<sup>th</sup> c., and that it fell into ruins in the 15<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>652</sup> The second medieval tower lies south of Plasi, 600 m north of the Soros [A].<sup>653</sup> It is a rectangle of finely worked marble blocks in second use, bonded with mortar (Pl. 34a). Milchhöfer attests “a couple of winepresses, wells, as well as the poor remains of a church” east and SE of the tower.<sup>654</sup>

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<sup>649</sup> These finds (Green and Brown Painted Ware, Fine Sgraffito Ware, and other kinds of glazed and unglazed pottery) were seen briefly by the author in the Archaeological Museum of Marathon. They were labeled ‘Valaria, plot of Ch. Kakkaris, 1974’. The *AD* of 1974 and 1975 does not contain any excavation report in a plot under this name, or in Marathon whatsoever.

<sup>650</sup> Considering the fact that most of the excavated Roman and Late Roman antiquities were found at a depth of 0.30-0.70 m from modern soil surface, and that they were all preserved at a small height, then it becomes apparent that the preservation of later structures has been even more difficult.

<sup>651</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 51. Vanderpool 1966, 93-96. Langdon 1995, 483. Goette 2001, 239. Oikonomakou 2001-2004, 373f.

<sup>652</sup> Vanderpool 1966, 93-96.

<sup>653</sup> B’ EPKA 1978, 56. Langdon 1995, 483.

<sup>654</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 46. See also *KvA*, Bl. XIX, where, below the ‘Pyrgos’, ‘Cist.’ and ‘zerst. Kap.’ are noted.

#### 5.4. The town of Marathon

The exact location of the *demos* of *Marathon* has not yet been securely identified, although some scholars place it in Plasi.<sup>655</sup> The modern location of the town of Marathon goes back to early modern times (if not earlier), and has not been excavated.

Two excavations in Sepheri (south of Marathon) revealed remains of rural farms in close proximity to each other. Thanks to the kind permit of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, I was able to study the excavated pottery. A farm of the Middle Roman and LRom/EByz periods, with later re-use, was excavated in the Bousoula plot [A].<sup>656</sup> Catalogued finds (**Table 2**) (Pl. 35a-i) show use of the farmstead in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c. Six Early Byzantine graves were constructed in the disused rooms of the building.<sup>657</sup> An Early Byzantine farm was excavated 60 m further east, in Sourla plot [A] (Pl. 34b-c).<sup>658</sup> This revealed vessels dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c., to ca. 600, and possibly to the 10<sup>th</sup> c. (**Table 3**).

A recent excavation in Sepheri revealed an Early Byzantine cist grave built of tiles. Bronze fibulae were collected from its interior.<sup>659</sup>

The Middle Byzantine history of Marathon is mostly unknown. The village of Marathon was settled already in the early 13<sup>th</sup> c., as the papal letter of 1209 attests ('casale Marefon'), and belonged to the Church of Athens.<sup>660</sup> The only remain of this period,

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<sup>655</sup> Themelis 1974, 233-234, with further bibliography.

<sup>656</sup> Morou-Kapokaki 1984. Located at the west side of Marathonos Avenue and at its 38<sup>th</sup> kilometre from Athens. It was built on remains of a Late Hellenistic farm.

<sup>657</sup> It is very unfortunate that these two finds were impossible to locate in the storerooms of the Marathon Museum.

<sup>658</sup> Poloyorgi 1993. This was also erected on Classical or Hellenistic building remains.

<sup>659</sup> Oikonomakou 2009, 279 and figs. 21-22.

<sup>660</sup> *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 256, Col. 1560C.



published only recently and dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> c., is the narthex of the Agioi Saranda church, at the NW border of the town (*non-vidi*).<sup>661</sup>

Milchhöfer lists two further churches, with *spolia* embedded in their masonry<sup>662</sup>: Prophetes Elias (NE of the town) (*vidi*, replaced by a 20<sup>th</sup>-c. church) and Panagia (SW of Prophetes Elias, in the town cemetery). Both churches were locked during my visit; the only *spolium* which I was able to see was an Early Christian or ‘Dark Age’ capital embedded in the west façade of the Panagia church (Pl. 34c).<sup>663</sup>

## 5.5. Oinoe – Ninói

*Oinoe*/Ninói lies in the Charadros valley and is marked by a medieval tower (Pl. 36f). A large bathing complex of the Middle or Late Roman period was excavated 100 m east of the tower (Pl. 36g).<sup>664</sup> A Byzantine building was later constructed over cistern VI.

The tower of Ninói is, along with the Brauron tower, the best preserved medieval tower in Attica [A] (Pl. 36f) (*vidi*).<sup>665</sup> Its chronology is uncertain, but the absence of gun slits suggests a date prior to the 16<sup>th</sup> c. The function of the three towers of the Marathonian plain is not entirely clear. Goette and Weber note that the Oinoe tower communicated, from its top, with the tower built by Panagia Mesosporitissa, and that they both belonged to a system of a military warning system against pirate raids. While this theory is plausible, what is clear from the location of these towers is their control of the immediately surrounding countryside. Both

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<sup>661</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 257-258, figs. 294-5. The narthex has an unusual form, with two broad arches in the façade; the main nave belongs to a later period.

<sup>662</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 47.

<sup>663</sup> Capitals with the same shape, as well as with decoration on low relief (although richer) are included in the collection of the Byzantine Museum of Athens: see Sklavou-Mavroeidi 1999, Nos. 68, 88 (5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c.); *Vyzantines Sylloges* 2007, 118, No. 77 (8<sup>th</sup> c.). The Panagia capital bears a cross similar to the latter parallel.

<sup>664</sup> Arapoyanni 1987, 100.

<sup>665</sup> Langdon 1995, 482.

towers of the coastal plain must have collected agricultural produce from the surrounding plain. The Ninoi tower controls the road leading from Marathon to Kalentze.

Milchhöfer and Lolling record a ruin of a church known as Frankiki Ekklesia or Ekklesia Franca, just NE of the Oinoe tower. Its structure contained marble blocks, Ionic capitals and non-fluted columns.<sup>666</sup>

### 5.6. *Trikorynthos* – Kato Souli

The *demos Trikorynthos* has been safely located NE of Kato Souli<sup>667</sup>, but the habitation centre of the *demos* has not been identified. The area was used until ca. the 6<sup>th</sup> c., as a space for cemeteries, ceramic kilns and outdoor activity.<sup>668</sup> LRom/EByz graves were excavated west of Kato Souli and along the road parallel to the coast.<sup>669</sup>

The question of the location of the central settlement of the *demos* has caused broad discussion on the remains of a fortification on the SE foot of the Stavrokoraki hill [A] (Pl. 37a).<sup>670</sup> The walls were earlier dated to Mycenaean times, but Lohmann reported that tile fragments which had been used in the fortifications include some Early Byzantine fragments.<sup>671</sup>

Remains of the Byzantine period were uncovered during recent excavations just north of the swamp. Unfortunately, no details were provided by the excavator.<sup>672</sup>

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<sup>666</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 48. Lolling 1876, 76 (he only mentions the name of the church). The comment of Goette and Weber (2004, 132) that the modern church of Agioi Apostoloi replaced the Frankiki Ekklesia may not be correct, since the location of the two churches is not the same; cf. *KvA* and *HMGS / Road* maps, where Agioi Apostoloi are noted with a cross on a circle to the north, not the NE, of the tower.

<sup>667</sup> Traill 1975, 53. Oikonomakou 2004, 84-85.

<sup>668</sup> Oikonomakou 2004, 115, 175.

<sup>669</sup> Oikonomakou 2009, 275 and fig. 15. No further information provided.

<sup>670</sup> McCredie 1966, 37-41.

<sup>671</sup> Lohmann 2001, 518, n. 72.

<sup>672</sup> Oikonomakou 2004, 86.

Two ruined churches at the NE of the swamp, dedicated to Panagia and Agios Vlasios, are mentioned by Milchhöfer; both were erected on an ancient cemetery site. Milchhöfer notes them in association with “traces of newer [i.e. not ancient] settlement”.<sup>673</sup>

## 5.7. Kynosoura

Kynosoura (‘Mytikas’ on *HMGS*) is a long, narrow and rocky peninsula ejecting from the NE tip of the Marathonian plain and extending to the south for 2.3 km. It is blocked from the mainland at various points with single courses of rubble walls [A] (Pl. 37b).<sup>674</sup> The date and the exact purpose of these walls remain unclear, but some of them have been characterised as LRom/EByz.<sup>675</sup>

An underwater survey revealed a large number of cargo amphorae in an area starting from the foot of the tip of the Kynosoura promontory and extending to its N/NW.<sup>676</sup> The researchers note that, for boats and ships sailing down the south Euboean Gulf, the turn from the Gulf into the Marathon bay can be dangerous due to storms which arrive from the south frequently and unexpectedly. In the surveyed area amphorae of the Classical and Hellenistic amphorae from all over the Aegean were found, mixed with LRA2 and Keay VII amphorae (5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.), as well as with Günseini 3/Hayes 61 amphorae (later 12<sup>th</sup> – early 13<sup>th</sup> c.) (Pl.

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<sup>673</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 49. Only Agios Vlasios is marked on *KvA*. The church of Agios Vlasios has today been dilapidated, and its site has been included in a fenced private property, as a local inhabitant kindly showed to me. In the years of his childhood, ca. fifty years ago, the church was in a ruined condition, but the local inhabitants still visited it regularly and lit candles and incense at the site. I was not able to find any kind of evidence for the chronology of the church.

<sup>674</sup> McCredie 1966, 41-46.

<sup>675</sup> Arapoyanni 1988, 314. McCredie (*ibid.*) reports LRom/EByz or Byzantine pottery. Petropoulakou – Pentazos (1972, 220), who she cites, do not provide any additional information.

<sup>676</sup> Braemer – Marcadé 1953. The location where the amphorae were found is noted on p. 142: “À une centaine de mètres au Nord de l’extrémité de la presqu’île, face à Marathon, mais encore dans la zone des remous créés par le cap (...) ». This definition is paradoxical, because to the north of the tip of the peninsula one finds only land. I assume that the authors meant ‘northwest’ instead of north.

37c).<sup>677</sup> From the survey report it does not become clear if the amphorae of our periods of interest belonged to whole cargoes; but their common use in cargo ships is well known from research in the Aegean and the Empire.<sup>678</sup>

## 5.8. The upland and northern district of Marathon

The upland area is characterized by minor streams which descend from the north slopes of Penteli (Stamata stream, Spata stream), the eastern slopes of Penteli (Liosia stream), and from the northern, higher hills of Kapandriti and Varnava. All these streams join the river Charadros. Similarly to the northern Pentelic district, the upland Marathonian district has preserved numerous medieval remains, most of which have been reported only by Milchhöfer.

## 5.9. Kalentze

Kalentze<sup>679</sup> is the area of the ancient *demos* of *Semachidai*, but no remains of the Classical to Early Byzantine periods are known from the area.<sup>680</sup> Activity in the 12<sup>th</sup> c. is shown by two numismatic hoards: one was found “in Kalentze”, the other “at Kalentze, Marathon dam”. Both have *tetartera* of Manuel I.<sup>681</sup> A medieval tower stood next to a church

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<sup>677</sup> Braemer – Marcadé 1953, 142, fig. 5a-d, 61-b.

<sup>678</sup> Bass – van Doorninck 1982 : 7th-c. shipwreck with a cargo of LR2 amphorae. On the Middle Byzantine Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61 amphora type see Hayes 1992, 76. A cargo of Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61 amphorae has been found in a shipwreck off Peristera, Northern Sporades; see Dellaporta 1999, figs. 1, 3. For the way in which these amphorae were stored in ships see Bakirtzes 1989, pl. 15.

<sup>679</sup> Its name probably derives from a family name, ‘του Καλέντζη’. For this reason it is written with an ‘-η’ ending in early modern accounts, e.g. Neroutsos 1892, 68. A village named ‘Clazazundas’ is included in the properties of the Church of Athens according to the letter of Pope Innocent III in 1209, and Neroutsos (1892, 68) identifies this with Kalentze. Koder (1977, 137) questions this identification, and suggests the deriving of ‘Clazazundas’ from a place name ending with ‘-ώντας’ in Greek.

<sup>680</sup> Traill 1975, 54.

<sup>681</sup> Galani-Krikou 2002, 88-89, Nos. 71-72, with 83 and 365 coins respectively. Both hoards had been placed in clay vessels.

dedicated to the Metamorphosis (Transfiguration) of Christ (*non-vidi*).<sup>682</sup> Buchon thought that the tower was of Ottoman date.<sup>683</sup>

Northeast of modern Kalentze, on the hill 'Palaio Monasteri' (429 m), Milchhöfer recorded ruins of a watchtower and three churches next to traces of monastic buildings.<sup>684</sup> Langdon suggested that the tower belonged to the convent.<sup>685</sup> Medieval terraces and a chapel ruin were recorded by Milchhöfer 1 km north of Palaio Monasteri, at 'Vilia'.<sup>686</sup>

## 5.10. Varnava

The only surviving monument of Varnava is a medieval tower [A] (Pl. 38a) (*vidi*).<sup>687</sup> Its masonry is reminiscent more of Late Byzantine and Frankish rather than Ottoman structures. Tile and vessel fragments scattered around the tower do not offer any clue as to the chronology of its use, and the ruined chapel, mentioned by Milchhöfer<sup>688</sup>, is today a greatly overgrown mound of stone and tiles just NW of the tower; its existence, however, suggests that the tower is pre-Ottoman. The location of the medieval tower in the middle of this flat area suggests that it controlled the surrounding countryside and fields, which its owners probably exploited. The tower appears therefore rather as agrarian than as strategic. The road which connects it to the NE coast and to the valley of Varnava is not an important route of communication.

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<sup>682</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 61.

<sup>683</sup> Buchon 1843, 192-3. Langdon 1995, 480. On *KvA* this tower is shown on the SE slope of the Kodresa hill (343 m). The only detail known about the tower is that it was square in plan.

<sup>684</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 61.

<sup>685</sup> Langdon 1995, 492-493. Langdon found these remains in a much worse condition: "Some wall traces survive, but mostly the slope is a strew of tiles, stones with mortar adhering, and pottery. No outline of a structure can be made out."

<sup>686</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 61.

<sup>687</sup> Milchhöfer 1900, 9. Lock 1986, 112 (with no useful further information).

<sup>688</sup> Milchhöfer 1900, 9.

Five hundred metres south of this tower, next to a recently renovated Ottoman-dated<sup>689</sup> chapel of Agia Paraskevi, an ancient tower (4<sup>th</sup> c. BC?) has been preserved. A dish fragment dating to ca. 400 was found by this tower, thus possibly indicating a re-use.<sup>690</sup>

### 5.11. Kapandrite

The family name ‘Kapandrites’ is known from numerous sources of the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>691</sup>, and the hypothesis that this village belonged to one of these families is plausible.<sup>692</sup> A further village owned by the Church of Athens, ‘Persekonar’<sup>693</sup>, has been suggested to have been located between Kapandrite and Marathon<sup>694</sup> [F].

#### Aphidna

*Aphidna* was a constitutional *demos* of ancient Athens. Its acropolis has been located on the Kotroni hill (366 m), ca. 3 km south of the modern village of Kapandrite.<sup>695</sup> The site is prominent, and it must have been used in post-antique times as well, but safe evidence is lacking. Large quantities of coarse pottery (amphorae) have been collected, but not studied. A Byzantine sgraffito bowl and yellow-glazed sherds are fragments of evidence for later use of the site.<sup>696</sup> The fort of Aphidna may have been used mostly as a watch-post and a storage

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<sup>689</sup> A photo of the chapel in 1933 is included in *Τόπος αειθαλούς μνήμης και ζωής*, 51 (where it is named as ‘Zoodochos Pege’). The masonry of the chapel, as well as the lowered west end of the roof, are features which belong to the Ottoman period. The masonry includes numerous spolia.

<sup>690</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 474, FO 050.

<sup>691</sup> Lambros 1910, 89-90; Lambros 1913, 195.

<sup>692</sup> So think also Koder and Hild (1976, 181). The letter of Pope Innocent III includes the village ‘Chandebride’ to the properties of the Church of Athens<sup>692</sup>, and Neroutsos (1892, 68) believed that this should be identified with Kapandrite. Koder and Hild (*TIB* I, 181) are cautious with this etymological connection.

<sup>693</sup> *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 256, col. 1560C.

<sup>694</sup> Neroutsos 1892, 68. Koder 1977, 137.

<sup>695</sup> McCredie 1966, 81. Finlay 1839, 369ff.

<sup>696</sup> Bowl: McCredie 1966, 82. Yellow-glazed sherds: in the ASCSA and the DAI collections; see Ober 1987, 203.

space for times of war in the Hellenistic period<sup>697</sup>, and may have retained this use in later periods<sup>698</sup>.

### Gurma Andriomeni

Five hundred metres south of the Kotroni hill, and just south of the smaller hill called ‘Gurma Andriomeni’ in *KvA*<sup>699</sup>, above the NW arm of the modern Marathon Lake, Milchhöfer saw “foundations of houses, of two towers (of which one is ancient), a circuit wall (fortification?), and next to them; storage vessels in the earth, many clay sherds and many large ancient ashlar blocks; the same [we saw] also towards the west end, by the ‘ruined chapel’.”<sup>700</sup> Langdon inspected these medieval remains, and reported that “the only walling visible today is a fragment of mortar and rubble rising out of a mound of debris that is heavily overgrown with vegetation. The debris gives the impression of being the remains of a single, compact structure, possibly the tower referred to by Milchhöfer. The fields all about are heavily strewn with tile fragments and medieval pottery.”<sup>701</sup> A visit in September 2010 did not enable me to add any further information on these structures.<sup>702</sup>

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<sup>697</sup> For its use as a storage space see Ober 1985, 98, note 35.

<sup>698</sup> *IG II-III*<sup>2</sup> 2776, l. 96, lists a χωρ[ίον] φρουρίων Ἀφιδνησι among private landholdings of Attica in the Hadrianic period. This ‘chorion’ was an estate, possibly with a settlement. The designation ‘φρουρίων’ possibly shows that it lay near the acropolis of *Aphidna*, and that the strategic role of this site was surely remembered, if not still used. Day (1942, 232, n. 306) interprets ‘φρούριον’, as used in this inscription, as ‘watch-post’.

<sup>699</sup> ‘Gurma Andriomeni’ is an Albanian-Greek word combination which means ‘human footprint’, according to Milchhöfer (1889, 59). On *KvA*, Blatt XIX, these remains are noted as ‘Grundmauern und verf. Thurm, mittelalt. Befestigung’. On the *HMGS* and *Road* maps, the hill of Gurma Andriomeni is not noted; on the *HMGS* map Gurma appears as the S/SW foot of Kotroni. The medieval remains are located just east of the site called ‘Omerlies’, to the direction of the Agioi Saranda church.

<sup>700</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 59.

<sup>701</sup> Langdon 1995, 480-481.

<sup>702</sup> The walling mentioned by Langdon, as well as three further stone piles, were seen at a distance of ca. 250 m SW of the Agioi Saranda church and very close to the NW bank of the modern lake of Marathon. Tile fragments are visible in the area, but the scattered ceramic remains do not attest to the period of activity around these structures. These remains may continue further to the west, but thick macquis vegetation prevented me from further exploration.

The neighbouring church of Agioi Saranda does not preserve any visible medieval architectural phases; but a column shaft of grey marble in the courtyard, inscribed with a cross on a triangular base, probably belongs to Byzantine times (Pl. 38b).

A further medieval tower was recorded by Milchhöfer and Langdon on the site ‘Gaitana’ [A], 2 km SE of the Agioi Saranda church, by the north bank of the old lake of Marathon (*KvA*) (Pl. 35c) (*vidi*).<sup>703</sup> The tower stands on a hill which overlooks the vicinity, especially to its south and east, and probably controlled the fertile fields which surround the lake.

On the SW bank of the lake Milchhöfer records poor remains of medieval occupation<sup>704</sup>; these are probably the ones noted as ‘Hausreste’ to the west of the mouth of the Spata stream, at the western edge of the Marathon Lake.

Returning to the north of the lake, Milchhöfer further notes the settlement Sirako, which had been recently abandoned.<sup>705</sup> North of Sirako Milchhöfer saw ruins of a monastery around the (ca. 17<sup>th</sup>-c.) church of Agia Anna (Pl. 38d-g) (*vidi*).<sup>706</sup> The soil around the church has been deliberately levelled, so that any existing ruins of the monastery have been covered. However, ceramic remains attest to use of this site during the Classical, Early Byzantine and later medieval periods.

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<sup>703</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 60. Langdon 1995, 481. Its exact location is just west of the east arm of the modern Marathon Lake, and across the dam. The tower remain is now preserved in exactly the same condition as the one recorded by Langdon.

<sup>704</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 60-61.

<sup>705</sup> Sirako is noted on the *HMGS* map, which is here easier to follow than the *KvA*. The chapel of Panagia Mesosporitissa, noted with a cross SE of the name ‘Sirako’ on the *HMGS* map, belonged to this village. I visited the site, but remains of the village are not to be seen today; they possibly extended east of Panagia, an area which has now been flooded by the modern lake.

<sup>706</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 61. However, I was able to see a concentration of black-glazed tiles and black-glazed Classical pottery ca. 100 m north of the church.



## B.6. The district of Oropos

### 6.1. Geographical description and main roads

#### [Printed map B.6.a; CD maps B.6.b-c]

North Attica is a hilly district extending to the north of Mt Parnes. Its western limit, towards Boeotia, is defined by the river Asopos (called ‘Vourienis’, ‘Vouriemis’, ‘Φοβερὸ Πεύμα’ in the 19<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>707</sup>), which runs from Mt Kithairon, follows a SW-NE direction and flows into the southern Euboean Gulf. The deepest and most protected bay of the north coast is the one of Oropos (Skala). Oropos was the most prominent city of NE Attica through ancient and medieval times.<sup>708</sup>

Oropos is mentioned as a station between Athens and Thebes in the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus Augustus, considered to have been written in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c.<sup>709</sup> Geographically the Oropia is part of Boeotia rather than Attica, since access to the former is easy, while to the latter more difficult and has to use certain mountainous passages.<sup>710</sup> Three primary routes, one

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<sup>707</sup> Milchhöfer 1900, 25.

<sup>708</sup> The Oropia has always swayed between Attica and Boeotia. In the ancient period Oropos constituted an independent city-state. For a concise history of Oropos in the ancient period see Cosmopoulos 2001, 14-16. The Roman presence in Oropos became more pronounced, as *negotiatores* settled down in the city (Hatzfeld 1919, 73. Alcock 1993, 76, fig. 25; 1997, 293). Interesting for our study is an inscription dating to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, which refers to properties owned by Athenians in the area of Oropos (Petraikos 1968, 43. Petraikos 1997, 510); although no evidence of this kind exists for the Late Roman period, it is reasonable to assume that these Athenian properties were retained for some generations. Based on epigraphic evidence, Kahrstedt concludes that Oropos appears, next to *Acharnai*, as a region of wealthy owners (Kahrstedt 1954, 60).

<sup>709</sup> *Itineraria Romana*, ed. O. Cuntz, 49, No. 327,1.

<sup>710</sup> The district of Oropos includes the valley of Asopos, towards its west, as well as the valley of the considerably smaller stream of Malakasa, further to the east. Towards the E/SE, the district of Oropos is separated from the Marathonian district through an area with steep hills and valleys, which extends between Varnava / Grammatiko and the NE coast. Milchhöfer describes the natural border between the Oropia and the district of *Rhamnous* as the small but precipitous mountain ridge which starts from the peak Prophetes Elias, NE of Varnava (648 m altitude; noted as ‘Varnava’ on the *HMGS* and *Road* maps), continues northwards with the Zastani hill (465 m; ‘Kakotopia’ on the *HMGS* and *Road* maps) and forms the Cape Kalamos. The

by way of Limiko (by the Varnava towers<sup>711</sup> and the fort at Agia Paraskevi)<sup>712</sup>, a second by Aphidna, and a third one through *Dekeleia/Tatoi*<sup>713</sup> led from Oropos into central Attica.

## 6.2. Kalamos<sup>714</sup>

Immediately west of Kalamos lie the remains of the important ancient sanctuary of Amphiaraos. The latest safe evidence for its use is an inscription dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.<sup>715</sup> and coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. (ending with Constantine II, 337-340).<sup>716</sup> Some walls built of rubble and tiles on the lower Classical courses of walls of the Stoa may belong to the Middle or the Late Roman period (*vidi*) (Pl. 39a). The use of the sanctuary does not seem to post-date the 4<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>717</sup>

A church of Agios Nikolaos [A] in the cemetery of Kalamos has been dated to the late 13<sup>th</sup> c. (*vidi*) (Pl. 39b-c). Excavations in the interior of the church revealed a wall section of an earlier church<sup>718</sup>, which preserved part of a wall-painting with geometric patterns (Pl. 39d), dated by Bouras to the early 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>719</sup>

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Oropia can therefore be described as an area of trapezoid shape, extending between Mt Parnes and the NE coast, with an approximate width of six kilometres and a length of fifteen kilometres.

<sup>711</sup> It is certain that the function of the ancient tower was to control the road, whereas the medieval one could only be an agricultural one. In general, however, I tend to believe that the role of most inland medieval towers of Attica was often both agricultural and ‘strategic’, in that they must have taken advantage of sites with good communication.

<sup>712</sup> Ober 1985, 113-114.

<sup>713</sup> *Thucydides* 7.28.1. Ober 1985, 115, notes 1, 2. This road is described in the Parnes chapter. Although mountainous, it is known to have been used as a grain route in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, and it was certainly used for carts and armies.

<sup>714</sup> The name and preserved monuments of Kalamos suggest that it was not founded in the 14<sup>th</sup> c. by Albanians, like many of the currently existing Attic villages, but earlier. Milchhöfer (1900, 13) thinks that its “uncomfortable” location, on the hills behind the sea, must have been dictated by reasons of safety towards piracy.

<sup>715</sup> Petrakos 1981, 126.

<sup>716</sup> Leonardos 1890, 31; 1903, 35. Petrakos 1968, 44.

<sup>717</sup> Cosmopoulos 2001, 16.

<sup>718</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1982-83, 230-231, fig. 5. Gini-Tsophopoulou 1995, 73-75.

<sup>719</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 336.

A small Byzantine cross-shaped church dedicated to Agia Paraskevi [A] was located recently near mid-distance between Kalamos and Varnava (Pl. 39e-f) (*non-vidi*).<sup>720</sup> Earlier Byzantine spolia have been embedded in its masonry. The dome preserves remains of a wall-painting depicting the Pantocrator, of Byzantine date. Surrounding remains indicate the existence of a monastery.

East of Kalamos and north of Varnava rises the peak Vrysi (572 m). Near the ruins of a small ancient fortification<sup>721</sup>, Milchhöfer saw traces of a settlement, “workshops, and other, relatively newer houses” and a chapel dedicated to Agia Paraskevi (Ottoman) (*non-vidi*).<sup>722</sup>

### 6.3. Skala Oropou

The history of Oropos during the Early Byzantine period and even the very existence of the city after the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. were unknown before the recent rescue excavations which took place in the area.<sup>723</sup> Excavations confirmed the earlier hypothesis that the coastal area of Oropos, today called ‘Skala Oropou’, was the location of the city until the end of the Early Byzantine period. It is generally accepted that the city then moved from Skala to the inland site today called ‘Palaios Oropos’<sup>724</sup>; however, Middle Byzantine finds have not been reported in any of the rescue excavations there. Given their foundation in higher stratigraphic levels, as well as their relative ‘invisibility’ and difficulty to date, one could reasonably suggest that this is the reason why they do not appear in excavation reports from both sites.

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<sup>720</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1994. Before Tsophopoulou’s study the church was unknown in the bibliography. Unfortunately, its exact location is not provided in the report, and I was not able to find it.

<sup>721</sup> Ober 1985, 138-139; Ober does not report any antiquities from the site post-dating the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.

<sup>722</sup> Milchhöfer 1900, 11. For a description of Agia Paraskevi see Mouzakes 2010, 93-96.

<sup>723</sup> See Orlandos 1927, 25; *TIB* I, 229. Even the recent and careful study by Cosmopoulos (2001, see esp. 16) and his team does not go as far as to include results of rescue excavations concerning the Early Byzantine period.

<sup>724</sup> Milchhöfer 1900, 23-24. Dragona 1985, 72.

In Skala Oropou, excavations revealed numerous LRom/EByz buildings, an Early Christian basilica, and graves. These finds are located in the northern part of modern Skala, and at a maximum distance of 0.5 km from the coast. The Early Christian basilica is three-aisled, of medium size, with a baptistery.<sup>725</sup> Eight other LRom/EByz buildings have been excavated.<sup>726</sup> Among these, one has been identified as a house, and three as ceramic workshops. Two of the ceramic workshops have been excavated along the interior face, and to the south, of the ancient coastal city wall.<sup>727</sup> In the east extension of modern Skala, in the area Nea Palatia, excavations have revealed the Hellenistic and Roman cemetery<sup>728</sup>, partially succeeded by LRom/EByz graves.<sup>729</sup>

It would be reasonable to suggest that the Early Byzantine coastal town of Oropos was protected by a small fort, or at least a watchtower. A probable location is the hill ‘Lumberi’ or ‘Loumberdi’ (80 m), the northernmost foot of the hill Lagouvouni (107 m), half a kilometre S/SW of Skala; the other probable location would be Lagouvouni itself.<sup>730</sup> On Loumberdi, remains of a small Hellenistic fort or a tower have been recorded.<sup>731</sup> The Oropos Survey Project also recorded a cistern “of the Roman period” 12 m south of the hill summit (site

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<sup>725</sup> Kraniotou 1980, 81. Only the south aisle, the apse and the southern part of the main aisle were excavated. The length of the south aisle is 13.30 m, and its width 3.5 to 4 m. The width of the main aisle is estimated at 5.60 m. The floor was paved with square fired clay slabs.

<sup>726</sup> Petrakos – Arapoyanni 1979, 97: Mamali plot (building). *Ibid.*, 98: A. Diakou st. and O. Androutsou st., Bouphi plot (building). *Ibid.*, 103-104: M. Alexandrou and A. Diakou st., Kambaniari plot (ceramic workshop). Arapoyanni 1980, 79-80: 10 Pindarou st. (house and road). Dragona-Latsoudi 1984, 48: 21 Drosine st. Onasoglou 1988, 79: 1 Ioustinianou st., Photopoulou plot (building with kilns). Onasoglou 1989, 78: 1 Ioustinianou st., Makriyanni plot (building). Kraounaki 1989, 81-82: 28 October st. and M. Alexandrou st., Chatziyanni plot (ceramic workshop and graves).

<sup>727</sup> Dragona-Latsoudi 1985, 69-71.

<sup>728</sup> Agallopoulou 1994, 75: 24 Korytsas st., Kalamboka plot (19 graves of the Hellenistic to Middle Roman periods), with further references for this cemetery in the ancient and Roman periods.

<sup>729</sup> Onasoglou 1989, 81: 14 Vasileos Konstantinou st., Tzoumi plot. Agallopoulou 1995, 58-60: 6 March 25<sup>th</sup> st., Demetriou plot. Agallopoulou 1997, 96: 3 March 25<sup>th</sup> st., Panisoe plot. Alexandri 1975, 38: 11 Athenon st., Stavroulaki plot.

<sup>730</sup> Cosmopoulos 2001, 122, Site 95/2: Pottery of the 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. was found on the hill.

<sup>731</sup> Ober 1985, 139-140. Milchhöfer 1900, 25.

91/20), and LRom/EByz ceramic sherds.<sup>732</sup> Milchhöfer reports cisterns and a “church crypt”.<sup>733</sup> None of these structures were seen during my visit, building development and fencing of new properties having advanced in recent years, and even the ceramic sherds on the hill surface were not numerous or diagnostic.<sup>734</sup>

#### 6.4. Palaios Oropos

Recent excavations have shown that a small settlement existed in the inland site of Oropos already in Roman and Early Byzantine times. An Early Byzantine oil- or wine-press was excavated at the western end of the modern town.<sup>735</sup> Towards the northern part of the modern town, a pagan grave of Roman or Early Byzantine times, as well as the remains of a building of the same period, were found.<sup>736</sup>

The size and character of the inland site of Oropos during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods is unclear. Ulrichs, who visited Oropos towards the mid-19<sup>th</sup> c., recorded “ten, mostly destroyed churches, which attest that this village was important in the Middle Ages”; these included stone blocks which may have been brought from the harbour.<sup>737</sup> The opinion prevails among scholars, that the town moved from the coast to the inland site during the ‘Dark Ages’ and due to the emergence of piracy and general insecurity.<sup>738</sup> Existing evidence does not enable us to test this hypothesis. Two column capitals bearing relief decoration of the Early Byzantine or the transitional period have been found in the courtyards

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<sup>732</sup> Cosmopoulos 2001, 110-111. These belong to amphorae, probably of the LRA2 type (“combed decoration”), and cooking and storage vessels.

<sup>733</sup> Milchhöfer 1900, 25.

<sup>734</sup> Autopsy 06.01.2011.

<sup>735</sup> Kraounaki 1989, 79-81: Karaiskaki st., Spyrou plot.

<sup>736</sup> Dragona-Latsoudi 1985, 72: 9-11 Tagmatarchi Thevaiou st., Phrantzi plot.

<sup>737</sup> Ulrichs 1863, 56. Ulrichs (*ibid.*) judged that the inland town of Oropos was formed before the 9<sup>th</sup> c., because, as he thought, many of the ‘old’ churches date to this century.

<sup>738</sup> Ulrichs, *ibid.* Milchhöfer 1900, 25. Orlandos 1927, 25.

of the Dormition church and the Agios Vlasios church (Pl. 40a-b).<sup>739</sup> Marble reliefs of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> c. have been embedded in later monuments of the town (Pl. 40c).<sup>740</sup> The earliest preserved monument in inland Oropos is the early 13<sup>th</sup>-c. Agios Georgios church.<sup>741</sup> Oropos therefore presents a case of settlement movement similar to the one of Marathon; the preservation of the ancient name in both cases, despite the re-settlement, is also remarkable.

Archbishop Michael Choniates refers to Oropos in two of his letters. One, written in 1195, is addressed to the *logothetes* Velissariotes, and includes the statement that the Church of Athens, for which the *proasteion* Oropos is highly valuable because of its numerous services, needs a renewed certification for the ownership of this *proasteion*.<sup>742</sup> In another letter, addressed to the *anagrapheus* Georgios Kolymbas and his assistant, Sergios Nomikopoulos, Choniates accuses these local officials of illegally depriving the Church of Athens from the χωρίον ὁ Ὠρωπός, which formed part of the ἀθηναϊκή ἐπίσκεψις, and registering it as belonging to Thebes.<sup>743</sup> After the Frankish conquest, Pope Innocent III certified the ownership of *Vertipos* by the Church of Athens.<sup>744</sup>

If the location ‘Rupo’, appearing in another letter of Pope Innocent III, can be identified with Oropos, then we learn that the town was already by then (1210) protected by a

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<sup>739</sup> Koumanoudes 1969, pl. 42a and 44d.

<sup>740</sup> Orlandos 1927, 29-30. Bouras - Boura 2002, 328.

<sup>741</sup> Orlandos 1927, 31-34. Chatzedakes 1959. Bouras (2002, 337) leaves a possibility open that the monument might date to the later 12<sup>th</sup> c., since the combination of pointed arches with semi-circular arches shows that the former morphological element, of Frankish tradition, does not prevail in this monument. Unfortunately the bad preservation of the church prohibits any firmer conclusions.

<sup>742</sup> *Michael Choniates*, γγ', ed. Lambros 1880, II, 89. See also comment by Lambros on p. 580.

<sup>743</sup> *Michael Choniates*, πβ', ed. Lambros 1880, II, 131. See also comment by Lambros on p. 600. Neroutsos 1892, 45. Herrin 1976, 271-272.

<sup>744</sup> *Acta Innocentii III no. 256*, col. 1560C. Koder 1977, 136.

fort.<sup>745</sup> No archaeological remains have been preserved from this fort, which most probably lay on the double hill immediately south of the town.

## 6.5. The coastal area to the east of Skala Oropou

This area will be considered as an entity, since it has been explored in detail by the intensive Oropos Survey Project [B].<sup>746</sup> The surveyed area has a trapezoidal shape, ca. 6x2 km. Although mainly interested in the Bronze Age and ancient history of the area, the OSP recorded finds which dated as late as the Early Byzantine period.

Sixteen sites of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. were identified with certainty by the OSP, and seven with some uncertainty (Pl. 41a). These show a slight increase in site number, compared with the earlier Roman periods. Only four Early Roman findspots continue to be used in the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c., and the rest are abandoned; the remaining ten LRom findspots are new.<sup>747</sup> The most obvious observation when one compares the location of 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. vs. 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. findspots is that the areas of Vlastos and the Amphiareion lose part of their population in favour of an expanded use of the vicinity of Skala.<sup>748</sup>

Twenty six sites and findspots of the 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. were safely identified by the OSP, plus seven uncertain ones (Pl. 41b). The increased site number may not represent a denser occupation of the area compared to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c., since it covers three centuries (compared to two of the previous period); also the most common ceramic category of this period, recorded by OSP, are LRA2 bodysherds, which are highly diagnostic and durable. Approximately half

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<sup>745</sup> *Acta Innocentii III no. 144*, col. 328B. The identification of 'Rupo' with Oropos is supported by Koder and Hild (*TIB I*, 229). See also Orlandos 1927, 26-27. The fort in Oropos is also mentioned in a late 14<sup>th</sup>-c. source, as a seat of Albanian robbers.

<sup>746</sup> Cosmopoulos 2001.

<sup>747</sup> A comparable picture of relocation of sites between the Early and the Late Roman periods is to be seen in the results of many intensive surveys in southern Greece: see Alcock 1993, 57, Table 4.

<sup>748</sup> Cosmopoulos 2001, 60-63.

of the 5<sup>th</sup> – early 7<sup>th</sup> c. sites continue to be used from the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c., and these are located mostly in the plain of Oropos and the plateau to the south of the town. The new findspots are widely distributed between Vlastos and the Amphiareion. The OSP therefore demonstrates the ‘busy’ character of the coastal Oropos area during the 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. This is not unexpected, since surveys in the Balkans and the Aegean have shown a preference of inhabitants of the Early Byzantine period for lowland and coastal sites, like Oropia.

## 6.6. Sykaminon

Sykaminon lies in the Asopos valley, 3 km inland. The town acquired a castle which is first attested in the 14<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>749</sup> The town may have existed already in the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> c., as numerous spolia of this period, preserved in the masonry of the Dormition church, attest.<sup>750</sup> The church of Panagia Eleousa, initially dated to the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c., was recently redated to the 13<sup>th</sup> (Pl. 40d-e).<sup>751</sup> The architecture of the church of Agioi Tessarakonta has been dated to the late 12<sup>th</sup> or early 13<sup>th</sup> c., with frescoes which date to the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> c.; a recent excavation, however, revealed the floor of an earlier phase under the main nave and the apse.<sup>752</sup>

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<sup>749</sup> *TIB* I, 266. For the harbour, located in modern Chalkoutsi, see Le Grand 1895, 653-655.

<sup>750</sup> Kambouri 1982, 232. See also Wordsworth 1837, 11.

<sup>751</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 334. Initial chronology by Orlandos 1927, 42-44.

<sup>752</sup> Orlandos 1927, 44. Kounoupiotou-Manolessou 2004, 315, 322-3.



## 6.7. *Aulon* - *Kakosalesi*

*Kakosalesi*, a town with a Greek-Albanian name<sup>753</sup>, is situated at the exit of the passage between Mt Parnes and *Mavra Vouna*. The ancient *demos Aulon* has been located just NW of *Kakosalesi*, at the site ‘*Megali Lakka*’.<sup>754</sup>

A church of the 12<sup>th</sup> c., dedicated to *Agios Ioannes*, is partly preserved in the town (Pl. 41c-d) (*non vidi*). Despite its small dimensions, this church shows a sophisticated architectural shape and very careful execution in its masonry.<sup>755</sup>

In *Bouga*<sup>756</sup> (mod. ‘*Asprochori*’), 6 km NE of *Kakosalesi*, the church of *Agios Demetrios* in the old village cemetery is preserved in ruined condition; the construction of its apse, made of careful *cloisonné* technique, belongs to the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>757</sup> (Pl. 42a) (*vidi*).<sup>758</sup>

An Early Byzantine vaulted built grave was found in a military camp ca. 5 km NW of *Kakosalesi*.<sup>759</sup> In the area *Kotroni*, east of *Kakosalesi*, a further vaulted built grave, as well as remains of a building, possibly a church, were found.<sup>760</sup> These isolated burials indicate scattered habitation in the broader region, despite the absence of house remains.

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<sup>753</sup> Phourikes 1929.

<sup>754</sup> Milchhöfer 1900, 27.

<sup>755</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 162-163. Orlandos 1939-40b, 148-150. The church was paved with marble revetment and was decorated with frescoes, only poorly preserved, and elaborate marble reliefs; the latter bear affinities with sculpted reliefs of the monastery of *Osios Meletios* on Mt *Kithairon*. For comparison with *Osios Meletios* see Vanderheyde 1994, 396-397.

<sup>756</sup> *Bouga* was inhabited in the 19<sup>th</sup> c.: Milchhöfer 1900, 26.

<sup>757</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 91. Koumanoudes 1959, 421-422. Koumanoudes 1962, 10.

<sup>758</sup> Kambouri 1982, 232.

<sup>759</sup> Lazarides 1973, 77. It contained the bones of four deceased, as well as broken sherds of unglazed vessels.

<sup>760</sup> Chalkia 1988, 91. These finds were not excavated. They are located “200 m away from the old highway leading from Athens to Chalkis”.

## 6.8. *Sphendale* - Malakasa

The area of Malakasa has always been important as a crossroads between the Athens – Thebes road, on the one hand, and the *Dekeleia* – Oropos road, on the other. It is the area of the ancient locality *Sphendale* [C]. Milchhöfer informs us about the existence of an older village, ‘Palaiochori’, south of Malakasa, which lay in ruins already in his time. The *KvA* show the remains of a watchtower ca. 1.5 km SW of Malakasa, on the steep north slope of the Korakovouni hill and just below the Agios Merkurios church, which must have controlled the road below (*non vidi*).

## B.7. Mount Parnes

### 7.1. Geographical description and main roads

[Printed map B.7.a; CD map B.7.b]

Parnes is the highest mountain of Attica, rising to a peak of 1413 m (Ozéa in *KvA*, Karávola in *Road*). Along with Mt Kithairon to its west, and Mt Penteli to its east, Parnes forms the main mass of mountains in Attica, thus providing a natural border towards the north. This border becomes easily passable at the east, through the passage between Parnes and Penteli (passage of Aphidna and Beletsi). The passage between Parnes and Kithairon starts from the Thriasian plain (Plakotó) and cuts north, between the peaks Megalo Vouno (885 m) to its east, and the *Panakton* fort (714 m) to its west, to reach the highland plain of Skourta.

Water streams flowing from the high points of Parnes feed the river Asopos to the north, Charadros to the NE (debouching in Marathon), Kephisos to the east, and the stream ‘Ρέμα της Γιαννούλας’, which waters the Thriasian plain, to the SW.

### 7.2. Properties of the Church of Athens in Parnes in 1209

The letter of Pope Innocent III includes the names of three villages, *casalia* ‘Felin, Curiomonaster, Cassas’, which have been identified with sites on Mt Parnes.<sup>761</sup> Felin has been identified with Phyle, at the SW part of the mountain.<sup>762</sup> Cassas has been identified with

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<sup>761</sup> *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 256, col. 1560C.

<sup>762</sup> Neroutsos 1892, 68. *TIB* I, 242. Koder 1977, 136.

Chasia (= mod. Phyle)<sup>763</sup>, a town which existed during the Ottoman period, and possibly earlier<sup>764</sup>, in one of the southern entrances to Mt Parnes, NW of Menidi.

Based on the two identifications above, the placename ‘Curiomonaster’ has been thought to refer to a monastery or a village situated somewhere between, or near, Phyle and Chasia. For the name ‘Curiomonaster’ two possible etymologies have been offered: one deriving from ‘Χωριομοναστήρι’, based on a Cretan example<sup>765</sup>; and one from ‘της Κυράς το μοναστήρι’.<sup>766</sup> The latter etymology has been preferred by Koder and Hild, who think that the Lady’s monastery would probably be the one dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin (Theotokos Kleiston), 3.5 km north of Chasia<sup>767</sup>; especially since its *katholikon* was dated by Orlandos to the Late Byzantine period<sup>768</sup> (but Bouras lately thinks that this needs further study). ‘Curiomonaster’, however, is listed among the villages (*casalia*) of the Church of Athens, and not the monasteries. Ruins of a village with activity dated to the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> c. are located in the site ‘Palaeochori’ or ‘Roumani’, one kilometer north of the cave of Pan (see below), but no further evidence exists for a possible identification. The location of ‘Curiomonaster’ near the Kleiston monastery is probable; its identification with the site ‘Palaeochori’ or ‘Roumani’ is tempting, but not safe.

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<sup>763</sup> Neroutsos 1892, 68. *TIB* I, 139. Koder 1977, 137. Lambros (1896, 38, n. 4) suggests that ‘Chasia’ is either an Albanian name (which is not correct, since it occurs also in Eastern Macedonia, where Albanian populations did not settle) or a Turkish one, deriving from the Turkish word ‘Has’ which means an estate granted by the Ottoman state to a physical person. Bires (1971, 117-118) questions seriously an etymology from the Turkish word ‘Has’ for this specific case and assigns the name to the geographical location of the village. Χασιά would then derive from the verb ‘χάνομαι’: to disappear. His arguments are, in my opinion, convincing.

<sup>764</sup> For the early churches of Chasia see Orlandos 1933, 211-213; Palles 2009, 127-134. For the economic produce of Chasia in the 16<sup>th</sup> c. see Karydes 1985, 57. Palles (2009, 54) mentions that Chasia became an actual town through the settling of newcomers in 1383, after an invitation of the Catalan rulers.

<sup>765</sup> Lambros 1913, 199.

<sup>766</sup> Neroutsos 1892, 68.

<sup>767</sup> *TIB* I, 140. Koder 1977, 136.

<sup>768</sup> *TIB* I, 140. On the *katholikon*: Orlandos 1933, 210.

### 7.3. *Dekeleia-Tatoi and Katsimidi*

The direct route between Athens and Oropos / Tanagra passed through a narrow passage between two summits of Mt Parnes: Katsimidi (849 m), to its west, and Strongyli (*KvA*) / peak 718 (*Road*: ‘Lykaina’) to its east. This is not as easy a road as the one passing through the highland of *Aphidnai*, between Parnes and Penteli; but it is shorter, and the highest passage, on 641 m, is not too difficult to ascend (Pl. 42b).

Ancient Athenians used this narrow passage as a useful control point through Parnes, and built a strong fortification on Katsimidi. Massive stone blocks from the original 4<sup>th</sup>-c. BC structure were reused to build a ‘watchtower’ (Pl. 42c-d), and a mainly rubble circuit wall was constructed around the hill’s southern and least naturally protected side (*vidi*).<sup>769</sup> These structures cannot be dated with certainty.<sup>770</sup> However, some kind of activity appears on Katsimidi again in the LRom/EByz period, as ceramic finds attest.<sup>771</sup>

South of the latter peak lie ruins of the ancient *demos* of *Dekeleia*. Village huts existed earlier on the same site, which have given the name ‘Palaiochori’ to the spot.<sup>772</sup> A medieval tower stands along the east side of the passage of *Dekeleia* (*KvA*, Map B.7.b, ‘Mittelalterl. Thurm’) (*non-vidi*).<sup>773</sup> Judging from its location, the tower probably had a double role, in that it controlled the small upland plain of Tatoi, as well as the passage.

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<sup>769</sup> Ober 1985, 142-143. Photo: Ober 1987, pl. 26b-c.

<sup>770</sup> This is the opinion of Ober (1985, 144) and Fowden (1988, notes 47 and 75).

<sup>771</sup> Fowden 1988, 51, note 15: “M. H. Munn, letter 25.5.88, reporting a 4<sup>th</sup>- to 6<sup>th</sup>-c. cooking pot and combed amphora.” Ober (1987, 203f.) does not report any Early Byzantine sherds from the site, but he states that he was specifically looking for diagnostic sherds, and that coarse-ware sherds are quite numerous on the site. The only other LRom/EByz find from the Tatoi area is a LRC Form 3 dish fragment, found in ‘Megalovrysi – Kambeza bei Tatoi’, which I was not able to locate; see Grigoropoulos 2009, 470, FO 025.

<sup>772</sup> Milchhöfer 1895, 2. About the ancient *demos* see also Milchhöfer, in *RE* 4/2, 1901, 2425.

<sup>773</sup> Langdon 1995, 481. The tower is preserved to a maximum height of 6 m. It is square, 6.25 x 6.25 m, made of small conglomerate stones with rough facing. Its masonry includes very large quantities of ceramic slips and poor bonding. No doorway is preserved, but a window is opened at first-floor level, in the middle of the north wall, 2 m above the ground.

An ecclesiastical Council document of 1089 declares that the Metropolis of Athens owned numerous vineyards in Dekeleia, which were leased to cultivators with the obligation to return a tenth of the harvested wine.<sup>774</sup> The letter of Pope Innocent III certifies the ownership by the Church of Athens of the *casale Ducheleos*, as well as of the *beati Nicolai de Ducheleo*.<sup>775</sup> It is tempting to suggest that the habitation remains of the *casale* are the ones which Milchhöfer records as ‘Palaiochori’; in any case, they must have existed in the vicinity which preserved the name Dekeleia from the ancient to the medieval period.<sup>776</sup> No monastery dedicated to Agios Nikolaos is known from this area. Palles recently suggested that the *beatus Nicolai de Ducheleo* is the church of Agios Nikolaos at Varibobi, which was recently re-dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>777</sup>

#### 7.4. Belétsi

Beletsi (840 m) is the peak of the NE foot of Mt Parnes. It overlooks the main cart road which leads from Athens to the north through the upland of Aphidna, at a point where this road becomes narrow, as it has to pass between Beletsi and Mavrenora (640 m), the highest peak of the Oropia (Pl. 42e). The strategic value of this post is therefore central.

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<sup>774</sup> Uspenskij 1900, 38-39. Stadtmüller 1934, 149, note 6. *TIB* I, 143.

<sup>775</sup> Col. 1560C, 1561A. Koder 1977, 132, 141. *TIB* I, 143.

<sup>776</sup> Michael Choniates mentions Dekeleia once, but in reference to its fortification by the ancient Spartans: Lambros 1880, vol. 2, 314, 5.

<sup>777</sup> Palles 2009, 176. The earlier, tentative identification of the *beatus Nicolai de Ducheleo* with the methochi south of Agia Triada (at Oza; see B.7.7), dedicated to Agios Nikolaos, by Koder and Hild (*TIB* I, 143) is hindered both by the long distance between Dekeleia and Agios Nikolaos (ca. 6 km), and by the lack of a known earlier phase of the 17<sup>th</sup>-c. church (on its date see Orlandos 1933, 207f.)

The summit was protected by a circuit wall with dimensions 60 m E-W by 30 m N-S.<sup>778</sup> [A] (Pl. 43a). Although the rubble masonry is hardly datable, ceramic sherds of the LRom/EByz period indicate re-use of the fort in this period (Pl. 42f).

### 7.5. Kiourka<sup>779</sup>

A Middle Byzantine church of Panagia is partly preserved 2 km west of the train station of Kiourka (Pl. 40b-c). Only the apse and the arch above the Bema survive from the Middle Byzantine period (12<sup>th</sup> c.); the remaining walls were rebuilt during the Ottoman period.<sup>780</sup>

In the area west of Kiourka, the concentration of at least seven churches marked on *KvA* suggests a raised significance of the area in the medieval period. The area appears to have known some activity in the Early Byzantine period as well, since ceramic sherds of the 6<sup>th</sup> and early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> c. were found by Wrede west of the Archangel Michael church (Map B.7.b).<sup>781</sup>

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<sup>778</sup> Ober 1985, 144-145.

<sup>779</sup> Kiourka was recently renamed as ‘Aphidnai’, although the actual location of the ancient *demos Aphidnai* lies ca. 5 km to the east.

<sup>780</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 357-358. Bouras - Boura 2002, 91-92.

<sup>781</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 474, FO 046. Wrede notes: “Hag. Georgios, am südlichen Charadra-Ufer, westlich von der neuen Michael-Kapelle (Aphinda-Kiurka).” The *KvA* mark a church of Agios Nikolaos, not Agios Georgios, west of “Michaili”, and on the south bank of Charadros. It is possible that either Wrede or the *KvA* have reproduced a mistake, but Wrede’s location is almost certain. The ceramic sherds are the following. No. 42: a rim fragment of a LRC dish, cf. Hayes 1972, 343-346, Form 10C (early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> c.); No. 90: a local basin rim dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> c.; an AfRS body sherd and a LRA2 amphora body sherd (unpublished). A further LRA2 fragment was found “on the hill north of Agia Paraskevi, east of the railway”: Grigoropoulos 2009, 474, FO 047.

## 7.6. Varibobi<sup>782</sup>

The settlement reached its peak during the Ottoman period. Earlier activity is attested in the church of Agios Nikolaos, where an original layer of frescoes was recently discovered and dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>783</sup> Palles suggested that the church might therefore be identified with the ‘beatus Nicolai de Ducheleo’ catalogued in the papal letter of 1209.<sup>784</sup> Milchhöfer saw remains of “newer houses” around Agios Georgios, which is located 1 km west of Agios Nikolaos.<sup>785</sup> In the late 19<sup>th</sup> c. the settlement preserved “the remains of the village Varibobi with the ruins of a chapel (Agios Ioannis) and of a medieval tower”.<sup>786</sup>

Very limited evidence exists about the earlier history of the area. A LRom/EByz grave<sup>787</sup> was excavated near the natural fountain ‘Kontita’,<sup>788</sup> and the earlier church of Agios Ioannis, which is not preserved today. In the area north of the grave wall remains, tiles and a monolithic column shaft were seen. Platonos-Yota delivers that according to local inhabitants, a Byzantine chapel of Agios Ioannis (rather than Agios Georgios, which is actually located further west) existed in this area.<sup>789</sup>

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<sup>782</sup> For the provenance of the name ‘Varibobi’ from an Albanian landowner see Palles 2009, 172.

<sup>783</sup> Palles 2009, 176. Until very recently, scholars accepted the chronology offered by Orlandos (1933, 207) to the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> c. For a photograph of an early fresco see Mouzakes 2010, 130.

<sup>784</sup> Palles 2009, 176.

<sup>785</sup> Milchhöfer 1895, 7. Agios Georgios is marked on *KvA*, *HMGS* and *Road* maps. The surviving chapel was built in Ottoman times: Palles 2009, 177.

<sup>786</sup> Milchhöfer 1895, 6. A chapel ruin ‘Ioannis’, with a fountain next to it, is marked on *KvA* just NE of ‘Varibobi’. The chapel is catalogued in Palles 2009, 176. Langdon (1995, 482) was not able to find any remains of the tower, and could only see “a great amount of tile, fragments of mortared rubble, sherds, and storage pits dug in the ground, covering a large area at the SE foot of the Varibobi Rock”.

<sup>787</sup> Platonos-Yota 1994, 70-71. Platonos-Yota 2004, 175, 352, and fig. 97. The grave was oriented east-west and contained multiple mixed burials. It was dated based on its vaulted cist type, built of tiles and rubble masonry.

<sup>788</sup> I have not been able to locate this fountain with safety. It is probably the one noted as ‘Quelle’ just above ‘Ioannis’ on *KvA* Blatt XX. Bires (1971, 54) states that ‘Kontito’ is a Frankish word which means ‘aqueduct’, and that ‘Kontito Varibobis’ is a section of the Hadrianic aqueduct which was leaking, therefore providing water for shepherds of the area.

<sup>789</sup> The local testimony about ‘Agios Georgios’ is attested by Platonos-Yota 1994, 72; however, Platons-Yota later (2004, 175, 352) constitutes the church name with ‘Agios Ioannis’. If the testimony about the



## 7.7. Agia Triada

The church of Agia Triada, ca. 3 km south of the Ozéa/Karavola peak, is the preserved *katholikon* of a monastery which first appears in sources in 1615.<sup>790</sup> The *katholikon* had been dated to the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> c. by Orlandos<sup>791</sup>, but recent works revealed an early layer of frescoes, which according to Pantelidou is Late Byzantine.<sup>792</sup> Middle Byzantine *spolia* which have been embedded in its masonry suggest that the church may have replaced an earlier one (Pl. 43d).<sup>793</sup>

To the N/NW of the Agia Triada monastery, maps mark a considerable number of water springs (Alonaki/Skipiza, Rumani/Platana)<sup>794</sup>. Milchhöfer notes that the water from these springs creates grass fields (λιβάδια), which are rare for Attica; and that these must have been exploited more intensively in earlier times. He provides the name ‘Palaiochori’ for a site situated to the north of ‘Xero Livadi’ which itself lies in the area of the Agia Triada monastery.

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‘Byzantine church’ Agios Georgios is the correct one, then it would seem unreasonable to identify it with the preserved Agios Georgios church, further west. An additional argument is that a fountain called ‘Aspri Vrysi’ is shown just to the north of Agios Georgios on *KvA*; this is not ‘Kontita’, since Milchhöfer mentions it separately from ‘Aspri Vrysi’. If, however, the testimony was actually about Agios Ioannis, then this might be identified with the church ‘Agios Ioannis’ marked on *KvA* and mentioned by Milchhöfer, which does not survive today; see Milchhöfer 1895, 6. Palles 2009, 176.

<sup>790</sup> Kambouroglou 1889, 399.

<sup>791</sup> Orlandos 1933, 208.

<sup>792</sup> Palles 2009, 168-169, fig. 71.

<sup>793</sup> Chalkia 1988, 92-93. Koder has suggested the identification of this church with *Sancte Trinitatis* listed in the papal letter of 1209: *TIB* I, 143, where the church is included in the description of Dekeleia, despite their distance of ca. 6 km.; Koder 1977, 140. For an alternative identification of *Sancte Trinitatis* see Chapter B.3.10.

<sup>794</sup> Many other springs can be seen on *KvA*, west of the Ozea / Karavola peak and north of the Pan’s cave. Some are named (see also Milchhöfer 1895, 6): Pani (Alb. Krua te Panensen, named after the Pan’s cave), Mesi, Kalyvia.

The metochi of Agia Triada, dedicated to Agios Nikolaos, located ca. 1 km NE of the peak Karagufoleza/Korakofolia, dates to the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> c. but includes ancient, Early Byzantine and Byzantine spolia in its façade.<sup>795</sup>

## 7.8. The cave of Pan

The cave dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs is situated on the east side of the Gura stream, where the latter flows in a deep and steep gorge.<sup>796</sup> Numerous ancient and a Late Roman inscription attest to cult of Pan.<sup>797</sup> Cult activity in the LRom/EByz period was extremely intensive, as attested by the large amount of lamps (more than 2000), which were placed on the cave floor (Pl. 43e); these gave the cave its popular name, Λυχνοσπηλιά.<sup>798</sup> The latest datable lamps belong to the 7<sup>th</sup> c. They are decorated with symbols deriving both from the pagan and the Christian repertoire, thus showing, as the excavator puts it, that “the lamps were either sold interchangeably in the market, by supporters of the old religion who were not offended by Christian symbols; or they are offerings by Christians who accepted the power of

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<sup>795</sup> Orlandos 1933, 207-208. Palles 2009, 169-170, fig. 72.

<sup>796</sup> Milchhöfer (1895, 10) accepts the reading of an ancient inscription by Lolling, which was supposed to attest to the ancient name of the river which flows down the gorge (*Κελάδων*). Skias (1918, 19) questions this reading.

<sup>797</sup> Sironen 2008, no. 13.251, pl. I. Sironen 1997, 91, no. 27. For its discovery see Skias 1918, 24-25. The inscription, part of which is broken, reads and has been reconstructed as follows (Sironen 2008, *ibid*):

[Νικαγόρας χαλεπήν μετ]’ ἀναιβασίην, φίλε μοῖ Πάν  
[σῆς ἀρετῆς ἰκέτης δωδ]εκάκις γεγαώς  
[σὴν σοῖ γράμματα ταῦτα φέ]ρω χάριν εὐμενέως δὲ  
[----- πρὸς τ]έλος ἠγάθειον,  
[καλλιρόδους θ’ ἰλαρῶν Νυμ]φῶν πηγᾶς ἀνάπεμπε  
[ἀγλαὰ σοῦ θέραπος θύμα]τα δεξάμενος: Νικαγόρας  
[ἀνέθηκε ὁ Νικαγόρας τοῦ δ]αδουχῆσαντος υἱός τοῖν θεοῖν  
[κτῆ]μα κτησάμενος καλόν α]υτὸς ταῖσ<δ>’ ἐπὶ αἷαις.

<sup>798</sup> Romainos 1906, 110-114. Skias 1918, 15-18. Unfortunately, very few of these lamps have been published. Three further Late Roman lamp fragments, along with some dishes, were collected by W. Wrede, and are published in Grigoropoulos 2009, 469, FO 022, 470, FO 023.

Pan.”<sup>799</sup> The cave of Pan however also offers examples of religious conflict, as some Classical pagan reliefs were found broken, with mutilated faces, and scattered in the Early Byzantine soil dump.<sup>800</sup>

### 7.9. *Phyle* – *Phyli*

The existence of a Byzantine village at the site of the ancient *demos* of *Phyle* is attested through both archaeological and historical evidence (= ‘Felin’ of the papal letter of 1209). The location of the ancient *demos Phyle* was greatly helped through the preservation of its name until today. Noteworthy is that the name ‘Phyle’ was transferred from the settlement / *demos* to the fortification, and not the other way around; and this was preserved until modern times, since local inhabitants call ‘το Φυλί’ the area ca. 20 minutes NE of the fort, where the ancient *demos*-centre and the Byzantine settlement were excavated. On the contrary, they call the fort ‘κάστρο’ or ‘καστέλλι’.<sup>801</sup>

Excavations in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. revealed post-antique settlement remains.<sup>802</sup> The site is most suitable for a settlement, since it is protected from the north winds, is well-watered, and can produce wheat and wine. A bronze issue of Basil I and Constantine (867-886) and an anonymous follis dated to 970-1092<sup>803</sup> constitute scant but valuable evidence for activity and numismatic circulation.

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<sup>799</sup> Skias 1918, 16.

<sup>800</sup> Skias 1918, 13.

<sup>801</sup> Skias 1900, 42. Wrede 1924, 154.

<sup>802</sup> Skias 1900, 43: ”...remains extending from Antiquity to Byzantine times”. Unfortunately no other information about finds of the Byzantine period was offered by the excavator.

<sup>803</sup> Yotas 2004b, photos of the coins on p.106, 150, with no further information other than that they were found in the area of Phyle.

## 7.10. The fortification of Phyle

Phyle [A], the renowned for its architecture and history fort, built in the first third of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, was re-used during Late Antiquity (Pl. 44a) (*vidi*).<sup>804</sup> The fort is built at a very strong position, with an excellent overview of the Athenian plain. Entrance from the Skourta plain into Attica is possible through different alternative routes; the site of the fort was chosen due to its advantage to control as many of the alternative routes through western Parnes and into Attica as possible.<sup>805</sup> Moreover, the route through Phyle provides the most direct, though not the easiest, route from Athens to Thebes.<sup>806</sup>

The fort, built of ashlar masonry, has an irregular oval shape of about 100 by 40 m (Pl. 44b). The eastern part of the interior space of the fort, where the bedrock lies low, was dumped to a maximum depth of 4 metres *in one stage*, during Late Antiquity, as the excavator explicitly states, in order to create an even surface for new buildings.<sup>807</sup> Buildings of the “Late Antique”, or later, period (Pl. 44c), partly excavated, used the fortification wall as their back wall, a feature known from numerous Early and Middle Byzantine *kastra*.<sup>808</sup> That the Early Byzantine users of the castle tried to use its space most efficiently, is also showed by the demolition, in this phase, of an ancient perpendicular wall which projected from the interior

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<sup>804</sup> The most detailed description of the fort has been written by Wrede (1924), who opened excavations trenches in its interior. For a concise recent discussion on the chronology of the fort, see Ober 1987, 207.

<sup>805</sup> This is Ober's (1985, 145-147) opinion about the strategic role of the fort, which I find convincing.

<sup>806</sup> Wrede 1924, 154: “Seit dem vorigen Jahrhundert läuft die Hauptstraße von Theben nach Athen durch den Sattel zwischen Kithairon und Parnes an Eleutherai vorbei und steigt in die thriasische Ebene hinab. Bis dahin benutzte man den alten direkten Verbindungspfad weiter ostwärts über die Hochebene von Skurta und über Chassia hinab nach Menidi-Acharnai. So sind die älteren Reisenden stets von Theben nach Athen oder umgekehrt gegangen und haben, zuerst Wheler, in der noch hochragenden Festungsrueine unweit des Weges, zwei Stunden oberhalb von Chassia, das alte Phyle wiedererkannt.“

<sup>807</sup> Wrede 1924, 200-201. Wrede admits that he cannot date the “late antique” sherds with more precision, as to provide a firm chronology for the later building activity.

<sup>808</sup> The geographically closest example is Ovriokastro, Keratea (Mesogeia). For a Middle Byzantine *kastron* of this kind see Rentina.

wall face (Pl. 44d, left).<sup>809</sup> In this Early Byzantine phase, water provision was planned by means of a rectangular clay pipe, which brought water from outside the fort, thus demonstrating a well-planned and masterfully executed provision.<sup>810</sup>

Based on the coherent character of the “late antique” pottery which he found, Wrede judged that this phase of use of the fort did not last very long. After the collapse of the “Late Antique” buildings, an earthquake destroyed parts of the ancient fort.<sup>811</sup>

### 7.11. The Theotokos Kleiston monastery

This monastery dedicated to the Dormition is situated ca. 2.2 km south of the cave of Pan, at the southern exit of the Gura gorge. Known also as ‘Παναγία των Κλειστών’, ‘εις τα Κλειστά’, it probably owns its name to its setting. Here, too, cult is centred around a cave. Orlandos dated the *katholikon* to the Late Byzantine period<sup>812</sup>, but the monument deserves further detailed study.<sup>813</sup> A codex of 1269 mentions the name of the monk Theodoros, “καθηγουμένου Κλιστών”, and therefore strengthens the view that the monastery existed in the 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>814</sup>

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<sup>809</sup> Wrede 1924, 205-206.

<sup>810</sup> Wrede 1924, 204-205. This water pipe was continued to the passage at the foot of the hill. The water source of this pipe was not explored by the excavator. „Eine ähnliche Leitung soll von den Quellen der Gegend Klimenti (jenseits der Mallia Phyli und der Kalamara) durch die Kontitaschlucht NW um die Mallia Phyli herum und zur Flur Vigia führen, hätte sich also am Paßsattel mit der andern vereinigt.“ If water was brought from the nearby higher hill, then specialised engineering experience must have been employed. No cistern exists in the fort, at least after the dumping of its interior; and the next spring is situated at a distance of ten minutes, on the passage at the foot of the hill.

<sup>811</sup> Wrede 1924, 223-224.

<sup>812</sup> Orlandos 1933, 210-211.

<sup>813</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 330. Palles 2009, 140.

<sup>814</sup> Evangellatou-Notara 2000, 51, 173-174, No. 12 (Κώδιξ 16 Μεγάλου Σπηλαίου).

A village which appears to belong to the same period, called ‘Palaiochori’ (Milchhöfer), or ‘Roumani’ (Skias), lying ca. 3 km north of the monastery, was partly explored.<sup>815</sup> It includes a ruined chapel of Agios Nikolaos and numerous water springs. Skias opened small excavation trenches in various spots of the site, in search for an ancient settlement. Instead, he found walls of Byzantine date and Byzantine sherds, some with yellow glaze. He also reported non-fluted columns in the ruins of the Agios Nikolaos chapel, which could have been brought there only by cart.<sup>816</sup> A Frankish coin was found later in the same site.<sup>817</sup> Both the coin and the yellow-glazed sherds indicate a date in the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>818</sup>

Based on the location and chronology of this village, as well as its proximity to the Late Byzantine *katholikon* of the Theotokos Kleiston monastery, its identification with the *casale* Curiomonaster, listed in the letter of Pope Innocent, is tempting. Unfortunately, no further evidence can yet support this hypothesis.

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<sup>815</sup> Milchhöfer 1895, 9. It lies “on the right side of Alonaki [here meaning the creek instead of the spring, but near the latter], before this merges with the creek of Gura [marked as ‘Dorfraine Palaiochori’ and ‘Kapelle Nikolaos’ on *KvA*].”

<sup>816</sup> Skias 1900, 48.

<sup>817</sup> Skias 1918, 4, note 1: “Φέρει επί της μιας όψεως εικόνα Λατίνου ιεράρχου εν στολή, ισταμένου ορθίου και ευλογούντος, κρατούντος δε δια της αριστεράς χειρός ομοίωμα εκκλησίας, περίξ δε επιγραφήν RAGVS. | S BLASIVS, επί δε της ετέρας όψεως τον Χριστόν καθήμενον επί θρόνου και περιβαλλόμενον υπό αστέρων, περίξ δε την επιγραφήν SALVS TVTA.”

<sup>818</sup> The report of only yellow glaze is indicative, since green glaze became very common during the Ottoman period. Roumani seems to have been habituated in the Ottoman period as well, since a document of 1811 informs that both the Agia Triada (Oza) monastery and the Agios Ioannis Theologos of Chasia monastery owned there, at the spot ‘Tourtoulies’, fields, a house and a threshing floor: Yotas 2004b, 28; Palles 2009, 118 and 166-167, note 538.

## B.8. Mount Kithairon

### 8.1. Geographical description and main roads

#### [Printed map B.8.a; CD maps B.8.b-d]

Mount Kithairon forms, along with Parnes, the natural border between Attica and Boeotia. It consists of two masses: Mt Pastra to the east, bordering Parnes, rises up to a height of 1025 m; while Mt Kithairon proper, to the west, rises up to 998 m. The name ‘ὄρος Μνουπόλεως’ was used in the Middle Byzantine period for Mt Pastra, or at least for its southern slopes (see below). North of the borderline of western Parnes and eastern Pastra extends the fertile upland plain of Skourta, on an altitude of ca. 530 m.<sup>819</sup> In the 16<sup>th</sup> c. it was used mainly for crop production and sheep breeding.<sup>820</sup>

Another small plain, that of *Oinoe*, extends to the south of Pastra and SE of Kithairon, on an altitude of ca. 300 m. The stream Kokkini or Kokkinopotamos crosses the plain of *Oinoe* with a NW-SE direction. The stream Sarantapotamos follows a parallel direction further south. The two streams join in the northern part of the Thriasian plain, in the area of Plakoto (mod. Titan), and create the Eleusinian Kephissos river.

Two main ancient roads lead from the northern Thriasian plain (Plakoto) through Kithairon and Pastra (Pl. 45a). The ‘*Oinoe* road’ runs above Agios Vlasios, passes between the hills Agathias (513 m) and Velatouri/Pyramida (532 m), and continues W-NW towards

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<sup>819</sup> For roads leading through the Skourta plain see Ober 1985, 115ff.

<sup>820</sup> Gerstel *et al.* 2003, 230, Table 4. For a description of the environment and agricultural exploitation of the plain see also Munn – Zimmermann-Munn 1990, 33-34. Since the Ottoman period (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> c.), the plain supports five small villages known collectively as the Dervenochoria: Pyli (former Dervenosalesi), Skourta, Stephane (Krorra), Prasino (Kavasala) and Panakton (Kako Niskiri). These were built precisely in order to guard the route which connected Attica and Boeotia through the Skourta plain. For relevant recent research, esp. on Dervenosalesi, see Gerstel *et al.* 2003, 229-231, Appendix 2.

*Oinoe*.<sup>821</sup> The ‘*Panakton* road’ follows the narrow valley which leads from Plakoto to the old village Kokkini (*KvA*), and then, with many zig-zags, reaches Skourta from a saddle just east of *Panakton*.<sup>822</sup> The good preservation of the roads allows the hypothesis that they were used up to medieval times.<sup>823</sup>

Two main passages offer access to Boeotia. The Kaza pass (altitude ca. 650 m), opening between the ridges of Pastra and Kithairon proper, just west of the ancient fort of *Eleutherai*/Gyphtokastro, was a major carriage route in antiquity, also used for military purposes.<sup>824</sup> This was the main gate of access from northern Greece to the Peloponnese.<sup>825</sup> The minor pass known as ‘Πόρτες’ is a natural opening of the Pastra ridge at an altitude of ca. 800 m, 3 km west of the settlement Dervenosaesi/Pyle.<sup>826</sup> The special interest of the latter road lies in its proximity to the monastery of Osios Meletios.

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<sup>821</sup> This road was fully explored and described by Vanderpool (1978, 227-231). A section of it can be seen marked with a red line, and the word ‘Strassenspuren’, on *KvA* Blatt XXV, on the saddle between the two hills 513 and 532. The road was walked and described more recently by Lohmann (2002, 83-84). This was certainly a cart road in antiquity, as it shows well-engineered zig-zags and retaining walls.

<sup>822</sup> The *Panakton* road was discovered by Vanderpool (1978, 236-237), who also argued for the chronology of both the *Oinoe* and the *Panakton* roads in the Classical period, relying mostly on the fact that these masterly designed and executed roads lead to two important Classical Athenian forts, *Oinoe* and *Panakton*, and do not continue thereafter; *ibid.*, 237-240.

<sup>823</sup> In 1806, Leake (1835, 379-380) on his way from Osios Meletios to Athens passed west and then south of the Velatouri/Pyramida hill (532 m), and then followed the Sarantapotamos valley, thus following (at least the course of) the *Oinoe* road.

<sup>824</sup> Ober 1985, 119. A possible piece of evidence exists for the use of the Kaza pass as an official imperial route in the Early Byzantine period: an inscribed *miliarium*, seen by Fourmont “dans l’ - - Αγία Παναγία στα Chonika”, which Sironen equates with Mazi/Oinoe. The *miliarium* dates to 293-305. Sironen 2008, no. 13297, tab. IX (= Sironen 1997, 103-104, no. 32). Transcription by Sironen based on the drawings of Fourmont.

<sup>825</sup> A further road which offered access from mainland Greece to the Peloponnese, known as ‘Hammond’s road’, is described in the Megarid chapter. This ran west of the Kaza pass, and it was probably used more by walking travellers, rather than vehicles, for which the Kaza pass was more convenient.

<sup>826</sup> Before the opening of the modern dirt road, a path ran through the passage. Ober (1985, 118) describes it as follows: “A mule path with a few traces of retaining walls (1 m high) ascends Pastra [from the north] (...) to cross the ridge at a high (ca. 800 m) col known as the Portes pass. The well-maintained path then descends to the SW through thick pine forests and angles around to the S/SE (...). Today the path ends at the monastery of Osios Meletios, but it originally continued beyond the monastery into the eastern Mazi plain. Whether this route existed in antiquity or not is problematic.” The pass is also described by Milchhöfer (1900, 31-32) and Philipsson (1952, I.2, 524).



## 8.2. The Skourta plain

The Stanford Skourta Plain Project, which surveyed the Skourta plain [B] in the 1980s, shows settlement continuity between the Hellenistic and the LRom/EByz periods.<sup>827</sup> Many new LRom/EByz sites, individual farmsteads or small hamlets, appear. For the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> c., nothing is known of settlement in the area, the only find being a coin of Leo VI found near Skourta. No Middle Byzantine sites prior to the 11<sup>th</sup> c. were identified<sup>828</sup>, but one should bear in mind issues of pottery visibility and diagnosticity, and that most field surveys show this gap of activity between the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> c.

The survey identified villages, all associated with chapels, at Loukisia<sup>829</sup> (near Prasino), Agios Nikolaos and Agios Georgios (both near Skourta)<sup>830</sup>, with substantial remains from the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> c. Many, if not all of these villages and churches, are likely to have been among the many dependencies of the Osios Meletios monastery.<sup>831</sup>

The *katholikon* of the monastery dedicated to Zoodochos Pege in Pyle (Dervenosalesi), built around 1100 [A] (Pl. 45c), bears close affinities of the original plan and dimensions with the *katholikon* of the Osios Meletios monastery, a fact which suggests the ownership by a common authority.<sup>832</sup> The *katholikon* has an elaborate plan and is decorated with marble revetments and sculpted members of high quality. Orlandos suggested that this

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<sup>827</sup> Munn – Zimmerman-Munn 1989. Munn – Zimmermann-Munn 1990, 38.

<sup>828</sup> Munn – Zimmerman-Munn 1990, 38.

<sup>829</sup> A church is marked by the *KvA* at (approximately?) the same site.

<sup>830</sup> The names of these sites are reported in Gerstel *et al.* 2003 (co-authored by M. Munn), 148, 221.

<sup>831</sup> Munn – Zimmermann-Munn 1990, 38.

<sup>832</sup> Bouras 1993-4. Orlandos 1935, 177-178. On the comparison between the two churches see Bouras *ibid.*, 34-35.

monastery may have been an imperial foundation, endowed by Alexios Komnenos, with whom Meletios had a close relationship.<sup>833</sup>

The area of Kakoniskiri bears particular significance for the 12<sup>th</sup> c., since it is the source of a red marble which was extensively used in the *katholikon* of Osios Meletios, in two of its published *paralavria* (Panagia and Soter), and in the original *katholikon* of the Zoodochos Pege monastery.<sup>834</sup> This is the only precisely known source of marble in Middle Byzantine Attica. In the cemetery of Kakoniskiri, in the Ottoman-date chapel of Agia Paraskevi, fragments of a 12<sup>th</sup>-c. *templon* have been used in the later church.<sup>835</sup>

The Middle Byzantine period constitutes therefore a period of evident activity for the Skourta plain, partly due to the rise in importance of the city of Thebes and its communication with Attica, and partly due to the foundation of the Osios Meletios monastery.

### 8.3. The monastery of Osios Meletios

This renowned monastery was founded towards the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> c. at the site of a pre-existing one, called ‘του Συμβούλου’ or ‘Συμβόλου’, on the southern slopes of Mt Pastra, by the esteemed monk Meletios (ca. 1035-1105).<sup>836</sup> Thanks to the preservation of his *Lives*,

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<sup>833</sup> Orlandos 1935, 177-178.

<sup>834</sup> Bouras 1993-4, 35.

<sup>835</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 261-262. *Churches of Attica*, 288, figs. 255-257. Based on the close iconographic and stylistic similarities of these reliefs with the sculpted architectural members of the Osios Meletios *katholikon*, Vanderheyde (1994, 396) suggested that the reliefs of Agia Paraskevi initially belonged to a church dependent to the famous monastery.

<sup>836</sup> Detailed and most valuable remains the historical and architectural study by Orlandos (1939-40a). The only information known about the earlier use of the site comes from a few ancient and Late Roman sherds which were found during a recent excavation in the refectory of the monastery. The excavation was carried out by the author under the auspices of the 1<sup>st</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities. No building remains of these periods were revealed. A few further sherds of the Early Byzantine period (and possibly earlier) were found “on the way between Myoupolis and Agios Meletios”: Grigoropoulos 2009a, 466f., FO 006.

which were written around 1141<sup>837</sup>, the history of its foundation is the only known to us from Middle Byzantine Attica.

Meletios was born in a village of Cappadocia at some unknown time between 1025 and 1064 and died, either aged 60 or 70, between 1095 and 1124.<sup>838</sup> He initially resided at the *eukterion* of Agios Georgios, twenty *stadia* south of Thebes; this lay near the busy crossroads formed by the road connecting Thebes and Megara, on the one hand, and the one connecting the harbours of *Thisve/Kastorion* and Livadostra with Euripos through the Asopos valley, on the other.<sup>839</sup> Orlandos tentatively identified a 12<sup>th</sup>-c. church of Agios Georgios, east of Kriekouki, with the *eukterion* of the saint, but Bouras recently questioned this identification.<sup>840</sup> Meletios himself decided, after living for 28 years in the (only in name?) ‘ἠσυχαστήριον’ of Agios Georgios to move to a quieter location.<sup>841</sup> He founded another monastery not many miles distant, from which he subsequently moved on, not many miles more, to Myoupolis. There, he found the Symvoulou monastery and its dependency, the *eukterion* of Soter; the latter he transformed into a new monastery (Pl. 45b).<sup>842</sup> In fact, however, his new residence was again well connected with both Boeotia and Attica, through the Portes pass and the *Oinoe* plain respectively.

The monastery attracted numerous monks, and twenty-two (or twenty-four, according to Theodore Prodromos) *paralavria*, or daughter-monasteries, were erected on the southern slopes of Pastra. The *paralavria* were meant to be spaces of ‘greater silence’, ‘to live

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<sup>837</sup> Nikolaos Methones, *Life of Meletios; Theodore Prodromos, Life of Meletios*. On their chronology Orlandos 1939-40a, 37; Papadopoulos 1949, 9-10.

<sup>838</sup> Armstrong – Kirby 1994, 152.

<sup>839</sup> For the use of the latter road in the medieval period, as well as for the identification of Kastorion with ancient Thisve, and its important harbour, see Dunn 2006, 44-45.

<sup>840</sup> Orlandos 1939-40a, fig. 2. Bouras - Boura 2002, 197.

<sup>841</sup> A similar case is represented by the life of Osios Loukas Steiriotes: his early monastic residence lay close to the busy harbour of Agios Ioannes, near *Thisve/Kastorion*, on the NE coast Gulf of Corinth, where he received monks on their way to Rome: see Dunn 2006, 42.

<sup>842</sup> Description of Meletios’ movement follows the reading of his *Lives* by Armstrong and Kirby (1994, 153).

separately', and housed from six to twelve (or more) monks.<sup>843</sup> Four of the *paralavria* churches have been located and dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> c. (Pl. 46a): Panagia<sup>844</sup> (first phase of construction; 200 m SW of the main monastery), Agioi Theodoroi<sup>845</sup> (ca. 1 km NW of the main monastery), Agia Paraskevi (in Pournari, near Mazi)<sup>846</sup>, and the *eukterion* dedicated to the Saviour (ca. 1 km NE of the main monastery)<sup>847</sup>. Their churches are conspicuous buildings, ornamented with marble floors and ornately carved marble capitals.<sup>848</sup>

The monastery developed a unique style of architectural relief sculpture; its sculptors had integrated technical and stylistic achievements of the 11<sup>th</sup> c., while the impact of their work can be seen in many other major monuments of central Greece.<sup>849</sup> The monastery also became a centre for manuscript reproduction during the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>850</sup>

A chrysobull of ca. 1084 by Alexios I Comnenus yielded to the monastery a considerable amount of the taxes of Attica, of which Meletios accepted 422 golden coins annually.<sup>851</sup>

After the death of Meletios in 1105, the monastery was renamed after him, and he was buried in the narthex of the *katholikon*. Michael Choniates had regular correspondence with the *hegoumenos* of the Osios Meletios monastery, Ioannikios, in the early 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>852</sup>

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<sup>843</sup> Nikolaos Methones, *Life of Meletios*, 53.

<sup>844</sup> Orlandos 1939-40a, 107-108. Bouras - Boura 2002, 240.

<sup>845</sup> Orlandos 1939-40a, 108-112. Bouras - Boura 2002, 239-241.

<sup>846</sup> Ziro 1981. Pantelidou-Alexiadou 1986, 25. Bouras - Boura 2002, 238-239. The church bears architectural and technical similarities with the *katholikon* of the monastery.

<sup>847</sup> Orlandos 1939-40a, 48-53. Bouras - Boura 2002, 237-238. This church may have been the *eukterion* of Saviour, where Meletios resided when he first entered the Symvoulou monastery (Orlandos 1939-40a, 49).

<sup>848</sup> The point is raised by Armstrong and Kirby (1994, 154). In fact, they state that the *paralavria* should "not be sophisticated constructions". No archaeological evidence exists for *kellia* of the known *paralavria*, which suggests that they were probably architecturally non-sophisticated.

<sup>849</sup> Vanderheyde 1994.

<sup>850</sup> One manuscript is dated to 1092, Parisinus Graecus 81, in the Bibliothèque Nationale; another to 1111, Additional 2881b, in the British Museum: Orlandos 1939-40a, 40 and note 2, with further bibliography; Armstrong – Kirby 1994, 158, note 66.

<sup>851</sup> Theodore Prodromos, *Life of Meletios*, 82. This sum was furnished annually to the monastery by the tax-collectors of Attica.

#### 8.4. *Oinoe* – Myoupolis – Mazi

The rectangular fort in the middle of the small plain south of Pastra has been identified with the fortified *demos Oinoe* (*vidi*), which lay at the borderline of ancient Athens to the NW.<sup>853</sup> The fort controlled the roads running from Boeotia towards the plain of Eleusis. The *Oinoe* road ran just south of the fort. Potsherds of the 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> c. have been found in the fort.<sup>854</sup> Edmonson also reports material ranging from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>855</sup>

The name of this location in the Middle Byzantine period, ‘Myoupolis’, is known from the biographers of Osios Meletios. There is, however, a discrepancy: Theodore Prodromos addresses this name to a *χωρίον* at the border between Attica and Boeotia and close to a mountain, while Nikolaos of Methone ascribes this name to the mountain itself.<sup>856</sup> The Byzantine potsherds which have been found around the fort of *Oinoe* attest to habitation, and this settlement could be identified with the *χωρίον Μνουπόλεως*, if Theodore is correct.

On the south slope of Pastra, ca. 2 km N/NW of the modern village Mazi / *Oinoe*<sup>857</sup>, at the site ‘Kontita’, a rectangular tower remain (*non vidi*) is built of rubble masonry, with

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<sup>852</sup> Lambros 1880, II, 148f., 155f., 272f., 313, 319f., 352f.

<sup>853</sup> For the identification: Vanderpool 1978, 231-232. Ober 1985, 154-155, 224.

<sup>854</sup> Ober 1987, 212. Grigoropoulos 2009a, 466, FO 005, and Nos. 17, 28, 62, 99. Furthermore, a 6th-c. burial lekythos has been reported to come near the Mazi tower, a Classical or Hellenistic tower which stands ca. 1 km west of the *Oinoe* fort: see Grigoropoulos 2009a, 439, No. 83, 466, FO 003; I took for granted that the ‘Turm von Mazi’ is to be identified with this well-known ancient tower, and not with the medieval tower located in Kondita.

<sup>855</sup> Edmonson 1966, 32: “Late combed ware, ‘micaceous jugs’ and Byzantine semi-glazed pottery are abundant. None of the pottery is identifiably later than the 10th c. The early pottery and glazed tiles are concentrated in the NE sector and south of the fortification, while the later Roman and Byzantine wares are especially plentiful around the NW corner of the fort and throughout the plain to the north.”

<sup>856</sup> *Theodore Prodromos, Vita*, 7. *Nikolaos of Methone, Vita*, 11.

<sup>857</sup> The modern settlement in the area, recently re-named as ‘*Oinoe*’, was called ‘*Mázi*’, a name of Albanian origin: see Mouzakis 1993-4.

limited use of tiles. It was dated to the Frankish period.<sup>858</sup> Potsherds collected from around the tower date from the 13<sup>th</sup> c. to the Ottoman period. A room and a wine press were excavated in its immediate vicinity.

### 8.5. Vilia<sup>859</sup>

The village lies just SE of the pass between Kriekouki and Agios Vasileios. It is therefore well connected with the major roads of the area. One kilometre west of Vilia, at the site ‘Vrysi Tsias’, three pit graves of the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c. were excavated.<sup>860</sup> Stone piles, house foundations and potsherds of the same period were seen 80 m east of the graves. The site lay on Hammond’s road from Mt Karydi to Erythrai (Pl. 53a).

### 8.6. *Eleutherai* - Gyphtokastro

The well-preserved Classical fort, known as Gyphtokastro, which guards the Kaza pass, has been identified with the fort of *Eleutherai* [A] (Pl. 46b). The fort shows Late Roman or Byzantine repairs in the area of the east gate (Pl. 46c) (*vidi*)<sup>861</sup>, while potsherds “of the Late

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<sup>858</sup> Pantelidou-Alexiadou 1994, 95-96. Wrede testifies the existence of “a medieval tower, house and chapel ruins on the mountain foot between Kaza-Mazi and Agios Meletios”: see Grigoropoulos 2009a, 466, FO 004. Wrede also found a LR2 amphora body sherd at the same site.

<sup>859</sup> Vasmer (1941, 179) suggests a Slav origin for the name of this village, which occupies the NW edge of the Oinoe plain, but Hammond (1954, 116) informs us of the Albanian provenance of its villagers. Based on a Slav origin of the name, Koder and Hild (*TIB* I, 135) suggest that the settlement may have been founded after the Slav invasions of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. In the village of Vilia two churches, Panagitsa and Agios Athanasios, date to the Late Byzantine period and the early Ottoman period respectively: see *Churches of Attica*, 290-292.

<sup>860</sup> Baziotopoulou-Valavane 1987, 49. The graves had an E-W orientation. In one of them, two unglazed jugs were found.

<sup>861</sup> Ober 1985, 163, 223. Lazarides 1960, 156, where he mistakenly refers to the fort of *Eleutherai* as *Oinoe*; this was before the identification of the two sites on firm ground by Vanderpool. Koder and Hild (*TIB* I, 154) correctly understood that Lazarides refers here to the fort of *Eleutherai*. The fort of *Oinoe* does not bear any signs of Byzantine construction; even the Classical walls have been mostly destroyed.

Roman and Byzantine periods” have been found.<sup>862</sup> It is probable that the fort was used both in the Early and Middle Byzantine periods.

The settlement [A], which lies just to the south of the fort, was partly excavated. Next to the Dionysus temple site two Early Christian basilicas (Pl. 47a-b), “poor constructions, probably houses of later periods”, and a Christian cemetery with tile tent-shaped graves were revealed.<sup>863</sup> Based on the surface ceramic material, Ober concludes that, after a gap in occupation from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> c., the site was reoccupied in the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>864</sup>

*Eleutherai* offers therefore evidence about the revival of this important fort in the LRom/EByz period, and possibly also in Middle Byzantine times. Similar to *Phyle*, the settlement appears to have known some activity during the LRom/EByz period, after a period of abandonment.<sup>865</sup>

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<sup>862</sup> Ober 1987, 215. Edmonson 1966, 58: “Hellenistic and Early Roman sherds are rather rare, while Late Roman and Byzantine wares are the most common.”

<sup>863</sup> Stikas 1939, 44-49. One of the graves contained an Early Byzantine burial lekythos and an oil-lamp.

<sup>864</sup> Ober 1987, 220. His catalogue numbers 11.64 and 11.65 (*ibid*, 219) are an African Red Slip Ware rim fragment (5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c.) and a “Roman ware body sherd with deeply combed grooves on outside”, possibly a LRA2 amphora fragment. *Pausanias*, 1.2.5, 20.2, 38.8-9, has been considered as testimony for the gap in occupation between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>865</sup> Travlos (1988, 170) hastily assumes that activity in the settlement continued from the Classical to the Early Byzantine period, when the basilicas were built. Fowden (1988, 55), on the other hand, correctly characterises the later activity as a ‘revival’, and connects it with re-use of other ancient Attic fortified sites in the Early Byzantine period. A LR2 amphora sherd reported from the site of Prophetes Elias, between Gyphtokastro and Vilia (Grigoropoulos 2009a, 466, FO 002), albeit a single find, is a further indication for activity in this area.

## B.9. The Thriasian plain

### 9.1. Geographical description and main roads

[Printed map B.9.a; CD maps B.9.b-c]

The Thriasian plain<sup>866</sup> is a small and fertile district, bordered by Mts Parnes and Pastra to the north, Mt Pateras to the west, Mt Aigaleo to the east, and the Saronic Gulf to the south. The bay of Eleusis is protected from the open sea through the island of Salamis. The plain is watered by three rivers: the Giannoula stream (east), the creek Koritza, and the Eleusinian Kephissos river (to be distinguished from the Athenian Kephissos), later named ‘Sarantapotamos’. The Kephissos and Giannoula rivers each form a delta, which was traditionally dedicated to cultivation.<sup>867</sup> The main urban centre of the Thriasian plain has been the city of Eleusis, which occupies the second most important harbour location of Attica, after Peiraeus.

Eleusis is situated at the junction of the major roads which cross the Thriasian plain. The main road which crosses the plain from east to west is coastal (Iera Odos and the road to Megara). The section of Iera Odos nearest to Eleusis runs parallel and only a few metres south of the modern homonymous road. A twenty-nummus of Justin II, found in one of its layers in this section, shows its use until at least the 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>868</sup> The main ancient roads which connected the coast with the surrounding mountains are the *Oinoe* road, the *Panakton* road (B.8.1) and the ‘Koulouriotiko monopati’ ([G].1[c]), which passes between Mt Pateras and Trikeraton.

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<sup>866</sup> Traill 1975, 50. The name of the plain derives from the ancient placename and *demos Thria*, the general location of which is known through epigraphic and literary evidence to have been SE of modern Aspropyrgos.

<sup>867</sup> Philippson 1952, 861.

<sup>868</sup> Papangeli 2009, 135. A further excavation showed that the uppermost layer of the road belonged to the LRom/EByz period: Papangeli 1997, 61.



## 9.2. Perama – Skaramangas

This is the narrow pass which joins the Athenian and the Thriasian plains between the western tip of Mt Aigaleo and the sea. An unusual structure, probably a lighthouse [A], with LRom/EByz pottery, was excavated on the low hill (33 m) which rises between the two *Rheitoi* lakes (Lake Koumoundourou), by the sea shore.<sup>869</sup> If indeed a lighthouse, then the structure would guide the ships between the Eleusinian shore and the NE tip of Salamis.

Further south, in the Skaramangas plain, an Early Byzantine cist grave was excavated.<sup>870</sup> From the same general area (Schistos) comes a LRom/EByz burial inscription of Diogenes and his wife Sambatis.<sup>871</sup>

## 9.3. Aspropyrgos

Aspropyrgos is the name of the area west of Poikilon Oros and east of Eleusis, as well as the name of the modern settlement.<sup>872</sup> The name Aspropyrgos derives from a medieval tower [A] (Pl. 44b) which stood by the National Road and was gradually demolished to a large extent.<sup>873</sup> The tower apparently stood next to Iera Odos.<sup>874</sup> Byzantine inscriptions, probably funeral,<sup>875</sup> have been engraved on the walls (Pl. 44c).

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<sup>869</sup> Kourouniotes – Travlos 1936, 33-37.

<sup>870</sup> Alexandri 1977, 28. The grave contained the bones of five deceased and eight vessels.

<sup>871</sup> Sironen 2008, 86, No. 13448 [= Sironen1997, 221, No. 173]. It remains open whether it belonged to Christian or pagan deceased.

<sup>872</sup> This settlement was preceded, in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. or even earlier, by the village Kalyvia Chasias (*KvA* Blatt VI), apparently a seasonal settlement of inhabitants of Chasia.

<sup>873</sup> The tower was first investigated by Philios (1892, 35-41). Subsequently, enlargement of the roadway led to the supervised removal of the blocks composing the south side: Threpsiades 1973,81; Kyriakou-Zapheiropoulou 1993, 39. A recent description, based on the surviving remains and on the earlier reports is included in the study of Langdon (1995, 485).

No LRom/EByz settlement is known from this area, but scattered ceramic fragments attest to activity. In the area called ‘Sklero’ in *KvA*, ca. 4 km NE of Kalyvia Chasias, and east of the neighbouring point 82.7 (east of Sklero), Wrede collected ceramic fragments of the LRom/EByz period, two of which can be dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. Special interest deserves the fact that ‘Skleron’ is listed in the ‘Praktikon of Athens’ as a ‘χωρίον’ where *paroikoi* lived.<sup>876</sup> The existence of ‘Skleron’ as a village is therefore attested for the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> c.

Two further sites, located on hills 58.5 and 48.4 (*KvA*), at a distance of 6 and 4.7 km east of Kalyvia respectively, Wrede found ceramic fragments of the Middle and Late Roman periods. West of Kalyvia, and near the Eleusis airport, Wrede found a 7<sup>th</sup>-c. stewpot, imported probably from Cyprus.<sup>877</sup> A grave excavated 3 km north of modern Aspropyrgos contained a 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. jug.<sup>878</sup> Finally, a Roman bath was found 600 m further inland from the Aspropyrgos Oil Refineries<sup>879</sup>; this was possibly used until the Late Roman period.

South of Chasia, on the southern foot of the hill ‘Platoma’ (442 m, see *Road*) early explorations and recent excavations recognized remains of the ancient *demos* of *Oe*.<sup>880</sup> The remains showed an extensive settlement with sparsely located buildings, with activity dated roughly from the Hellenistic to the Early Byzantine period. These included numerous cisterns,

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<sup>874</sup> This section of Iera Odos has not been attested archaeologically, but given its general coincidence with the early modern and modern road it very possibly passed from this point. The existence of the medieval tower here strengthens this hypothesis. See Papangeli 2009, 131.

<sup>875</sup> These inscriptions are excluded from the study of Sironen (2008), as well as from the *IG* collection, since they post-date AD 600.

<sup>876</sup> Grandstrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou 1976, 25, 39. Bouras (1998, 3, n. 24) assumes that ‘Skleron’ is identified with the area around Daphni by Grandstrem, Medvedev and Papachryssanthou, but the geographical association which they provide with the *KvA* clarifies the fact that they refer to the area west, and not east, of Mt Aigaleo.

<sup>877</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 468, FO 012, 013, 014, 015, 019.

<sup>878</sup> Nikopoulou 1970, 99.

<sup>879</sup> Lazarides 1960, 78-79. The bath probably served the needs of the passengers from Athens to Eleusis, and was located close to the secondary branch of the road which leaves to its west the Kapsalona hill. A few graves were excavated in the same general area; one of them contained a jug of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c.: Kyriakou-Zapheirou 1998, 77.

<sup>880</sup> For the identification of the *demos* see Traill 1975, 49. For the recent excavations and the integration of the finds in their natural setting see Platonos-Yota 1994, 73-75; Platonos 1997.

a bridge crossing over a seasonal stream, and rubble walls of a Π-shape built in the streambed, apparently in order to slow down the water flow before it reached the bridge; the latter walls were possibly rebuilt several times, since pot sherds of the Hellenistic, Late Byzantine and Ottoman periods were found in association with them. A Late Roman installation of beekeeping and honey production has been identified in the same area. A large circular structure with a rectangular room attached on one side, identified with a pen, was dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. based on ceramic and numismatic finds.<sup>881</sup>

#### 9.4. Eleusis

The old settlement and *demos* centre Eleusis [C] lies on and around the east slope of a long coastal hill. The east summit of the hill (63 m) formed the acropolis of Eleusis throughout the centuries, thus providing it with a watch post and fort in immediate proximity with the sea. The west summit is topped by a Hellenistic fort, succeeded by a medieval keep. The ancient sacred area lies on the SE foot of the hill, while the ancient settlement is now known to have extended around it.

Historical sources of the post-Roman period provide limited information about Eleusis. The *Antonine Itinerary*, composed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., marks ‘Eleusina’ as a station between Megara and Athens.<sup>882</sup> The *Tabula Peutingeriana* marks the same route, and counts the distance between ‘Eleusina’ and Athens as ten miles, and the distance between ‘Eleusina’ and ‘Megara’ as fifteen miles (Pl. 53b).<sup>883</sup>

Continuing its tradition of an official non-civic centre, and despite its significance as a political and urban centre until at least the Roman period, Eleusis is not listed in the

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<sup>881</sup> The two latter finds are described briefly and dated in Platonos-Yota 2005a, 23.

<sup>882</sup> *Itineraria Romana*, 49, paragraph 326.

<sup>883</sup> *Tabula Peutingeriana*, ed. Miller 1916, col. 565. For this section of the road see Pritchett 1980, 237.

catalogue of *civitates* by Hierocles' *Synekdemos*.<sup>884</sup> The 3rd *Notitia Episcopatum*, dating to the 9<sup>th</sup> c., lists Eleusis (corroded as ,Τλεσίνας') among the suffragan bishoprics of the Athenian Archbishopric.<sup>885</sup> Reliability of this *Notitia* has been seriously questioned.<sup>886</sup> Eleusis is missing from the next *Notitiae*, and, contrarily to Megara, does not re-appear in the 12<sup>th</sup>-c. bishopric lists.

Eleusis appears in the *Praktikon of Athens* as an area where the recipient of the document owned very extended property.<sup>887</sup> In the works of Byzantine philosophers and theologians, Eleusis appears in correlation with the Mysteries and ancient historic incidents.<sup>888</sup> Both Photius and Michael Choniates attest to the survival of the tradition about the so-called *Αγέλαστος Πέτρα*.<sup>889</sup>

The traveller and pilgrim Niccolo de Martoni in 1395 mentions Eleusis as a 'castrum'.<sup>890</sup> This should probably (but uncertainly) be interpreted in that Eleusis had a fort,

<sup>884</sup> Honigmann 1936, 16-17. According to Koder (1986, 170) this may have been due to the pilgrimage by Alaric in 396.

<sup>885</sup> Darrouzes 1981, 243-244. For the chronology of the 3<sup>rd</sup> *Notitia* in the 9<sup>th</sup> c. see Darrouzes *ibid.*, 32. For the identification see *TIB* I, 154.

<sup>886</sup> *TIB* I, 82; Darrouzès 1981, 33.

<sup>887</sup> Grandstrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou 1976.

<sup>888</sup> See e.g. *Michael Psellos*, ed. C. N. Sathas, 255, No. 16. *Michael Choniatae*, ed. S. Lampros, 12, l.11: “η μυστηριώδης Ελευσίς”; 27, l.4: “ο τε Μαραθών και η Ελευσίς ο μεν μετά των πάλαι τροπαίων και το σιτοφόρον προσαπεβάλετο, λιμού γενναίου τω χώρω επιστρατεύσαντος, η δε τρόπον άλλον απόρρητος και σιωπής βαθείας μεστή, καθότι οι εκείσε πειραταί τους παραβαλλόντας εις Άδου κατάγουσιν άδυτα και μούντες θανάτου μυστήρια ουκ εώσιν οτιποτούν του λοιπού φθέγγεσθαι. Και ίνα δια βράχέων επιτροχάσω σοι την δεύρο κατάστασιν, πάλαι μεν πέτρα τις ήν Αθήνησιν εν παροιμίαις αδομένη αγέλαστος, νυν δε πάσα η Αττική πέτρα λέγοιτ' αν ουκ ακόμψως ως άνικμος και παρά τούτο αγέλαστος.”; 44, l.22; 389, l.44: “εν τ' αυλώνι Ελευσινίω ναυμαχέοντες”; 377, l. 51.

<sup>889</sup> *Photius* vol. V, 158: “Δήμητρα (...) επί τη νυν Αγελάστω καλουμένη πέτρα καθημένην”. For Choniates see footnote above.

<sup>890</sup> Le Grand 1895, 656: „Circa horam vespertinam longe XV miliaria ab Athenis, invenimus quoddam castrum quod dicitur Lippissinox. Alias fuit civitas maxima et nobilis, ut apparet, hedificia et multe columpne et marmores qui jacent ibi, et aqua fluebat ad dictam civitatem per quosdam conductos fabricatos cum pilieriis et archis per quos descendebat a quibusdam montibus ad ipsam civitatem, et girabat ipsa civitas, quando fuit integra, miliaria X.” Martoni describes briefly the marble remains of the Roman aqueduct which were still standing, but does not provide any description of the settlement itself.

but not necessarily that the city had turned into a fort, or that an urban centre did not exist any longer.<sup>891</sup>

### The defence wall

The Sanctuary area was protected by a strong defence wall with successive construction phases (Pl. 48a-b), which was strengthened in the later Roman period [A].<sup>892</sup> Valerian (253-260) is normally considered as the emperor who commanded its reconstruction.<sup>893</sup> It is possible, however, that the proposed Valerianic phase is actually later (LRom/EByz), or that it was succeeded by a LRom/EByz phase, of which only very scant remains still survive. This hypothesis is based on the masonry of the acropolis wall (rubble masonry, interrupted by courses of tiles), which re-appears in a small segment of the NW section of the Sanctuary wall, where it runs on top of the imposing Roman masonry (Pl. 48b). This wall segment was recently re-observed and discussed by K. Tsouris, who argued for its dating in the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>894</sup> But also the masonry of the Sanctuary circuit wall bears great similarity to the masonry of some towers of the Hexamilion Wall.<sup>895</sup> I would argue, therefore, that fortification of Eleusis may have taken place either both in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. (Sanctuary wall) and in the Early Byzantine period (acropolis wall), or twice in the Early Byzantine period.

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<sup>891</sup> Cf. *TIB* I, 154: „Nach 1204 wurde Eleusis Festung; als solche noch in einem Pilgerbericht bezeugt (...)”.

<sup>892</sup> A systematic study of the defence wall has been undertaken by Ziro (1991).

<sup>893</sup> This hypothesis was expressed by Travlos (1954, 70; 1988, 98) and supported by Ziro (1991, 277-279). Ziro argued that Eleusis organised its protection from the early northern incursions which occurred in Southern Greece, and especially the Herules, in the same period as Athens organised its own re-fortification. The re-fortification of Athens by Valerian is attested in *Zosimos, Historia Nova* (A.29.2-3), and is known as the Valerianic phase of the Themistocleian circuit.

<sup>894</sup> K. Tsouris, ‘Μεσοβυζαντινές επεμβάσεις στην οχύρωση της Σπάρτης’, paper read at the International Conference *Defensive architecture in the Peloponnese (5<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> c.)*, Loutraki 30/9-1/10/2011, Abstracts p. 69-70. I am indebted to Dr Tsouris for the photo of this wall segment which he sent to me prior to my own visit at the site, as well as for a useful discussion.

<sup>895</sup> Cf. Gregory 1993, Pl. 43a.

The urban settlement: Early Byzantine period

Recent rescue excavations showed that, during the Roman period, the city of Eleusis expanded to a larger radius than in its earlier phases.<sup>896</sup> During the LRom/EByz period the inhabited area expanded even further, especially towards the west, thus covering a district which was covered with cemeteries in earlier periods.<sup>897</sup> In the present section we will attempt to provide a view of the Early Byzantine city as it appears through excavation reports.<sup>898</sup>

Travlos expressed the hypothesis that the *anaktoron* in the *Telesterion* was used as a church in the LRom/EByz period, since “many Eucharist tables of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. were found there”.<sup>899</sup> The best known monument of this period is the Early Christian basilica which underlies the still standing church of Agios Zacharias, ca. 300 m east of Megala Propylaia and along Iera Odos (Pl. 50d).<sup>900</sup> The church has been dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. and had a baptistery.

House remains of the LRom/EByz period have been revealed at the junction of 1 Venizelou and Skorda st. [No. 1 on Pl. 51a]<sup>901</sup>, at the junction of 8 Heroon Polytechniou and Nikolaidou st. [No. 2]<sup>902</sup>, in Heroon Polytechniou st.<sup>903</sup>, in 3<sup>904</sup>, 13<sup>905</sup>, and 15 Laskou st.<sup>906</sup> [Nos. 3-5], in 3 Gioka st.<sup>907</sup> [No. 6], in 39 Kontouli st.<sup>908</sup> [No. 7], at the junction of 17

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<sup>896</sup> Papangeli 2002, 345.

<sup>897</sup> Papangeli 1997, 62.

<sup>898</sup> My applications for study permit of material from selected excavations in Eleusis was declined by the 3<sup>rd</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, due to on-going special studies undertaken by the Ephorate.

<sup>899</sup> Travlos 1988, 98. Kourouniotes (1934, 523, 525) similarly believes that an Early Christian church existed very close to the Telesterion.

<sup>900</sup> Described in Soteriou 1929b, 183-184.

<sup>901</sup> Pahyianni-Kaloudi 1979, 40: Hellenistic building, re-constructed in the Middle and Late Roman periods.

<sup>902</sup> Pahyianni-Kaloudi 1979, 41-42: LRom / EByz installation, consisting of a cistern and a room. Kyriakou-Zapheirou 1993, 48-51: two houses dated by coins to the 4<sup>th</sup> c., with reconstruction phases in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. The last phase of use is dated by coins of Justin II (AD 568/569 and 575/576).

<sup>903</sup> Papangeli 1991, 42: Plot No. 122. Building remains belonging to successive construction phases, the latest of which is late antique, based on the discovery of four oil-lamps of the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>904</sup> Pahyianni-Kaloudi 1979, 43-45: large LRom / EByz building, constructed on Roman remains. The later building ignores the urban nexus of the earlier Roman phase, and assigns itself to new axes.

<sup>905</sup> Papangeli 1988, 53-55, esp. 55: poor wall remains overlying a Roman building.

<sup>906</sup> Pahyianni-Kaloudi 1979, 45-46: LRom / EByz building, constructed on Hellenistic and Roman remains.

<sup>907</sup> Papangeli 1988, 50: LRom / EByz construction phase of an earlier Roman building.

Persephonis and Hatzidaki st.<sup>909</sup> [No. 8], and at the junction of Agathou and Velouchioti st.<sup>910</sup> [No. 9]. A wine-press was excavated in in 1 Keleou st.<sup>911</sup> [No. 10] and a water-mill in 5 Kimonos st.<sup>912</sup> [No. 11]. A farmhouse was excavated in R. Pheraiou st.<sup>913</sup> [No. 12] (Pl. 50e) and indicates an expansion of the city towards its surrounding countryside in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. A large Roman bath excavated south of the Megala Propylaia was used until the Late Roman period.<sup>914</sup>

Graves of the LRom/EByz period have been excavated near the Telesterion<sup>915</sup>, at the junction of Iera Odos and 1 Thevon st.<sup>916</sup>, in 12 Thanasoulopoulou st.<sup>917</sup> [No. 13], in 27 Persephonis st.<sup>918</sup> [No. 14] and in Ethnikis Antistaseos st. [No. 15]<sup>919</sup>. Graves were also

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<sup>908</sup> Papangeli 1988, 52: carefully constructed LRom / EByz building. Its orientation is different than that of the underlying remains, thus indicating a change of the urban grid at some point during Late Antiquity.

<sup>909</sup> Papangeli 1992, 38; Kyriakou-Zapheiropoulou 1993, 43-46: wall remains belonging to three successive construction phases of the Roman and LRom/EByz periods. The highest excavation layers produced LRom/EByz pottery. A hoard of 130 coins, stored in a small clay vessel, was found; the coins were bronze Athenian issues and a few Roman imperial issues (2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c.) which, according to the excavator, demonstrate that the reason of hoarding was the Herulian threat of AD 267. The overlying excavation layer shows private rooms, the use of which was dated from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. to ca. 580 AD based on numismatic finds.

<sup>910</sup> Papangeli 1997, 61: LRom/EByz wall of uncertain use and chronology.

<sup>911</sup> Alexandri 1968, 108-109: remains of a square Hellenistic tower, which was re-used in the LRom/EByz period to house a wine-press. The plot is located at the centre of the city, SE of the Agios Zacharias church.

<sup>912</sup> Alexandri 1976, 55-57.

<sup>913</sup> Papangeli 1996, 58. The farmhouse, lying 800 m N/NE of the acropolis of Eleusis, consists of numerous rooms, one of which housed a well-preserved olive press. Coins found on the room floors are dated to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. An ancient road, leading from Eleusis to the *demoi* of Parnes, ran by the farmhouse, and was apparently used until the same period, since it was destroyed by the same river flood which demolished the western section of the farmhouse.

<sup>914</sup> Kourouniotes 1934, 519-520.

<sup>915</sup> Kourouniotes 1934, 523.

<sup>916</sup> Alexandri 1969, 77: Two LRom/EByz graves, built on earlier wall remains.

<sup>917</sup> Pahyianni-Kaloudi 1979, 40-41: Three built cist LRom/EByz graves, which re-used walls of earlier houses. Graves I and III were found empty, while Grave II contained ten burials and ten clay vessels: nine jugs and one cup. Judging from the vessel forms, the grave probably belongs to the 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> c. (earlier graves usually contain oil-lamps).

<sup>918</sup> Papangeli 1987, 30: 18 LRom/EByz graves, all oriented east-west, with skulls towards the west, in the same excavation layer. One child grave contained a pair of golden earrings, which clay jugs, glass unguentaria and bronze coins (unidentified) were found in other graves.

<sup>919</sup> Papangeli 1989, 31: Four LRom/EByz graves, one in an amphora and three built cist tombs. The spot had been used as a cemetery also in the Classical and Geometric periods.

excavated at the fringes of the Early Byzantine city: in Vragou st.<sup>920</sup>, in Kalatha st.<sup>921</sup>, and in Souliou st.<sup>922</sup>.

Three hoards have been found in Eleusis: one with bronze coins, concealed around 565-578; a second with bronze coins, concealed in 583/4, and a third with *solidoi*, concealed after 584.<sup>923</sup>

### The urban settlement: Middle Byzantine period

In all the above excavation reports, the LRom/EByz phase is described as the latest visible phase of construction, thus raising the question about the possible existence of later phase(s) of activity. It is highly possible that later phases were easily destroyed in recent times, since they were above ground; the LRom/EByz levels are often described as lying just underneath the modern ground level.<sup>924</sup> Our hypothesis is supported by the discovery of Byzantine and later pottery in two ancient wells: in the well known as Kallichoron, which is located just south of the Megala Propylaia of the sanctuary, and in a well excavated in 15 Persephonis st.<sup>925</sup>

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<sup>920</sup> Pahyianni-Kaloudi 1979, 40. Vragou st. runs parallel to the road towards Magoula, ca. 1.5 km NW of the Sanctuary. Four tent-shaped tile graves, oriented east-west, were excavated. A trefoil-mouth jug, dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c., was found in one of the graves, and indicates the chronology of the grave cluster.

<sup>921</sup> Divari-Valakou 1989, 39-40. Kalatha st. runs parallel and east of the Soures stream, which forms the border between Ano Eleusina and Mandra. A cluster of five graves, and a sixth grave 50 m further south, were excavated. All were of the tent-shaped type and were oriented east-west. The only object found was a bronze spatula. A chronology in the LRom/EByz period appears probable, based on grave type and orientation. A further grave (VII), of the cist vaulted type, contained one deceased, three clay jugs and an oil-lamp, which were dated to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>922</sup> Papangeli 1992, 41-42. Located at the east end of the modern city. Seventeen Roman and LRom/EByz graves, built on top of a Hellenistic cemetery, were excavated.

<sup>923</sup> Galani-Krikou *et al.* 2002, 32, No. 15 (16 coins), 47, No. 26 (268 coins), 54, No. 29 (8 *solidoi*), respectively.

<sup>924</sup> See as an example Papangeli 1988, 52 (39 Kontouli st.), 55 and note 58.

<sup>925</sup> Papangeli 1989, 33-34: "It seems that, due to its careful construction, the well was used for many centuries, and was dis-used only in the Byzantine period, when the city was desolated." Papangeli's hypothesis about the desolation of the city is not supported by any argument, and is contradicted by her next sentence: "A similar example of long-century use is the Kallichoron well, which was found full with pottery of the Byzantine and Ottoman periods."



Churches of the Middle Byzantine period are not known from Eleusis, but the existence of two of them can be deduced from standing and underlying remains. The small church which is confined to the main aisle of the Early Byzantine basilica of Agios Zacharias shows successive construction phases. An early construction phase can be seen in the northern half of the apse, where the remain of an arched window (now blocked) can be seen (Pl. 51b). The church of Panagitsa, located in the archaeological site, replaced a Roman temple and is visible in drawings of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. (Pl. 50b-c). It was built directly on top of the cave of Pluto (Pl. 51c), which allows reasonable symbolic interpretations about the spot chosen for it. Its architecture, a single-aisled basilica, with its masonry covered by successive layers of stucco, does not allow any chronological conclusions, but it is more than possible that this prominent spot was occupied by a church in the Byzantine period, as well.<sup>926</sup>

The ground plan of a further church, dedicated to Agios Georgios, is seen in a plan of the Sanctuary area before the start of excavations in 1882 (Pl. 52a). The church is situated in the south corner of the Sanctuary area, inside the defence wall.

The medieval tower which stood on hill 54, west of the acropolis hill, was demolished in 1953 by the cement factory TITAN which developed on the south slopes of the hill. Judging from early photos (Pl. 52c), the tower was large, square or rectangular, and multi-storied.<sup>927</sup> Published descriptions do not allow any chronological conclusions about the tower and the surrounding walls, but scholars traditionally refer to it as ‘Frankish’.

2.5 km N/NW from the acropolis, Byzantine activity is attested through the 12<sup>th</sup>-c. church of Agios Nikolaos [A] (*vidi*; marked as ‘Panagia’ in *KvA*) (Pl. 52b). The existence of a

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<sup>926</sup> Kourouniotes (1934, 525) believes that an Early Christian church existed at the same spot.

<sup>927</sup> A description by Travlos (1960b, 52-54), written after its demolition, attests that it was built of large rectangular stone blocks from the Sanctuary in secondary use. Langdon (1995, 476) assumes that the tower was free-standing, although walls built of “small stones and fragments of ancient marbles, bonded with mortar, apparently contemporaneous with the tower”, existed on the north and eastern side of the hill.

church in the surrounding countryside of the Middle Byzantine city reminds the landscape of Megara, and implies that, in this period, monuments are often to be found around the settlements which archaeologists often characterise as ‘urban’, rather than within them. Interestingly, a hoard with 230 *tetartera* of John II and Manuel I was found in a clay vessel excavated north of the Magoula cemetery.<sup>928</sup>

## 9.5. The western part of the Thriasian plain

### Mandra - Magoula<sup>929</sup>

In Mandra a milestone with seven successive texts, dating from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. until 397, was found.<sup>930</sup> If this is its original location, it shows that the official road from Eleusis to Megara was inland and passed through Kandeli.

### Kerata west peak

The western peak of Mount Kerata (470 m), the southern extension of Mount Pateras, shows some activity in the LRom/EByz period, judging from the large number of oil lamps which were found there.<sup>931</sup> The summit occupies an excellent view of the Gulf of Eleusis, Salamis and beyond; it also has a direct sightline to *Nisaia*, the harbour of Megara. Since the LRom/EByz finds which were reported from the site by Ober are exclusively oil-lamps, Scully and Langdon thought that this was a Zeus sanctuary.<sup>932</sup> Recently, Grigoropoulos

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<sup>928</sup> Galani-Krikou *et al.* 2002, 92-93, No. 77.

<sup>929</sup> Both Mandra and Magoula developed as settlements during the 19<sup>th</sup> c. Mandra in particular was populated by inhabitants of the village Koundoura: Milchhöfer 1895, 20-22.

<sup>930</sup> Sironen 1994, 38-40, No. 22. Sironen 2008, No. 13294.

<sup>931</sup> Ober 1987, 223-225. A strategic *and* a religious use of the site is implied by Fowden (1988, 55) and supported by Smith (2008, 71-73).

<sup>932</sup> Scully 1962, 135. Langdon 1976, 105-106. Recently, Grigoropoulos (2009, 467) published more oil-lamp fragments, but also a LRom/EByz amphora lid, which had been collected by Wrede.

published more oil-lamp fragments, but also a LRom/EByz amphora lid, and supported the view that it is hard to deduce a military character for sites where only lamp fragments have been recovered.<sup>933</sup> At the same time, no serious threats coming from the sea are known in Attica in this period.

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<sup>933</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 425-427, 467.

## B.10. Southeast Attica

### 10.1. Geographical description and main roads

#### [Printed map B.10.a; CD maps B.10.b-c]

Southeast Attica is a district of hilly lowlands, surrounded by sea from its west, south, and east sides. Its northern area is separated from the Mesogeia plain by the small mountain Paneion (648 m; Keratovouni in *KvA*), while the western area is marked by the small mountain Olympos (487 m). The gulfs of Thorikos, Laurion, Sounion, and Anavyssos, functioned as harbours. The district of Laurion is rich in metals such as iron, lead and silver, which were systematically exploited from the Classical to the Early Roman period. Laurion is known as the main source of wealth of the city-state of Athens.

Southeast Attica communicated with the basin of Athens through the *ἀστική ὁδός Σουνίου*, and with the Mesogeia plain through the continuation of the Sphettian Road towards SE. The *ἀστική ὁδός* in its western section followed a route parallel to the SW slopes of Hymettus (B.1.1), similar to modern Vouliagmentis Avenue, and circumscribed the southern tip of Hymettus, passing through Vari. It then followed a direction towards SE, between the mountains Paneion and Olympos. In the area ‘Pheriza’ the road split in two sections: the southern section turned south and reached *Anaphlystos/Anavyssos*.<sup>934</sup> The northern section, which formed the main branch of the *ἀστική ὁδός*, continued SE, through the areas Ari, Dimoulaki and Barbaliaki. It then passed between the hills Vouno Kitsou (317 m) and Sophianou (235 m), continued west of the modern village Kamariza/Agios Konstantinos, towards the well Anania/Pousi Pelia, where a small Christian building was erected on top of

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<sup>934</sup> Kaza – Kakavoyanni – Andrikou – Dova 2009, 208. Steinhauer 2009, 60.

an Artemis sanctuary.<sup>935</sup> From there, the road continued east towards the stream of Megala Peuka, from where it ascended to the upland area of Laurion and Sounion.<sup>936</sup>

Connection with the Mesogeia plain was achieved through two roads. The main road circumscribed the eastern tip of Mount Paneion at the site Metropesi (ancient *Amphitrope*) and turned south towards Sounion. A secondary road followed a route parallel to the east coast, from which it was separated through the hills of Kokkinokoryphi, Koutrouvilia, Vrachos Stavraetou (*HMGS*), and reached the gulf of Thorikos.

## **10.2. Thorai – Kalyvia Paralias – Lagonissi – Phoinikia**

The small coastal plain SW of Mt Paneion is occupied today by the urban settlement Kalyvia Paralias, located by the coast, and the rural settlement Phoinikia, further east. This was the territory of the ancient *demos Thorai*.<sup>937</sup>

In the area of Kalyvia Paralias, which in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. was called ‘Palaeo-Elaiotriveion’, Milchhöfer found remains of ancient blocks. The chapel of Agios Nikolaos, marked on *KvA*, was then designated with the placename ‘εις τους Πάλους’, and its surrounding area preserved pottery “aus alter und jüngerer Zeit”.<sup>938</sup> Eliot was not able to locate any finds in this area. Vanderpool, however, found remains of a Late Roman or Byzantine settlement in the valley which exits at the sea at Agios Nikolaos.<sup>939</sup>

The remains found by Milchhöfer further east, in Phoinikia, led him to believe that this was the central settlement of the local *demos*. Milchhöfer notes that this ancient

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<sup>935</sup> Oikonomakou 2004, 78. ‘Pousi pelia’ means ‘ancient well’ in Albanian.

<sup>936</sup> This route description follows Kakavoyanni, in Kaza – Kakavoyanni – Andrikou – Dova 2009, 209-210. Salliora-Oikonomakou (2004, 112-113) similarly provides an advanced description of ancient roads of SE Attica.

<sup>937</sup> Eliot 1962, 47-51, 65, 68.

<sup>938</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 19.

<sup>939</sup> This discovery is noted only briefly in Eliot 1962, 67, note 5.

settlement was occupied in the Middle Ages as well, from which period a ruined tower and a chapel still stood in his time.<sup>940</sup> Eliot agrees that the greatest concentration of traces of an ancient settlement in the vicinity is in Phoinikia. He saw traces of walls, ancient re-used blocks, and pottery, the majority of which he dates to the Late Roman and Byzantine period. He saw pottery of the same periods west and a little south of Phoinikia (his site B: by the church of Agia Paraskevi), and suggested that the two settlements may have been part of the same village.<sup>941</sup> Recent building development prevents re-examination of the ground surface.

At the shore, on a low mound (24.2 m altitude, or 23 m according to *HMGs*) west of the Thermi hill, Milchhöfer saw traces of walls and cuts on the rock, which he interpreted as an ancient fortification.<sup>942</sup> Eliot did not find any of these remains, but saw “traces of a small community, presumably a little harbour village” of the Late Roman period.<sup>943</sup>

### 10.3. *Phrearrioi* – Olympos

South of *Thorai* – Phoinikia rises the coastal mountain Olympos. To its NE, separated from the sea shore, extends a small plain which formed the territory of the ancient *demos* of *Phrearrioi* [C].<sup>944</sup> The plain forms a natural passage between Mts Olympos and Paneion, through which the *astike odos* passed. *Phrearrioi* extended further east; one of its habitation centres, on the SW and SE slopes of the Mokrizia hill (south of Metropesi) shows activity in the LRom/EByz period through scattered ceramic finds.<sup>945</sup>

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<sup>940</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 19.

<sup>941</sup> Eliot 1962, 67.

<sup>942</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 19.

<sup>943</sup> Eliot 1962, 67.

<sup>944</sup> The identification of this valley with *Aigilia* was earlier supported by Eliot (1962, 67), but epigraphic evidence published by Vanderpool (1970) led to its identification with *Phrearrioi*, which was met with acceptance (Traill 1975, 53; Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 74-75).

<sup>945</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 75, Teil II: 505, AN 25.

In the plain of *Phrearrioi*, ca. 1 km east of the modern settlement Kalyvia Olympou, an Early Christian basilica was excavated [A] (Pl. 60a) (*vidi*).<sup>946</sup> It was dated by Pallas shortly before 559, based on epigraphic and architectural evidence.<sup>947</sup> An annex building on the south side of the basilica, possibly originally a baptistery, was later transformed to an olive-press.

The basilica is particularly interesting due to architectural evidence for use also in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c. The three-aisled basilica was by then transformed into a single-aisled one with two narthices. Graves opened in the interior space of the basilica (a custom which occurs from the 7<sup>th</sup> c. onwards) yielded finds which can be dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> c. (Pl. 60c) and the 10-11<sup>th</sup> c. (see [A]). A terminus post quem for the final destruction of the basilica, which occurred through fire, is yielded by a lead seal which was found in the inner narthex and dates to the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>948</sup>

In Kalyvia Olympou, three post-Byzantine churches bear Early Christian spolia in their masonry: Panagia Mesosporitissa<sup>949</sup>, Agia Paraskevi and Agios Ioannis.<sup>950</sup> Olympos appears to have existed as a settlement in later medieval or/and early modern times as well, if one judges from the high number of churches (Milchhöfer marks remains of four further churches) and from a tower remain which Milchhöfer characterised as ‘Frankish’.<sup>951</sup> Travlos mentions in the area of the basilica “at least seven chapels, a Frankish tower and house remains, all of which, both ancient and medieval, follow the same orientation and extend over a kilometre long.”<sup>952</sup>

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<sup>946</sup> Soteriou 1929b, 184. Kotzias 1952.

<sup>947</sup> Pallas 1986, 49-52. On the inscriptions see Sironen 2008, Nos. 13257, 13258, 13527.

<sup>948</sup> Kotzias 1952, 121, 128.

<sup>949</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 92, fig. 97.

<sup>950</sup> For the two latter monuments see Lazarides 1960, 69; Lazarides 1970, 145.

<sup>951</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 20.

<sup>952</sup> Travlos 1988, 15. His statement could be useful for an assumption of settlement continuity here, but in other cases such statements by Travlos have proven to be sweeping. More evidence is needed for this kind of deduction.

Remains of a medieval tower have been located in the site Trapuria, 1.5 km NW of Kalyvia, on top of an earlier, Classical tower.<sup>953</sup> The site overlooks the passage between Paneion and Olympos. Eliot assumed the existence of an early Christian chapel, founded on an ancient sanctuary<sup>954</sup>; this was apparently confirmed by the observation of an apse.<sup>955</sup> An underground structure, interpreted by Lauter as a cistern, is, according to Mattern, an ossuary<sup>956</sup>.

An extended site is located at ‘Kalmi’ (*KvA*) or ‘Kalamies’, between the north slope of Olympos and the hill 151, in the small valley along the road which leads to Thermi. Milchhöfer saw “a smaller group of ancient and medieval house ruins”, among which two church ruins and the foundations of a “Loutro”, which he tentatively interpreted as a tower.<sup>957</sup> Lohmann identified an Early Christian church ruin and an ossuary on the hill 151.<sup>958</sup> A medieval settlement with remains of at least three churches was reported recently by Philippou-Angelou.<sup>959</sup> During my visit I saw remains of a recently cleaned small church ruin, built with large blocks set vertically<sup>960</sup>, and numerous stone-piles, all scattered in the small valley.

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<sup>953</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 19. Gini-Tsophopoulou 1994, 93.

<sup>954</sup> Eliot 1962, 72.

<sup>955</sup> Mattern 2010, 226, Site 3.5: Anavyssos (Trapouria). The site is described vaguely also by Travlos (1988, 15), who assumed here continuous habitation.

<sup>956</sup> Lauter 1980, 249. Mattern 2010, 226, Site 3.5: Anavyssos (Trapouria). Mattern parallels it with the findspots AN 20 and AN 21 recorded by Lohmann (1993, 503f.)

<sup>957</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 20; information repeated by Travlos (1988, 15). The site was called ‘Kalmi’ or ‘Palaio Loutro’, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> c.; in the *HMGs* map it has been marked as ‘Kalamies’.

<sup>958</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil II: 504, AN 21. Lohmann dated these finds to the Early Byzantine period due to the form of the ossuary. He also found late antique sherds, as well as pottery datable to either the LRom/EByz or the medieval period. A few black-glazed sherds may hint to the succession of an ancient sanctuary by the Early Christian church.

<sup>959</sup> Philippou-Angelou 2000, 90-91.

<sup>960</sup> This way of construction is a feature of 12<sup>th</sup> c. church building, according to Bouras (2002, 386 and fig. 406) but is not confined to this century: see Koilakou 1988, 84, fig. 1 for an early 14<sup>th</sup>-c. example. In Attica it was used also in the excavated church beneath Agios Nikolaos of Kantza (B.3.9 [A]).



#### 10.4. *Anaphlystos* – Anavyssos and Palaia Phokaia

Anavyssos designates the small plain which extends between Mt Olympos and the hilly district of Laurion, and opens up to a well protected gulf. This is the territory of the ancient *demos* of *Anaphlystos*.<sup>961</sup> At the site of Agios Georgios (*KvA*), in the centre of modern Anavyssos, earlier scholars marked the existence of ceramic finds of Hellenistic and [Late?] Roman times.<sup>962</sup> The diachronic use of the harbour area has already been noted.<sup>963</sup> A LRom/EByz building with storage rooms was excavated in Palaia Phokaia, SE of Anavyssos.<sup>964</sup> A further building, possibly a small Early Christian basilica, was found in Thymari, 2 km south of Palaia Phokaia.<sup>965</sup>

A LRom/EByz building and graves were excavated near the post-Byzantine chapel of Agios Georgios. The building was used in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c., and the graves from the mid 4<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> c., as coins and ceramic finds attest.<sup>966</sup> Further graves have been found west of Anavyssos, on the hill of Agios Nikolaos ('Dasomenos Lophos')<sup>967</sup>, and east of the town, on the road towards Kamariza.<sup>968</sup> Minor sites of habitation have been identified in a broad radius around Anavyssos: A Classical farmstead 500 m south of Kataphygi was re-used in the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>961</sup> Eliot 1962, 108. Traill 1975, 54. Lohmann 1993, 60.

<sup>962</sup> Eliot 1962, 106. Petropoulakou – Pentazos 1973, 90.

<sup>963</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 21. 105-106. Petropoulakou – Pentazos 1973, 91.

<sup>964</sup> Oikonomakou 1997, 89. Oikonomakou adds that this building was found "near the extended Early Christian settlement excavated by Lazarides in 1972", unfortunately without further reference, which indicates that the relevant excavation was never reported.

<sup>965</sup> Oikonomakou 1995, 61.

<sup>966</sup> Chalkia 1991, 82. Gini-Tsophopoulou – Chalkia 2003. Salliora-Oikonomakou (2004, 80) on the other hand, reports that "In 1990, a rescue excavation in the Philippou plot in Agios Georgios revealed part of an Early Christian settlement, cemetery and basilica", but without further information.

<sup>967</sup> Åström 1963, 52-54.

<sup>968</sup> Alexandri 1973-74, 162.

c.<sup>969</sup>, while a concentration of Late Roman and Early Byzantine sherds exists 425 m N/NO of Agios Panteleimon, north of Anavyssos<sup>970</sup>.

Remains of fortifications were preserved around the Anavyssos gulf until the late 19<sup>th</sup> c. Milchhöfer saw remains of a medieval fort with an E-W direction on the NW promontory of the gulf (*non-vidi*).<sup>971</sup> On the SW promontory of Agios Nikolaos he saw a large vaulted water cistern which, he believed, “did not serve only ships” (*non-vidi*).<sup>972</sup> A cistern marked with red on *KvA*, probably the one described by Milchhöfer, is “a typical Byzantine construction” according to Lohmann.<sup>973</sup> At the same site, Lohmann saw Byzantine wall remains, partly destroyed by World War II structures, which were dated by scattered ceramic sherds.<sup>974</sup> The gulf of Agios Nikolaos appears to have been used as a harbouring location already in the Early Byzantine period, as shown by a ‘beachrock’ formation in which late antique sherds have been embedded (Pl. 60b).<sup>975</sup>

On the east coast of the gulf Milchhöfer saw a rectangular fort (“Kastell”), of which large blocks, set vertically in the ground, were preserved; the construction appeared to him as ancient, but used in the medieval period too, as the subsequent use of mortar attested (*non-vidi*).<sup>976</sup>

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<sup>969</sup> Brommer 1972, 270, No. 263. Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 70, Teil II: 495-496, AN 3. The site is located on a NW foot (60.2 m altitude) of Lophos Asvestokaminos (267.5 m altitude).

<sup>970</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 70, Teil II: 501, AN 16.

<sup>971</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 21. I was not able to find remains of it during my visit. The flat top of the hill is today overgrown with thick vegetation, which allows access only to the north and NE slope of the promontory hill.

<sup>972</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 21.

<sup>973</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil II: 501, AN 17.

<sup>974</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 64; Teil II: 501, AN 17.

<sup>975</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil II: 501, AN 17. Among the late antique sherds, Lohmann mentions a LRC fragment of the 6<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>976</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 21. The site is marked on *KvA* with red letters as ‘antiker Hafenbefestigung’.

Further inland, just SE of Kataphygi, on the hill Tzepa, Milchhöfer reports the substantial remains of a medieval fort (*non-vidi*) (Pl. 60d).<sup>977</sup> Philippson confirms that “in the Middle Ages the population appears to have retreated in the eastern hills [of the Anavyssos gulf], where a castle ruin and deserted villages, one of which with the indicative name Kataphygi, exist”.<sup>978</sup>

## 10.5. Metropisi

Metropisi is the area located on the SE hillfoot of Paneion. Its identification with the ancient *demos Amhitrope*<sup>979</sup> [C] remains unsafe<sup>980</sup>.

Habitation remains and Late Roman pottery were seen by Eliot on a low mound near the fork in the road opposite the end of Paneion.<sup>981</sup> According to Eliot, “the name Metropisi is associated with a ruined settlement lying at the foot of the south side of Mout Panion at its eastern end. The ruins lie both north and south of the road that skirts the foot of the mountain, and they include the remains of a church. The settlement is apparently no earlier than

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<sup>977</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 21; information repeated in Travlos 1988, 16. The site was recently surveyed by Lohmann (1993, Teil I: 71, Teil II: 496, AN 4), who provides a detailed description of the remains and reports that the tower was almost destroyed in his times. The tower was surrounded by a circuit wall. A few ceramic sherds found at the site were generically dated between the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> c. During my site visit (June 2012) I was not able to find these remains.

<sup>978</sup> Philippson – Kirsten 1952, 832. The site of Kataphygi was surveyed by Lohmann (1993, Teil II: 496-497, AN5) who found “medieval to early modern house ruins”, which he was not able to date with more precision. In Kataphygi, Lazarides (1970, 145-153) excavated an extended Christian cemetery, which he tentatively dated to the post-Byzantine period.

<sup>979</sup> Eliot 1962, 110-114: “Perhaps the name *Amhitrope* (= turning round, revolution, diversion) should be interpreted in this manner: a branching or turning of the main highway which led from Athens to Sounion.” ‘Metropisi’ has been falsely marked as ‘Mitrospti’ on the *HMGs* map.

<sup>980</sup> Lohmann (1993, Teil I: 79, Abb. 12) places *Amhitrope* in the coastal valley which exits to the sea in the coast of Legrena, based mainly on epigraphic evidence. He thinks that the etymological link between *Amhitrope* and ‘Metropisi’ is not unproblematic, and considers it as questionable (*ibid.*, 80).

<sup>981</sup> Eliot 1962, 114.

Byzantine.”<sup>982</sup> The site was recorded by Lohmann too, who found both LRom/EByz and medieval pottery around the church ruin and 50 m to its south.<sup>983</sup> Based on the ceramic evidence, Lohmann suggests that the church was founded during Late Antiquity.<sup>984</sup> Since Wheler saw only ruins here<sup>985</sup>, Lohmann suggests that the church was deserted considerably earlier, probably in the late Middle Ages. 800 m west of the church Lohmann recorded a further concentration of LRom/EByz and medieval sherds.<sup>986</sup>

## 10.6. *Besa* - Synterina

*Besa* is the ancient *demos* which occupied the territory between *Anaphlystos* and *Thorikos*.<sup>987</sup> Its main habitation centre has been located at Synterina, which lies west of the hill Mikro Rimbari (*KvA*) or Vouno Kitsou (*HMGs, Road*). An Early Christian inscription was found in Synterina.<sup>988</sup> An Early Christian oblong apsidal building, probably an early basilica, was excavated at Pousi Pelia / Anania Pegadi, 2 km SW of the modern village Agios Konstantinos (Kamariza).<sup>989</sup>

At the SE border of Synterina, east of the Agia Eirene hill, Milchhöfer found “a cultivable area, which shows medieval remains of houses and churches mixed with ancient remains of limestone and marble”.<sup>990</sup> Salliora-Oikononakou reported at the same site “an

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<sup>982</sup> Eliot 1962, 112. Milchhöfer (1889, 24) reports “ancient blocks used in later masonry” at this site.

<sup>983</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 82; Teil II: 527-528, ME 13-14, Taf. 73.2. The church ruin was destroyed after Lohmann’s survey (*ibid.*, Teil I: 82), which was the reason why I was not able to find any of these remains.

<sup>984</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 83.

<sup>985</sup> Wheler 1682, 449.

<sup>986</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 83; Teil II: 524, ME 1. The site is located on a NE foot of the mound 202.3. Lohmann did not see any walls, but scattered old stones from masonry (“alte Mauersteine”).

<sup>987</sup> Eliot 1962, 118-123. Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 84-86.

<sup>988</sup> Milchhöfer 1887, 284, No. 185. The inscription was not included in the recent publication of Sironen (2008).

<sup>989</sup> Oikononakou 2004, 78; Salliora-Oikononakou 2007, 34. The location of the apsed building is marked on the archaeological site map in Salliora-Oikononakou 2007, fig. 45.

<sup>990</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 25: “Der westlich entlang führende Weg, in dessen Thal das Rhevma von Legrana sich bildet, beruehrt an der Kreuzung der bequemsten Verbindung zwischen Kamaresa und Mesochori eine

Early Christian settlement (...); Early Christian graves and buildings, which may belong to a farmstead”<sup>991</sup> (*non-vidi*).

## 10.7. Thorikos

The protected gulf of Thorikos formed the territory of the homonymous ancient *demos*. Its centre spread on the Velatouri hill (137 m), which commands the northern part of the gulf. A few habitation remains of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. were found among the ancient settlement<sup>992</sup>, while four ‘late’ graves, the earliest of which was dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c., were excavated in the necropolis south of the theatre.<sup>993</sup> A group of three Late Roman graves, built on top of a Classical mine washery, have been excavated in the modern village of Thorikos.<sup>994</sup>

The mines of Thorikos have produced a find which indicates an effort to exploit the metallurgical wealth anew in the Early Byzantine period. Around sixty lamps, mainly of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c., were discovered in Mine Gallery No 3, in disturbed mining debris (Pl. 61a).<sup>995</sup> Scholars interpreted this find as an indication of the Early Byzantine state to push forward its industrial production by exploiting some of the mines, or the metallurgical remains of earlier centuries.<sup>996</sup> This hypothesis was recently strengthened by the excavation of a large cistern

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gleichfalls Synterini genannte, anbaufaehige Staette, welche mittelalterliche, mit antiken Resten aus Kalkstein und Marmor untermischte Haus- und Kirchenruinen aufweist.” Eliot (1962, 122) reports the remains of the ancient settlement, but nothing about a medieval settlement.

<sup>991</sup> Salliora-Oikonomakou 2004, 144.

<sup>992</sup> Mussche 1998, 65: “Various amphorae and lamps found in scattered locations but which all date mainly from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD.” Docter – Van Liefferinge 2010, 58.

<sup>993</sup> Touchais 1980, 585. Bingen 1990. Grave 519 contained bronze coins of Constans II and Valens.

<sup>994</sup> Oikonomakou 2000, 115: N. Kremastioti plot, on the road which connects Keratea and Laurion.

<sup>995</sup> Touchais 1980, 585. Butcher 1982, 137-143. Travlos 1988, 204.

<sup>996</sup> Butcher 1982, 137-138: “The gallery has probably always been accessible and subject to casual visits but the thorough mixing of the Roman [read: ‘LRom/EByz’] and earlier material in the mining debris must indicate large-scale disturbance at a date not earlier than the 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD. It could even be the result of prospecting in the 19<sup>th</sup> c., when modern exploitation of the minerals of the Laurion began.”; 143: “The lamps found so far demonstrate that the mine gallery was visited frequently during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD. The most likely reason

used for metallurgical activity in Mine Gallery 2, which produced material of the LRom/EByz period.<sup>997</sup>

Outside Thorikos, only sporadic indications for resumption of metallurgical work survive. A few LRom/EByz sherds were seen by Wrede and by Lohmann in an important Classical metallurgical workshop (Ergasterion) in Megala Peuka.<sup>998</sup> A graffiti “of the Christian era” was mentioned by Milchhöfer in a mine shaft on the hill Berzeko, south of Kamariza/Agios Konstantinos.<sup>999</sup> (See also B.10.9.)

Evidence for ‘Dark-Age’ activity exists within the ancient ‘industrial quarter’ (= domestic area) of the Velatouri hill.<sup>1000</sup> A Classical round tower (AX) which predominates in Insula 3, in the SW section of the settlement, was partly re-erected to form a rectangular room, while two further adjacent rooms were reconstructed (Pl. 60e). One of these rooms (AY) produced ceramic material, among which two amphorae (Pl. 61b) of the later 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1001</sup> This structure may well have been the “small medieval fort or tower” reported by Milchhöfer to have existed on top of the Velatouri hill.<sup>1002</sup> A cookpot of the same period was found in Cistern No. 1, ca. 40 m north of the ‘industrial quarter’.<sup>1003</sup>

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for this was that ore was again being sought, either by fresh mining or by re-working of earlier debris.” Fowden 1988, 55.

<sup>997</sup> Docter – Van Liefferinge 2010, 58-59.

<sup>998</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 94-95 (esp. 95), n. 732.

<sup>999</sup> Milchhöfer 1887, 302. Milchhöfer did not see this graffiti himself.

<sup>1000</sup> Spitaels 1978, 44, 59-62, 103-106, 109.

<sup>1001</sup> For parallels see Poulou-Papademetriou – Nodarou 2007, 766, Nos. 13-14.

<sup>1002</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 26: “The summit shows only remains of mortared walls of a small medieval fort or a tower.” The name ‘Velatouri’ itself is a corroded form of ‘Viglatouri’, as Milchhöfer (1889, 20) explains in his section about Pherisa. ‘Viglatouri’ means a guarding post, a ‘βίγλα’.

<sup>1003</sup> Docter – Monsieur – van de Put 2011, 95, No. 51, fig. 19a-b.

## 10.8. Laurion

The area of Laurion appears to have been included in the territory of *Sounion* in the ancient period. The modern town (Ergasteria/Laurio) developed through the re-organisation of the mining industry in the late 19<sup>th</sup> c.

An Early Christian basilica was excavated on the promontory just north of the Laurion harbour.<sup>1004</sup> Its narthex was decorated with a mosaic of high quality, dated to the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> c (Pl. 61c).<sup>1005</sup>

Evidence for habitation in the LRom/EByz period is demonstrated by the discovery of an extended cemetery on the southern slope of the hill which rises just SE of the modern town (*KvA*: ‘Schornstein’, 38.6 m).<sup>1006</sup> Also an amphora containing 16 bronze coins of AD 378-383, perhaps belonging to a grave, was excavated at the central square of modern Laurion.<sup>1007</sup> A trench which was opened 200 m south of Ergasteria in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. revealed graves which contained many hundreds of bronze coins which cover the whole 4<sup>th</sup> c. and the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup>. A hoard with 16 *folleis*, buried after 569/70, has been found in Laurion.<sup>1008</sup> Moreover, in different areas of Ergasteria, Cordella found coins of Heraclius and Constantine III (614-641), John Tzimiskes (969-976), Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118) and later emperors.<sup>1009</sup> A bronze buckle with rectangular plate with relief decoration of a griffon and a lion was found, along with a coin of John Tzimiskes, “near a basilica”<sup>1010</sup> (probably the above-mentioned

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<sup>1004</sup> Oikonomakou 1981, 55: Kallia st. The basilica was three-aisled. The mosaic is now exhibited in the Laurion Museum. An annex building of the basilica was excavated a few years later: Gini-Tsophopoulou 1985b, 82: 7 Herakleous st.

<sup>1005</sup> Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 143.

<sup>1006</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 27.

<sup>1007</sup> Γ' EPKA 1964, 73.

<sup>1008</sup> Galani-Krikou *et al.* 2002, 34, No. 17.

<sup>1009</sup> Cordellas 1869, 32. Information repeated in Milchhöfer 1889, 27; Salliora-Oikonomakou 2001, 160.

<sup>1010</sup> Csallany 1954, 346, No. 16. The buckle was stored in the Byzantine Museum of Athens.

one). Byzantine coins were also found in ‘ergasteria’ (metallurgical workshops) in Noria, Asklepiako (Souriza) and elsewhere.<sup>1011</sup>

South of Laurio, in the bay Panormos/Gaidouromandra<sup>1012</sup>, recent excavations revealed part of a Hellenistic settlement and a further extended cemetery with 84 graves of the Roman and Early Byzantine periods, some of which contained luxurious objects (Pl. 61d).<sup>1013</sup>

In the bay Pascha Limani Milchhöfer reports “old house remains, wells, graves (...) which were sustained in younger times”.<sup>1014</sup>

### 10.9. *Sounion* - Kolonai

The name Kolonai was established for the southernmost cape of Attica (Sounion) due to the impressive view of the standing columns of the Poseidon temple.<sup>1015</sup> The ancient name *Sounion* was known in the Middle Ages, but was used only in atticising texts.<sup>1016</sup> It was replaced by ‘Kolonai’ known in Greek<sup>1017</sup> and Latin portulans (*Capo del Colone, Collonne, Cholon* etc.)<sup>1018</sup> as a well-marked point of orientation, and used already in the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1019</sup>. Scholars accept that the ‘monasterium beati Nicolai de Columpnis’, listed in the letter of Pope

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<sup>1011</sup> Salliora-Oikononakou 2004, 143-144. Noria, west of Laurion, is considered as one of the most important areas with ancient metallurgical activity (*ibid.*, 96-98).

<sup>1012</sup> Note the comment by Milchhöfer (1889, 28), that the bay ‘Panorimo’ is “today filled with sand”; it may therefore have been suitable as a harbour in earlier times. In fact, remains of an ancient harbour are reported by Salliora-Oikononakou (2007, 32).

<sup>1013</sup> Salliora-Oikononakou 2001, 160: Zygouraki plot. Some of the graves contained LRom/EByz silver and gold pins and jewellery, which show that the cemetery was in use by the local elite.

Christian burial inscriptions from the area of Laurion have been published by Sironen (1997, 270, No. 236; 2008, No. 13528) and in *SEG* 41 (1992), 58-59, Nos. 210-211.

<sup>1014</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 28.

<sup>1015</sup> *Syropoulos*, ed. V. Laurent, 538.

<sup>1016</sup> *TIB* I, 190.

<sup>1017</sup> Delatte 1947, 223 (‘Κάβον Κολόναι’), 271.

<sup>1018</sup> *TIB* I, 190, n. 3, 10. Kretschmer 1909 (ed. 1962), 320f., Sections 144-145.

<sup>1019</sup> Gautier-Dalché 1995, 112-113, lines 69, 73; 144, l. 1127 e.t.c. (‘caput Columne’).



Innocent III in 1209, should refer to a non-preserved monastery at Kolonai.<sup>1020</sup> Evidence for this constitutes the place-name Agios Nikolaos, marked on a 19<sup>th</sup>-c. map in the gulf west of the cape.<sup>1021</sup> A “portum Pellestello” mentioned in connection with Athens in 1278 may be identified with Kolonai<sup>1022</sup>, and is probably identifiable with “casale Lopolistile” mentioned in the letter of Pope Innocent in 1209.<sup>1023</sup> The placename presumably was ‘Polystylon’. Pirate attacks are known there before 1278.<sup>1024</sup> Koder and Hild believe that the harbour of Kolonai/Polystylon would be either the shallow gulf just west of the cape, or the bay 15 km to the NW, marked by the church of Agios Nikolaos.<sup>1025</sup>

Further inland, in the area ‘Nape’ in the valley of Agrileza (west of Mt Michel) fragments of 32 lamps of the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c. were found on the soil surface along with Classical and Roman sherds.<sup>1026</sup> The lamps were found near a mine-shaft, and may therefore constitute further evidence for renewed metallurgical activity in this period.

### 10.10. *Atene* – Legrena – Charakas

The *demos Atene* extended on the coastal valleys of Charakas and Thymari, the upland valley of Agia Photeini and the islet Patroklos/Gaidouronissi.<sup>1027</sup> A habitation centre has been located in the bay of Charaka.<sup>1028</sup> The coastal plain of Legrena/Legrana, east of Charakas, is

<sup>1020</sup> *Acta Innocentii III*, vol. 215, Col. 1560D. Neroutsos 1892, 70. *TIB I*, 190. Koder 1977, 140.

<sup>1021</sup> *TIB I*, 190, based on: J. Kokides – H. Kiepert, Generalkarte des Königreiches Griechenland im Maße 1:300.000, Vienna 1885, 8. Unfortunately this map was not accessible to me.

<sup>1022</sup> Tafel – Thomas 1856-67, vol. 3, 186, n. 3 (No. 370).

<sup>1023</sup> *Acta Innocentii III*, vol. 215, Col. 1560D. *TIB I* 190, 245. Koder 1977, 139.

<sup>1024</sup> Tafel – Thomas 1856-67, vol. 3, 165, 186, 205 (No. 370).

<sup>1025</sup> *TIB I*, 99.

<sup>1026</sup> Vanhove 1994, 40. For the location of the placename ‘Nape’, which appears on Classical inscriptions, see Salliora-Oikonomakou 2004, 87. According to *Suida*, ‘Νάπη’ means a mountainous place with many trees.

<sup>1027</sup> Lohmann 1993, 50ff. On its location see also Eliot 1962, 125-131; Traill 1975, 54.

<sup>1028</sup> Eliot 1962, 127, 130-131.

formed through the stream of Megala Peuka which flows in a N-S direction. Legrena is considered as part of the *demos Sounion*.<sup>1029</sup>

Archaeology of southeast Attica [B] became thoroughly known through the intensive multi-period field survey run by Lohmann, which covered the territory of *Atene* and included sporadic finds in the plains of Legrena and Anavyssos.<sup>1030</sup> The only excavated find of this area belonging to our period is a large 6<sup>th</sup>-c. house found in Charakas.<sup>1031</sup> The evidence produced by the field survey demonstrates the frequency and diagnostic character of LRom/EByz and medieval finds, in full contrast with the picture produced by excavation exclusively.

The survey documented an intensified use of the landscape in Late Antiquity, as well as (more dispersed) use in the Middle Ages. It revealed 87 late antique and 20 medieval sites out of a total of 298 sites.<sup>1032</sup> In both periods, and especially for Late Antiquity, the majority of sites were characterized as pens, i.e. enclosure walls for animal husbandry (Pl. 62a).<sup>1033</sup> These are mostly situated on hillslopes, and not in the bottom of valleys.<sup>1034</sup> They are

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<sup>1029</sup> Eliot 1962, 130.

<sup>1030</sup> Lohmann 1993. His survey included the islet Patroklos/Gaidouronisi, which falls out of the scope of our study.

<sup>1031</sup> Oikonomakou 1980, 76: Found on the modern Athens – Sounion Avenue. The house remains were built on a Classical burial circuit wall.

<sup>1032</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 318-319, Tab. 14-15. In the survey publication, ‘late antique’ is meant to cover the period from ca. 400 to ca. 700, while ‘medieval’ the very broad time span from ca. 700 to ca. 1500. For bibliography on which Lohmann based his chronology of late antique and medieval ceramics, and hence sites, see *idem* 1993, Teil I: 37-38, n. 244 and 246. The most usual ceramic finds on which he based the chronology of late antique sites were ‘combed ware’ and what he calls ‘Mandraki Ware’, which is a coarse, thick-walled red ware, the break of which appears as three-layered. Its look is prehistoric, but thermoluminescence analysis provided a chronology AD ca. 450 and 470 ± 270 years; see Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 35, Tab. 2, and p. 256.

<sup>1033</sup> Early Byzantine pens identified by Lohmann are his following findspots: CH 3, CH 8, CH 13, CH 37, CH 63, CH 68; PH 1, PH 2, PH 19, PH 24, PH 33, PH 37, PH 40, PH 44, PH 66; LE 3; TH 12. Their diameter varies greatly, but often measures between 14 and 20 m, while their walls usually have an impressive width of 0.9 to 1.2 m: Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 254-255.

<sup>1034</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 258.

normally found in isolation from each other.<sup>1035</sup> They are not accompanied with house remains, which is interpreted as an indication that shepherds and their families lived in huts or tents made of perishable materials.<sup>1036</sup> Out of the 35 late antique pens, 8 succeeded Classical farmsteads.<sup>1037</sup> Philippson characterized Attica as “typical land of winter pasture”, and Lohmann believes that these pens were used in the winter (as they are mostly situated on southern slopes), while the shepherds and herds spent the summer on the mountains of north Attica.<sup>1038</sup>

Three Early Christian churches were identified by the survey (PH70, TH16, TH34). TH16 and TH34 measure small dimensions, non-comparable with the known excavated basilicas of Attica. Apart from the church site of Agia Photeini, which appears to have continued its use in the Middle Byzantine period<sup>1039</sup>, the rest of the later medieval sites have been characterized as non-datable churches, pens or ruin heaps. Their broad chronology between ca. 700 and 1500 does not allow further analysis of their use.<sup>1040</sup> A further ruined church, along with house remains, was recorded by Milchhöfer at the SE border of the bay of Legrena.<sup>1041</sup>

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<sup>1035</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 258. In some exceptional cases they are found in pairs: *ibid.*, 258, n. 1790.

<sup>1036</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 258.

<sup>1037</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 256, 258, n. 1788, and 320-327, Tab. 17. On p. 258, Lohmann explains that the same choice of situation between Classical farmsteads and late antique pens is due to the fact that for both the kind of location preferred is south-oriented, wind-protected hill slopes. Proximity of water plays only a secondary role to the choice of location.

<sup>1038</sup> Philippson – Kirsten 1952, 827. Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 256. Lohmann encountered numerous pens in Parnes, which, according to him, show the same kind of construction as LRom/EByz pens of SE Attica. He thinks that the former were used during the summer, while the latter during winter.

<sup>1039</sup> Use in the Middle Byzantine period is suggested by Lohmann (1993, Teil I: 261).

<sup>1040</sup> At only one site, TH 8 (pen), is there ‘hard’ evidence for use in the Middle Byzantine period: Thermoluminescence analysis at one sherd provided a date in AD 1015 ± 120 years. See Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 35 (HDTL 25 A-3); Teil II: 464. The site is located on the SE slope of the Gerakina hill (173 m), just north of the modern village Thymari (*HMGs*) and south of Palaia Phokaia.

<sup>1041</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 31. According to Lohmann (1993, Teil I: 260, n. 1808), this lies near the modern village and today has disappeared under a cement construction of the dictatorship period (1967-1974). Lohmann appears to believe that the church is Early Christian, without providing further evidence.

The islet Gaidouronisi was used as a harbour in the 15<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1042</sup>

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<sup>1042</sup> Kretschmer 1909 (ed. 1962), 321, Section 145: “gadorono”; 511, Section 223: “gayderonise”.

## CHAPTER C: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

### 1. Evolution of settlements

#### 1.1. Attic settlements during the Early Byzantine period (4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.)

Early Byzantine Attic settlements appear to fall into three broad categories.<sup>1043</sup> The first category consists of historically known *poleis-civitates* which are archaeologically attested to have had urban features (extended size, dense distribution of buildings, often a diversified character of different areas, used for habitation, craftmanship, religion, burial). These are normally protected by a circuit wall. The second category includes settlements which, despite not having the title of a *civitas*, show urban features (dense occupation, an economically active area – harbour, market –, a religious centre). The third category consists of non-civic, non-urban settlements, and can be sub-divided in settlements with a concentrated character, among which at least one was fortified and is thus treated separately, and settlements with a dispersed character. Distinction among these sub-categories is often dangerous and demands a good archaeological image of an extended territory. Hamlets and farmsteads occur in the territories of all the above-mentioned settlement categories.

Comparison between ancient and Roman Attic *demoi* with their Early Byzantine descendants is useful. This kind of comparison is attempted in **Appendix D**, and indeed the overall result of this comparison is the equivalence between the ancient *demoi* and their Early Byzantine descendants. However, such a comparison is often impeded by the fact that, for the Roman period, we only know *names* and *territories* of *demoi* (and not archaeologically

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<sup>1043</sup> The following categorisation derives from Dunn 1994, and aims to bring to discussion a full spectrum of settlements, contrary to focus on ‘the city’, or cities, which is described in A.8.

known settlements)<sup>1044</sup>, while in the Early Byzantine period we often know settlements, but not their administrative context (i.e., the descendants of *demoi*). There is no evidence for the preservation of the *demoi* as definable administrative territories after the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., since inscriptions which attest to their survival cease in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or, in some cases, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. Two exceptions survive, the one mentioning a *Meliteus* (4<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>1045</sup> and the other a *Paianieus* (ca. 400)<sup>1046</sup>. It is theoretically possible, however, that the *demoi* system (including the new Middle Roman *demoi*) survived in the Early Byzantine period as basis for the organization of taxation.

### Civic, urban settlements

Urban settlements which had the title of *polis-civitas*, according to Synekdemosis, were four: Athens, Megara, Aigosthena and Pagai. Megara preserved its ancient ‘title’ of a city-state, and excavation results show that this was due not to reasons of tradition, but rather to the fact that the city was densely inhabited, it housed a local elite and had industrial activity. The urban features of Megara are comparable only with Athens: a strong ancient city-wall, which was re-furbished in the 5<sup>th</sup> (also 6<sup>th</sup>?) c. and protected the whole city; a number of basilicas; luxurious buildings and industrial quarters. Its proximity to the important north-

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<sup>1044</sup> This is largely due to the character of archaeological interests and methodology used until recent years, which often did not favour poor archaeological remains. Since remains of the Roman period often consist of isolated rural farms or house remains built upon Classical and Hellenistic remains, archaeologists often neglected them. This was recently proven by the fact that large-scale excavations which took place after ca. 2000 (e.g. for the Attike Odos and the New Hippodrome near Markopoulo), in previously unexplored ground and with updated methodologies, have reported Roman antiquities which, however poor, hint to the character of habitation and activity in certain areas. Such is also the example of *Acharnae* / Menidi.

<sup>1045</sup> Sironen 1994, 34, No. 18 (*IG* II-III<sup>2</sup> 3716). *Melite* was located SW of the Acropolis hill.

<sup>1046</sup> Sironen 2008, 147, No. 13627: *Φαίδρος Ζωΐλον / Παιανιεύς ἐπίε[ι]*. Sironen (1994, 46, No. 28) confirms that it is very rare to indicate the filiation and the *demos* in a Late Roman inscription. Of course, mention of the demotic does not constitute direct evidence for the survival of the *demos* as such, but may only define a locality of origin of the person, similar to *Δημήτριος Ἰωάννης ο Χαλιδίτης* of 1302 (see B.3.10).

south land- route of Greece, as well as to two harbours connecting the Ionian with the Aegean Sea, certainly played a crucial role.

This west-east connection appears to be the main reason for the importance, during the Roman period, of Aigosthena and Pagai as trade colonies<sup>1047</sup>, which led to their survival as *civitates* in the Early Byzantine period, and later to their endowment with bishoprics. At the same time, both Aigosthena and Pagai each had a strong fort, which could be re-used (in Aigosthena it appears to have been repaired in Late Antiquity) in case of emergency. This strategic and economic triangle of economically active cities, Megara-Aigosthena-Pagai, protected both the land and the sea routes of the broader area. This seems to be a reasonable explanation for the concentration of three *civitates* in the western border of Attica. It also appears to be one of the reasons for which Eleusis was not entitled as a *civitas*; Eleusis appears archaeologically as a city with a size comparable with Megara, and also had an important harbour and a fort.

#### Non-civic, urban settlements

Early Byzantine Eleusis, Oropos and *Steiria/Drivlia*<sup>1048</sup> all had a dense urban nexus, at least one basilica of considerable size, and at least one extensive cemetery indicating a large population. *Acharnai/Menidi*, Peiraeus and Laurion<sup>1049</sup> probably belonged to this type of

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<sup>1047</sup> This is shown by the establishment of *negotiatores*: see the relevant sub-chapters.

<sup>1048</sup> It is unfortunate that modern building development in Raphena has deprived us of archaeological evidence from the equally important harbour of ancient and Early Byzantine *Araphen*. And yet, the preservation of the lavish Roman bathing complex, which continued being used during Late Roman times, suggests that the settlement of *Araphen* had urban architectural features and housed a section of the local élite. Noteworthy is also the evolution of *Halai Aixonides*; despite the urban features of its centre in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, it lacks (excavated) equivalent features in the Early Byzantine period; in fact, even its existence as a settlement in the Early Byzantine period is uncertain.

<sup>1049</sup> The existence of a harbour, a basilica, an extended cemetery with luxurious objects, and burial inscriptions speak for the characterisation of Laurion as an urban site, despite lack of discovery of an inhabited nucleus.

settlement. Peiraeus and Laurion are bound to have risen in significance as *loci* of maritime traffic.<sup>1050</sup>

These Early Byzantine *komai* lay at crossroads of important regional land or sea routes.<sup>1051</sup> They were adjacent to fertile land, suitable for agriculture, which was not occupied by any other kind of extended settlement at a radius of five to ten kilometers – the border of this area being defined by hills or mountains, rather by a next major settlement.

These *komai* were built upon ancient predecessors which were central settlements of *demoi*, not *poleis* (apart from Oropos, which was a *polis*) and bore comparable urban features.<sup>1052</sup> Dagron's term 'bourgade'<sup>1053</sup> appears to include them. They were inhabited mostly by peasants, but included specialised economic activities. Dagron's 'bourgades' in southern Thrace, located on important routes, constituted *loci* of exchange and military bases.<sup>1054</sup> According to Kaplan, 'bourgades' could eventually be endowed with a fort or a bishop.<sup>1055</sup> This is the case of Eleusis: it appears to have acquired a renovated fortification in the Early Byzantine period. According to the 3<sup>rd</sup> *Notitia* it became also a bishopric, but this information awaits confirmation from further evidence.

Continuity of urban character between the ancient and the Early Byzantine period appears to be due mainly to geographic advantages of these sites – normally a good harbour,

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<sup>1050</sup> Many known harbours rose in significance during the Early Byzantine period: Chrysoupolis acquired a *locus* for maritime traffic, within its walls, in Late Antiquity (Dunn 1998, 407 and fig. 6, upper left). Corinth and Sikyon both acquired lavish Early Christian basilicas *in* their harbours, vs. in the cities themselves.

<sup>1051</sup> They therefore remind the description Imperial Roman *komai* of Asia Minor by Schuler (1998, 24-26): "We often encounter settlements which were perceived as *komai* due to their independence, and yet did not have a prominently agrarian character; they were developed by special functions, which they undertook for their vicinity. Two categories of such settlements were common: harbour places, which served as centres for distribution of goods for towns further inland; and cult places in the territory of a *polis*."

<sup>1052</sup> *Steiria*: Steinhauer 2001, 146. *Paralioi demoi*: Steinhauer 1994, 183-184 and note 25.

<sup>1053</sup> For the term see Dagron 1979. Dagron (1979, 31) believed that 'bourgades' existed "more in the interior of Asia Minor, rather than on the Aegean coast; more in Thrace, rather than in Greece". We may comment, on the basis of the presented evidence, that Attic 'bourgades' only now emerge as such.

<sup>1054</sup> Dagron 1979, 40.

<sup>1055</sup> Kaplan 1992, 102-103.



and in the case of *Acharnai*/Menidi good inland communication. However, not all ancient *demoi* centres with urban features evolved into urban Early Byzantine settlements. *Thorikos* ceased to be one, probably due to its reduced value in mining industry. The character shift of *Halai Aixonides* from urban to rural cannot yet be explained.

In the case of *Steiria*/Drivlia distribution of burials can be used as evidence for the organisation of urban space. This is a highly organised burial space, defined by an enclosure wall and consisting of 161 excavated (and more non-excavated) graves. The foundation of the cemetery was connected to the adjacent basilica; no pre-Christian predecessor of the cemetery is reported. It is important to consider that this kind of clearly defined, *ad sanctos* organisation of burials usually occurs in *civitates*; Drivlia offers the case of a non-civic urban centre, with the same kind of burial organisation, which here appears to have depended on ecclesiastical authorities. In the non-civic, urban centres of Eleusis and Oropos cemeteries appear on the fringes of the city, a fact which indicates some degree of control on their location, but no similar example of cemetery *ad sanctos* has yet come to light.

#### *Non-civic, non-urban: Open settlements with concentrated character*

Early Byzantine settlements with a geographically concentrated character, but lacking attested urban features similar to the ones described above, are Paiania, Plasi (Marathon) and possibly Lambrika and Ennea Pyrgoi (Kalyvia).<sup>1056</sup> These appear to have replaced Classical/Hellenistic settlements with similar sizes and characteristics. The above-mentioned sites share features such as more than one basilica (Paiania and Plasi), a few architectural remains of habitation, or concentration of pottery over an extended area. Similar is the case of Kalmi (*Phrearrioi*/Olympos), but dating evidence is lacking. The difficulty of assigning this

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<sup>1056</sup> Lambrika and Ennea Pyrgoi shared these features in Middle and Late Byzantine times. Their character during the Early Byzantine period is not clear.

type of settlement to more known sites is due to the fact that non-urban occupation is more difficult to be asserted as such than definite urban features.

*Non-civic, non-urban: Fortified rural settlements*

Distinction should be made for Kastro tou Christou (Koropi), which appears to have been a rural walled site of this period. Early Byzantine defended rural sites, the use of which often continued in the Middle Byzantine period, are characteristic of this period in Macedonia<sup>1057</sup> and existed in other parts of the Byzantine world<sup>1058</sup>. The Kastro tou Christou hill, with its key location, size and solid fortification could be a foundation of the same character as the ones often found in the Early Byzantine inner Balkans. These, despite having simple architectural features, do not overlook lines of communication.<sup>1059</sup> It may also have been a *refugium*.

*Non-civic, non-urban: Settlements with dispersed character*

The Early Byzantine descendants of *Halimous/Alimos*, *Aixone/Glyphada*, *Erchia/Spata*, *Oe* (in Aspropyrgos), *Thorai/Phoinikia* (following Eliot), *Anaphlystos/Anavyssos* and *Atene* appear to belong to this category. One may suggest that *Myrrhinous*, which had dispersed habitation in the ancient period, preserved a similar pattern, as suggested by the survival of its cemetery into the LRom/EByz period, the erection of an Early Christian church (Panagia Merenda) and the survival of its name (which suggests that the area was not deserted). Sites with dispersed occupation are often difficult to discern

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<sup>1057</sup> Miculcic 1986; Dunn 2004; Dunn 2005.

<sup>1058</sup> For example in Pisidia: see Belke 2005, 429. Bowden (2003, 59) acknowledged the existence of defended hilltop sites in Albania, but consciously excluded them from his study.

<sup>1059</sup> Dunn 2002, 706.

archaeologically, and lack of more minor findspots can always be due to non-updated archaeological methodologies.

Ancient *demoi* of the Mesogeia with a dispersed character were *Erchia*, *Myrrhinouta* and *Konthyle*,<sup>1060</sup> accompanied probably by *Myrrhinous*. Continuity of this kind of settlement is therefore attested for the Mesogeia plain, but not for the coast south of Athens, where Early Byzantine Peiraeus (B.1.22) appears to overshadow other coastal concentrated settlements.

### Hamlets

These are identified as small agricultural units which consist of more than one building (as opposed to farmsteads). They may be equivalent to the *choria*<sup>1061</sup> or the *epoikia* of the Egyptian papyri [D], or they may belong to independent peasant communities. To this category we include, with some hesitation, the small sites at Gur-i-Korakut, Kopanas, and the two sites seen by Eliot SE of Kitsi (*Lower Lamprae*). With more likelihood we may include the small 6<sup>th</sup>-c. settlement excavated at the east part of the Airport area and the unknown settlement which would have been connected with the cemetery at Leth-Despoti (Brauron). Most LRom/EByz sites identified by the Oropos Survey Project and the Skourta Plain Project probably belong to this category. Similar are the sites at Vrysi Tsias (B.8.5), Megalo and Mikro Vathychori, Thermi (following Eliot; see *Thorai*) and Metropisi.

### Farms and farmsteads

Isolated farms and farmsteads have been recognised at Auliza (Acharnai/Menidi), Monomati, Loutro (*Pallene*), Spata Airport, Liotrivi and Patema (Koropi), Agios Georgios

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<sup>1060</sup> Steinhauer 1994.

<sup>1061</sup> Here the term is used meaning a small settlement inhabited by tenants of a landowner, i.e. the intermediary meaning described by Kaplan.

(Kalyvia), Sepheri (Marathon), Mauro Vouno<sup>1062</sup>, Kokkinaras (Penteli), Eleusis (R. Pheraiou st.), Kounia (Megarid), and *Atene* ([B: SE Attica, PH89, AN3, LE15]).

The farmsteads in Loutro (Pallene) and Liotrivi (Koropi) had both agricultural and industrial facilities, while they were not provided with baths, lavish spaces or any other feature which would make them comparable to the luxurious urban villas known from Athens or the rural ones in Corinthia.<sup>1063</sup> On the contrary, such features did characterise the two farmsteads of the Airport area (see below, ‘Villas’).

Compared to their Classical and Hellenistic predecessors, the size of these Late Roman farmsteads is much larger<sup>1064</sup>, but their distribution in the landscape is rather sparse. This can be observed both in the area of Charvati (mod. Pallene), where recent excavations revealed six Classical farms but no LRom/EByz farms<sup>1065</sup>, in the Airport area, where five Classical farms were replaced by two Late Roman farmsteads, or rather villas (Pl. 14)<sup>1066</sup>, and in SE Attica<sup>1067</sup>. This may hint at concentration of landed wealth, but these patterns should be treated with great caution.<sup>1068</sup>

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<sup>1062</sup> The locality ‘Mauro Vouno’ is situated in NE Attica, ca. 2 km north of Grammatiko. This farmstead was excavated by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in 2010, but has not yet been reported. I was able to visit the excavation and examine briefly the pottery thanks to the invitation of the excavators Ioanna Speliotakopoulou and Georgia Pantou, who I thank warmly.

<sup>1063</sup> Cf. the villa excavated recently at the NE border of the city of Athens (Zachariadou 2001); and the villa at Akra Sophia, Kenchreai (Gregory 1985).

<sup>1064</sup> Exact dimensions are provided for the Late Roman farmstead at Loutro Pallenes, which had dimensions 40x45 m, and replaced a much smaller Hellenistic farm, which in turn had replaced a Late Classical farm with dimensions 9x16 m (Steinhauer 2005, 164-166). The Late Roman farmstead in Liotrivi (Koropi) had dimensions 50x20 m and consisted of fourteen rooms.

<sup>1065</sup> Steinhauer 2005, 172.

<sup>1066</sup> Steinhauer 1994. The map legend provided by Steinhauer (Airport Museum, here Pl. 13a) does not specify how many or which of the ancient farms / farmsteads date to which period between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Among the five Late Roman to Post-Byzantine farmsteads, two are the villas described in some detail below, one (at the Agios Petros church) was first used during the 7<sup>th</sup> c. AD, while for the other two (at the eastern section of the map) no additional information is provided.

<sup>1067</sup> See Lohmann’s (1993) Appendices (vol. I) and catalogue of sites (vol. II).

<sup>1068</sup> According to Steinhauer (1994, 180), the small size and the plain character of the Classical farms not only does not contradict historical evidence for large property in the late Classical period, but also actually attests to its division in smaller parts, as well as to the possible absence of the property owners, who would live in

It is uncertain if late antique Attic farmsteads included tower houses.<sup>1069</sup> The farmstead identified in Legrena by Lohmann (LE 15) is a possible candidate.<sup>1070</sup> The towers C and F/G in the Vathychoria were re-used in post-Roman times, but this phase of use remains undated. Later on, the Middle Byzantine farmstead excavated in Glyphada provides the example of a pre-Frankish tower, integrated to an extended architectural complex.

### Villas

Two among the listed farmsteads can be characterized as villas, or estate centres, due to special features. One, located at the north part of the Airport, covered an overall surface of 1600 m<sup>2</sup> and included a bath during the later period of its use, while the second, at the south part of the Airport, covered a surface of 800 m<sup>2</sup> and was approached through an entrance stoa, a feature which functions as a reminiscence of monumental architecture. These features provide some (though not enough) evidence for their occupation by their owners.<sup>1071</sup> It is also remarkable that both estate centres lie near roads connecting the east sea coast with the Mesogeia plain.

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the city; both phenomena are moreover witnessed by ancient inscriptions. He therefore regards these Classical farms as houses of overseers. With this argument, Steinhauer explains why these farmsteads did not have the large storerooms which characterise Classical houses of the coastal *demoi*, like *Halai Aixonides*, *Anagyrous*, *Atene*, *Sounion*, *Thorikos* and *Rhamnous*. One should bear in mind, of course, that concentration of landed wealth in the Early Byzantine period is much more advanced than concentration in the late Classical period.

<sup>1069</sup> The word ‘pyrgos’, used in North Africa and Syria in late antique sources, does not (necessarily) mean ‘tower’ (as implied by Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 259), but rather means “agricultural buildings attached to villas” (Day 1942, 232, n. 303), or “a widespread form of rural establishment with architectural features which may have been designed to accommodate olive press” (Banaji 2001, 256). *IG II-III<sup>2</sup> 2776* often mentions ‘πύργος’, ‘πυργίδιον’, ‘τετραπύργιον’; these, according to Day (*ibid.*) must have been of the strictly agricultural type, for there would seem to have been no necessity for places of refuge.

<sup>1070</sup> Lohmann (1993, Teil I: 259, n. 1801: “Der Turm, den W. Wrede hier sah, ist sicher nicht klassisch”. Re-use of ancient towers in Late Antiquity is a known phenomenon; for an example in the Argolid see Hjolman 2005.

<sup>1071</sup> Alcock 1993, 64-65: “Comparative evidence from other [than Greece] Early Roman provinces makes it clear that owners would be at least part-time absentee landlords; prosperous men moved frequently from estate to estate, from estate to city, and often to centres beyond. Here, the most vital point is that villas represent the possessions of wealthy men, and thus a strong elite presence in the countryside.”

The small number of attested LRom/EByz villas is mainly due to the focus of archaeological research in the centres of ancient *demoi*, which often survived in the later periods, and to limited excavation outside the Early Byzantine towns / villages. Field survey, the ideal method for the location of rural villas and farmsteads, has been applied only to a small percentage of the Attic landscape.

### Pens

Structures used for animal husbandry have been identified mainly in southeast Attica, thanks to survey (B.10.10 and [B]). Within the surveyed area, they are distributed mostly in the small valleys of Charaka and Agia Photeini. Their dense distribution there suggests that pens do not necessarily occur in sparsely inhabited areas. It is noteworthy that the neighbouring valley just south of the Phrekeri hill does not show any late antique pens, but did house a late antique farmstead (PH89); pens are to be found on the other side of a clear low saddle in the peripheral zones of the Agia Photeini valley.<sup>1072</sup> This shows co-existence of agriculture and animal husbandry in the same general area, but also separation in smaller unities, apparently according to factors of geomorphology and flora.

The excavation of a pen in *Oe* (B.9.3.), architecturally similar with the ones recognized in SE Attica, shows that structures of this kind existed in different areas and had common forms. Remains of ancient settlement in the Koundoura valley are reported to have housed Early Byzantine shepherds, as well. Similar is the Middle Byzantine shepherd installation in *Halimous/Alimos*, in the niches of an ancient quarry. The case of Ovriokastro (Keratea) is exceptional, since it represents a communal organisation of animal keeping (if

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<sup>1072</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 258.

this is indeed the role of the secondary enclosure), organized either by an independent community or a landowner.

Extensive use of caves in this period is probably a further indication of livestock breeding, since caves constitute permanent or seasonal shelter for animals.<sup>1073</sup>

## **1.2. Attic settlements during the ‘Dark Age’ / transitional period (8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.)**

Direct archaeological evidence for habitation during this period exists in Marousi, Kiapha Thiti, Ovriokastro and Thorikos. This scant direct evidence is supplemented by architectural spolia with decoration which has been dated to this period, usually embedded in later churches: Agios Thomas (Marousi), Agios Nikolaos Chalidou (Paiania), Ikarion, Megara (Forty Martyrs). Spolia from the Panagia church in Marathon, the churches of Dormition and Agios Vlasios in Palaios Oropos, and Agios Nikolaos Kalesia (the latter seen by Lampakis) possibly date to this period. A considerable number of sites show systematic activity both in the Early and the Middle Byzantine period, but use during the intervening ‘Dark-Age’ period cannot be deduced easily on the basis of the present evidence. These are: Monomati, Alimos, Lambrika, Ennea Pyrgoi (Kalyvia; activity in this period is confirmed by ‘Dark-Age’ pottery and a belt buckle found in the church of Agios Ioannes at Gur-i-Bim), the Davelis cave, Amygdaleza, Marathon / Old Marathon, Oropos / Palaios Oropos, the cities of Eleusis and Megara, the basilicas of Aigosthena and of Laureotic Olympos.

Despite being extremely fragmented, the evidence points toward differentiation of settlement character:

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<sup>1073</sup> Caves of Attica were systematically explored by Wickens (1986), who recognised traces of LRom/EByz use in a large number among them. Use of Attic caves as testimony for livestock breeding is discussed by Mattern (2010, 211).

The listing of Eleusis, Megara, Aigosthena and Pagai as bishoprics in the 3<sup>rd</sup> *Notitia*, awaits confirmation<sup>1074</sup>, but still bears some interest. The surprising number of 39 suffragan bishoprics of Athens, appearing in this *Notitia*, comes at a point when Thebes (869) and Naupactus (879) appear for the first time in conciliar lists, thus attesting to recovery of Byzantine control in mainland Greece.<sup>1075</sup> Bishoprics of this period securely attested through conciliar lists attest to the imperial effort to strengthen its presence, first at important knot of land and sea routes<sup>1076</sup>, and second in recently founded *themata*, or *themata* where the iconoclastic policy had to be supported decisively. At the moment interpretation of the 3<sup>rd</sup> *Notitia* is unclear; but palaeographic research shows that it is not dependent on the Synekdemos, as assumed so far.<sup>1077</sup>

A case-study in SE Thrace shows that foundation of bishoprics during the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> c. was linked to military re-organisation.<sup>1078</sup> There, sees which appear for the first time in the ecumenical council of 787 and in the 8<sup>th</sup>- to early 9<sup>th</sup>-c. episcopal *Notitiae* (Darrouzès Nos. 2 and 3) seem to have been established either during the military resettlements of Constantine V and Leo IV, in the 8<sup>th</sup> c., or in the earliest days of the *thema* in the 7<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1079</sup> It is possible that the foundation of the Attic sees attested in the 3<sup>rd</sup> *Notitia* occurred in an equivalent way.

<sup>1074</sup> *TIB* I, 82. Darrouzès 1981, 33; Henty 1985, 76. According to Koundoura-Galake (1996), an Attic bishopric of the 3<sup>rd</sup> *Notitia* is also ‘Ολας’, which she interpretes as ‘Αυλώνας’. Note that ‘Αυλώνας’ is listed as a bishopric also in the 7<sup>th</sup> *Notitia* (early 10<sup>th</sup> c., see Darrouzès 1981, 53-78) and in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> *Notitiae*, of the 10<sup>th</sup> c. Neroutsos (1892), however, has suggested that ‘Αυλώνας’ of the 7<sup>th</sup> *Notitia* is ‘Αυλωνάρι’ of Euboea.

<sup>1075</sup> On this phenomenon see Henty 1985, 83.

<sup>1076</sup> As already described by Harvey 1989, 23, and Henty 1985, 81 and map 17. Bishoprics of the Middle Byzantine period did not necessarily have an urban character: see Harvey 1989, 200.

<sup>1077</sup> Koundoura-Galake 1996.

<sup>1078</sup> There, sees which appear for the first time in the ecumenical council of 787 and in the 8<sup>th</sup>- to early 9<sup>th</sup>-c. episcopal *Notitiae* (Darrouzès Nos. 2 and 3) seem to have been established either during the military resettlements of Constantine V and Leo IV, in the 8<sup>th</sup> c., or in the earliest days of the *thema* in the 7<sup>th</sup> c.: Dunn 1997, 145-150, esp. 146 and 148, fig. 1.; Koundoura-Galake 1997; Henty 1985, 80.

<sup>1079</sup> Henty 1985, 80. Dunn 1997, 146 and 148, fig. 1.



Megara probably survived as a fortified settlement, relying strategically on its renewed Early Byzantine fortification until some unknown point, and later on its contracted fortification(s) of the Alkathos and/or Caria hills. It seems a reasonable hypothesis that Eleusis, Aigosthena (and Pagai?) retained their fortified character, at least for part of the transitional period. The resurgence of the economic role of the Corinthian Gulf during the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> c., as described by McCormick<sup>1080</sup>, certainly played a crucial role. Regarding Aigosthena, this hypothesis is strengthened by the recovery of an 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c. lead seal of a βασιλικός σπαθάριος; the fact that he was buried there shows that the site was the (permanent or not) seat of an imperial military official.

The foundation in Marousi of a church dedicated to the Virgin by the archbishop of Athens (probably Niketas I) demonstrates a direct interest of the Archbishopric of Athens in this area in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> c. In Marousi, habitation is attested, even scarcely, for the 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> c.

Ovriokastro, if correctly assigned to the transitional period (clear evidence is unfortunately lacking), is a fortified settlement at the border of cultivable and mountainous land. Its extended size, number of buildings and adjacent secondary circuit wall (for animals?) suggest that it functioned rather as a permanent settlement than as a *refugium*. Fortified rural settlements are known from the 6<sup>th</sup> c. onwards.<sup>1081</sup>

Kiapha Thiti offers the example of a small fort, perhaps garrisoned, which controlled the road from the gulf of Vari toward Mesogeia. Similarly, Thorikos could have functioned as

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<sup>1080</sup> McCormick, *Origins of the European economy*, 531-537.

<sup>1081</sup> For Macedonian rural walled sites see discussion in Dunn 2002, 706. They were considered as normal villages regarding their tax payments. In the case of the fortified village Adrameri, east of Thessalonike, there is textual evidence for common decisions taken by its inhabitants-landowners about matters of common interest (Harvey 1989, 201). This scheme may provide an interpretation for the function of the secondary circuit wall of Ovriokastro as a communal pen, perhaps with perishable materials dividing different properties.

a guardpost which controlled the homonymous gulf, but a simultaneous function as a household cannot, on the basis of present evidence, be excluded.

The above sites demonstrate that Attica was not deserted during the transitional period. The small number of sites should be interpreted primarily as a result of their ‘invisibility’, due to near cessation of numismatic circulation<sup>1082</sup> and of known ceramic types.<sup>1083</sup> Nevertheless, these sites are settlements with an organized form, which show the existence of communities.

### **1.3. Attic settlements during the Middle Byzantine period (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.)**

Settlement remains of the Middle Byzantine period are scant, but are in some cases corroborated by historical evidence. Megara re-appears as a suffragan bishopric in 1166, and is the only centre where archaeology has revealed Middle Byzantine house construction. The existence of Peiraeus, Menidi, Oropos and Marathon as villages is asserted by historical sources (partially also by archaeological ones), but their size and settlement character is unknown. Based on earlier and later centuries, however, one may deduce that they were large villages. These were owned entirely by the Church. The papal document certifies the ownership of smaller villages, situated on mountainous, lowland, and coastal areas, by the Church of Athens.

Smaller settlements appear to have existed in Paiania around Agios Athanasios, in Miskopi (*Upper Paiania*), in Megalo Metochi (in *Lower Lamprai*; date indefinite), in Merenda (?), in Plasi, in the Skourta plain, in Kalmi (*Phrearrioi*) and Laurion. The cemeteries

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<sup>1082</sup> An important numismatic find of this period is a hoard found in an unknown site of Attica (perhaps *in Athens*), with 51 gold coins ranging from Constantine IV to Leo III: see Vryonis 1963.

<sup>1083</sup> For a warning against interpretation of this apparent ‘lack of ceramic evidence’ as ‘lack of activity’ see Armstrong 2009, 157-158.

attached to the churches of Marmariotissa (Marousi), Agios Aimilianos (Markopoulo) and of Amygdaleza suggest the existence of further settlements. The late 9<sup>th</sup>- to 10<sup>th</sup>-c. bronze buckles found in Agios Aimilianos, the basilica of Laureotic Olympos, and Laurion<sup>1084</sup>, and coin hoards (**Table 6**) show the presence of members of the local elite. Inhabited *choria* are attested historically for Attica, since they are listed among the *proasteia* of the *Praktikon of Athens*<sup>1085</sup> and by the papal letter; settlements of tenants would have existed in these areas, but archaeological evidence is missing. This is explicable, since non-nucleated settlement occurs along with nucleated settlement in this period.<sup>1086</sup>

Farmsteads are known in Olympic Stadium (Marousi), Alimos, Trachones (possible Middle Byzantine phase), Glyphada, Vari, Airport area, Mauro Vouno (Grammatiko) and Alepochori. These show a varying scale of dimensions and architectural planning, and indicate a diversified character of land ownership. Their location in sites of various geomorphological character (coastal plain; mountain foot; fertile plain; wooded hills) indicates exploitation of a whole range of resources and expansion of agricultural activity even in less fertile areas.

Safe evidence for fortified villages<sup>1087</sup> is lacking, although coin finds from Kastri (Penteli) and Kastro tou Christou might indicate re-use of these forts. Milchhöfer's reports of fortified medieval settlements at Miskopi (*Paiania*) and NE of Boyati indicate the existence of this type of settlement in medieval Attica. Especially for Miskopi, whose name indicates ownership by the Church of Athens (perhaps to be identified with *Sancte Trinitatis* of the papal letter) this evidence appears particularly interesting.

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<sup>1084</sup> For the discussion of these belt-buckles see the relevant sub-chapters: Agios Aimilianos: B.3.13 and Appendix [A]3.13. Laureotic Olympos: Appendix [A]10.3(vi). Laurion: B.10.8. For the distribution of this type of buckle see Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 249f.

<sup>1085</sup> Grandrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou, 38-41.

<sup>1086</sup> As shown by the Laconia survey: Armstrong 2002, 364-365.

<sup>1087</sup> For examples of Middle Byzantine fortified villages in western Macedonia see Moutsopoulos 1992; for the Maeander region in Turkey see Barnes – Whittow 1998, 353-357 (Yılanlı Kalesi, Yöre Kalesi).

None of the numerous medieval towers of Attica preserves evidence for use as early as in the Middle Byzantine period, an important exception being the tower in Plasi by Mesosporitissa. A rectangular structure in the farmhouse of Glyphada has also been characterised as a tower, but perhaps not legitimately.<sup>1088</sup> Both structures appear to have had a primary role of supervision of production, and secondarily a strategic role.<sup>1089</sup>

Extensive church-building and decorating in the 12<sup>th</sup> c. has been a matter of discussion.<sup>1090</sup> This is a phenomenon known from numerous areas of the empire<sup>1091</sup>, connected with gradual rise of economic life. Churches of the 12<sup>th</sup> c. are numerous and masterfully executed, but not particularly sizeable or monumental; not comparable with the 11<sup>th</sup>-c. monuments of Daphni.<sup>1092</sup>

## 2. Defence

Defence of Attica in the Early Byzantine period appears to have been organised in four levels: fortified cities, forts, walled rural sites, and watchposts.

Early Byzantine fortification is securely attested for the *civitates*, and urban centres, of Athens and Megara. Eleusis (urban, non-civic) is so far believed to have been re-fortified under Valerian, in which case its walls would be standing a few centuries later; recent

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<sup>1088</sup> This is the rectangular room interrupting obliquely the west wall of the farmstead: see Pl. 7b. Its dimensions in the ground plan do not seem to support this characterisation.

<sup>1089</sup> For a discussion about the strategic vs. agricultural role of (later) medieval towers, and its archaeological expression, see Lock 1996.

<sup>1090</sup> Bouras (2002, 21) leaves open the question about social and economic factors which produced extensive church-building in the 12<sup>th</sup> c. in southern Greece.

<sup>1091</sup> See as an example Laconia: Armstrong 2002, 367.

<sup>1092</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 596.

observation shows that re-fortification could have taken place in the Early Byzantine period. Observation of architectural refurbishment of the Aigosthena fort (civic, non-urban) strongly suggests that it also occurred in the same period. This hypothesis is strengthened by the re-fortification of further minor *civitates*<sup>1093</sup> of the Corinthian Gulf during this period.<sup>1094</sup>

Defence of central roads and naval points of Attica shows the care of the state to protect this peripheral district and the connection which it provided between mainland and southern Greece. One of the restorers of the city wall of Megara, Herculius, has been identified with the homonymous *praetorian prefect*<sup>1095</sup>, but this identification is not certain.

The forts of Phyle and *Eleutherai*/Gyphtokastro appear to have been refurbished in the Early Byzantine period. The importance of Phyle as an Early Byzantine fort lies in the major investment which was undertaken for its re-use (filling dump, irrigation system, demolition of perpendicular ashlar wall). This demonstrates a centrally organised plan of refurbishment. Both forts control important passes, usable by armies. *Eleutherai* protects the entrance to Megarid and the Peloponnese, while Phyle protects an important pass towards Athens. Late Antique forts at non-civic sites have been attested in Boeotia.<sup>1096</sup>

Recent research shows that the *limes* was not the only line of military organization. Fortification both of *civitates* and of non-civic forts took place along the Via Egnatia, but also

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<sup>1093</sup> With “minor *civitates*” I mean “*civitates* lesser than Corinth”, which was certainly re-fortified during this period: see Sanders 2004.

<sup>1094</sup> Thisve: Dunn 2006, 48. Thespiiai: Dunn 2006, 48, note 86. Plataiai: Aravantinos – Konecny – Marchese 2003, 300-301 (The authors argue for its chronology in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c., encouraged by parallelization with the post-Herulian wall in Athens, but in my opinion chronological precision should await further archaeological evidence. The masonry is similar with the one used in the west Acropolis wall of Aigosthena); Dunn 2006, 48.

<sup>1095</sup> Herculius is attested as an *eparch* in *IG VII 93* (see note 1725).

<sup>1096</sup> Dunn 2006, 47-48, fig. 3.1: *Siphai*/Maurovouni (Tomlinson – Fossey 1970), Kastro Chostion (Fossey – Morin 1986, 61, fig. 18; 132-141), Alyki. *Siphai* and Alyki control harbours, i.e. naval routes, instead of land routes.

along the major north-south route of mainland Greece.<sup>1097</sup> Upkeep of the route Athens – Patras during the 4<sup>th</sup> c., attested by *miliaria* (C.4), may be seen as part of the same care for major regional roads.

Both Eleutherai and Phyle appear to have stimulated or sustained a settlement beyond its walls; especially for *Eleutherai*, it is certain that there was a re-settlement in the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c., vs. a continuous occupation of the village throughout the Roman period.<sup>1098</sup> An equivalent pattern which has been observed in the hinterland of Philippi (Macedonia) has led to the thought that forts should be treated also as parts of a new rural settlement pattern.<sup>1099</sup>

The rural walled site Kastro tou Christou was analysed above (C.1.1).

Upland sites appropriate as watchposts and garrison posts, with attested use in the Early Byzantine period, are: Kiapha Thiti, Beletsi, Katsimidi, Korydallos tower, Dema tower, Plakoto, Palaiokastro<sup>1100</sup>, and Kantili tower<sup>1101</sup>. It is in this context, of LRom/EByz finds at sites with obvious strategic value, as the ones mentioned above, that some other, *not exclusively* strategic sites with attested LRom/EByz use should be re-estimated as possible strategic watchposts, perhaps of temporary use, and possibly in combination with use as cult sites, despite oil-lamps (i.e. cult objects) often being the only reported kind of find. These are: Pyrgari (B.4.2), Mylos and Karydi ([G].7).

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<sup>1097</sup> This is an argument presented in detail by Dunn (2002). For protection of the north-south route see Poulter 1998 (Louloudies, Pieria); Rosser 2001 (Thermopylai). At Larisa, a section of a city wall and forewall of the Justinianic period was excavated recently (*Archaeological Reports* 2011-12). Re-fortification of *Plataiai* (Aravantinos – Conecny – Marchese 2003) may legitimately be seen also as part of the protection of this route.

<sup>1098</sup> Ober 1987, 220: “The post-Classical material suggests that Eleutherai was occupied through the Hellenistic and early Imperial periods; there is at present no evidence for occupation from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> c., but the site was apparently reoccupied in the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD. This tentative chronology suits Pausanias’ description (*Pausanias* 1.2.5, 20.2, 38.8-9), which suggests that although the temple was functioning, the town was abandoned in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD.”

<sup>1099</sup> Dunn 2004, 554.

<sup>1100</sup> On LRom/EByz use in the latter three sites see Fowden 1988, 55, note 44.

<sup>1101</sup> Ober 1987, 223.

Lohmann reverses the argument, and regards the above as purely cult sites, since clear evidence for amelioration of military structures, datable to the Early Byzantine period, is missing.<sup>1102</sup> This is a legitimate argument. However, how should one interpret the coincidence, on Beletsi and Katsimidi, of ‘late’ rubble structures *and* (albeit few) LRom/EByz sherds? Lohmann argues that only Phyle can be supported as a military site of this period. In this, he forgets that architectural studies of late construction phases at Classical *phrouria*, like *Eleutherai*/Gyphtokastro<sup>1103</sup> and Aigosthena, are completely missing, and so do well-published comparanda from southern Greece (with the exception of the Hexamilion).

Ober has already suggested that Attic strategic sites were parts of the ‘new’ defence system of Justinian.<sup>1104</sup> However, the datable material belongs both to the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> c. Fowden’s remark “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”<sup>1105</sup>, successfully integrates Phyle, and other Attic sites, in the military re-organisation of the empire.

Lohmann, rightly, sets his argument about the minor strategic sites in the broader question of the need of such a dense network of defence posts in Attica during this period. He also doubts the existence of the required capacity and means for such an organisation. Field surveys and excavation show that the Attic landscape was nothing but an “äußerst dünn besiedeltes Land”<sup>1106</sup>. On the contrary, the peak of habitation and activity in Late Antiquity is

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<sup>1102</sup> Lohmann 1993, vol. I, 260.

<sup>1103</sup> Lohmann (*ibid.*, note 1815) specifically refers to Gyphtokastro as place of recovery of a few sherds, but omits any discussion of LRom/EByz refurbishment.

<sup>1104</sup> Ober 1985, 221, note 31; 1987, 226. His paper ‘Early Byzantine occupation of Classical fortifications in Attica’, delivered to the Southeastern Medieval Association, Annual Meeting, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, October 8, 1983, is not accessible to me.

<sup>1105</sup> Fowden 1988, 56. One has to note, however, that the characterization of Phyle as a ‘fortified village’ goes far beyond the archaeological evidence of a few late walls inside the fort. The village may have existed at Phyli (see B.7.9).

<sup>1106</sup> Lohmann (*ibid.*).

second only to the one marked in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. The Late Roman state would have aimed to protect this population. Indeed, supporting evidence comes from neighbouring south Boeotia.<sup>1107</sup> Considering these military works as a whole, the issue which arises here is one of a possible militarisation of Attica, and wider of central Greece, modelled on that of the Balkans, during the later part of the Early Byzantine period.<sup>1108</sup>

### 3. Religion and religious institutions

#### 3.1. Early Byzantine basilicas and correlation with contemporary settlements

Apart from the well-known Attic basilicas, recent rescue excavations have added a list of less well-preserved ones.<sup>1109</sup> **Table 4** shows that most known basilicas were founded in rural settlements, while a smaller proportion in urban or semi-urban settlements.

Travlos' assumption that "Early Christian basilicas were founded in settlements of ancient *demoi*"<sup>1110</sup> is strongly biased by the common archaeological practice of exploring historically known centres of ancient *demoi* or ruined monuments.<sup>1111</sup> The basilicas of

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<sup>1107</sup> The plain of *Thisve* is protected by four forts in the Early Byzantine period: the fort of *Thisve* itself, *Chorsiai* / *Kastro Chostion*, *Siphai* / *Maurovouni*, and the coastal fort of *Alyki*: see Dunn 2006, 47-48, fig. 3.1. This image of military organisation to an impressive degree, not reported elsewhere in southern Greece, is due to intensive archaeological research in this area.

<sup>1108</sup> The issue is postulated, and discussed with reference to Boeotia, by Dunn (2006, 47-50), who connects this archaeologically discernible military building activity with the evidence by Procopius for fortification "inside" (i.e. south of) Thermopylai. According to Poulter (2004, 247) "We simply do not know if the upland sites in the interior have any common identity or similarity with the regularly-built fortifications on the frontier, which more obviously performed a military role. No evidence whatsoever exists that imperial Roman or early Byzantine policy adhered to the principle of defence-in-depth."

<sup>1109</sup> Table 4 does not include structures which were insecurely identified as Early Christian basilicas, such as the ones at *Raphena* and *Loutsas*.

<sup>1110</sup> Travlos 1988, 335.

<sup>1111</sup> As argued also by Mattern (2010, 209).



Taxiarches (*Prospalta/Kalyvia*), Amygdaleza, Agia Triada (Boyati) and Pousipelia (*Besa/Synterina*) are not attested to stand on ancient remains of habitation, while only some of them stand on ancient sanctuaries. The cases of Brauron and Skemphthi are questionable; surface ceramic remains suggest both ancient and Early Byzantine habitation. The Amygdaleza basilica was founded on an ancient sanctuary which appears to have been at the periphery and of common use between three *demoi* ([A].4.9). Some of the basilicas situated in rural areas may have marked the existence of rural markets, as suggested by Koder.<sup>1112</sup>

The above remarks regard basilicas of large or medium size, which are reasonably considered to have served the needs of communities. In recent years, however, a category of considerably smaller Early Christian basilicas has emerged in Attica, thanks to survey and careful rescue excavation. Such are the cases in Monomati and Southeast Attica ([B] TH16, TH34).<sup>1113</sup> These were possibly connected with estates, and may be considered as private churches. Their erection by a small community cannot be excluded, however.

### 3.2. Christianisation of Attica

The evidence presented above shows, in my opinion, that Christianisation of Attica took place in a way similar to other parts of the Empire. Peak sanctuaries and caves indeed show continuity of pagan practices, but this is not exceptional in a world of religious change. Such discussions are anyway still ongoing.<sup>1114</sup> Moreover, comparatively intensive research in

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<sup>1112</sup> Koder 1986, 170. Koder expressed this hypothesis also directly in correlation with the area of Kalyvia in the Mesogeia plain.

<sup>1113</sup> Mattern (2010, 210) is, happily, the first scholar to discuss the role of Attic churches of this size. The church on Kiapha Thiti (*Lower Lamprai*) is connected with a strategic role of the site, and I will thus not bring it under this category.

<sup>1114</sup> Fowden 1988, 56-57; Lohmann 1993, vol. I, 260 and elsewhere; Caseau 2004, 134-135; Mattern 2010. All the above scholars favour an interpretation of pagan use of these sanctuaries, though Mattern allows a possibility for use also by Christians. In my opinion, lamps with Christian decoration (found along with

caves and peaks of other areas has not occurred.<sup>1115</sup> In any case, foundation of such a large number of Early Christian basilicas does not justify ‘stronghold of paganism’. Greek philosophy was a major pole of attraction to Athens<sup>1116</sup>, but this does not necessarily mean that its pagan connotations dictated popular religion. Basilicas were erected not only in urban, but also in rural areas. They seem to be fully integrated in the network of roads and markets. They show varying scales of dimension and economic investment. Some of them demonstrate establishment ‘from above’ (Brauron). Most of them, however, appear to have been founded in order to cover the needs of (parts of?) the population (e.g. Paiania, Kalyvia). These two procedures, of course, went hand in hand. But the picture emerging from Attica matches the image of consolidation of Christian religion and ecclesiastical power in Athens itself.<sup>1117</sup> These pictures are not different from other parts of the Empire.<sup>1118</sup>

### 3.3. Emergence and flourishing of monasteries

Contrary to earlier assumptions<sup>1119</sup>, archaeological evidence does not testify to the existence of monasteries in Attica before the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>1120</sup> Known

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lamps with pagan decoration in the caves of Parnes and Vari) certainly allow this hypothesis. A similar use of a cave both by pagans and Christians is indicated in the Fountain of Lamps of Corinth: see Garnett 1975.

<sup>1115</sup> In fact, studies in the western Empire show similar use of peaks and caves: see Fowden 1988, 55, note 43.

<sup>1116</sup> As demonstrated by historical sources: see Castrén (ed.) 1994; Castrén 1999.

<sup>1117</sup> See Tzavella 2008, 363-365, with previous bibliography on the subject.

<sup>1118</sup> For a catalogue of Early Christian basilicas of Achaia see for convenience Caraher 2003, 338ff.

<sup>1119</sup> *TIB* I, 107, 174.

<sup>1120</sup> Bouras 1998, 13: “We know of not a single dated monastery south of Mount Olympos before the Iconoclastic period. (...) The earliest, fully established monastery in Greece is probably the Dormition of the Virgin at Skripou, founded in 873.” Mattern (2010, 209-210) argues for a possible Early Byzantine phase for the later monasteries of Ag. Ioannes Kareas and Ag. Ioannes Theologos (Hymettus), on the basis of embedded spolia. These indicate architectural predecessors, but obviously not necessarily monasteries. Lohmann (1993, Teil I: 259; Teil II: 451f.), followed by Mattern (2010, 210, 225, Kat. 2.24) assumes that the church of Agia Photeini belonged to a monastery, since “monastic ruins” are reported by Milchhöfer (1889, 31); but the monastic installations may post-date the church and the Early Byzantine pottery recovered in the

monasteries emerge in a large number from the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> c. The churches of Asomaton monastery in Ambelokepoi and Agios Loukas at Patesia may date to the 10<sup>th</sup> c., but it is not clear when they started functioning as monasteries. During the 11<sup>th</sup> c. two monasteries are known from the Attic countryside (Osios Meletios and Daphni)<sup>1121</sup>, while during the 12<sup>th</sup> c. numerous monasteries are founded both in and outside the city.<sup>1122</sup>

The location of Attic monasteries has already been described.<sup>1123</sup> Here we may add some observations regarding proximity to inland roads which they used for transport of their produce.<sup>1124</sup> Daphni is situated at the bottleneck of Iera Odos (which explains its fortification), with close connection to the sea. Osios Meletios, despite its remote location, has the advantage of being connected equally to Attica (through the Oinoe road) and Boeotia (through the Portes pass). At the same time, its proximity to two upland plains, Skourta and Oinoe, could suffice for its needs in agricultural produce. The Ioannes Kynegos monastery lies on the northern pass across Hymettus. It is possible that the monastery excavated underneath Agios Nikolaos at Kantza was a *metochi* of Ioannes Kynegos in the Middle Byzantine period, as it

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area by Lohmann. Similar is the case of the church and monastery ruins at Metropisi; see B.10.5 (Lohmann 1993, Teil II: 528, ME 14; Mattern 2010, 224f., Kat. 2.20).

<sup>1121</sup> Compared to numerous monasteries known in the city of Athens: Agioi Apostoloi Solaki, Agioi Asomatoi Theseiou, Agioi Theodoroi, Kapnikarea, Soteira Lykodemou. See Bouras 2010, 122ff., 146ff., 173ff. (Bouras thinks that this was probably not a monastery *katholikon*, but Darrouzès 1976, 166, added it to his relevant list), 196ff., 232ff.

<sup>1122</sup> Outside the city: Homologetai at Ambelokepoi, Agioi Asomatoi at Ambelokepoi, Panagia at Goudi, Omorphokklesia at Galatsi, Kaisariane, Kynegou Philosophon (some may pre-date the 12<sup>th</sup> c.). This list is in accordance with Bouras 2010, 120. One should add the unidentified monasteries attested in the *Praktikon of Athens*, which may pre-dated the 12th c., and the monastery ‘Myrrhiniou’ attested by Michael Choniates.

<sup>1123</sup> *TIB* I, 107: “Die charakteristische Klosterlage ist etwa die halbe Höhe eines Berghanges, meist der Quellhorizont (oder zuminest Quellnähe), in geschützter, nicht von weither einzusehender Rückzugslage. Ausnahmslos befinden sich die Klöster in Hellas und Thessalia nie in unmittelbarer Nähe einer Siedlung”. With the latter sentence the authors obviously mean “rural settlement”, since monasteries in Athens are known. See also Koder 1995.

<sup>1124</sup> Textual evidence about agricultural and industrial produce of the Attic monasteries is missing, but exists amply for monasteries of Mount Athos, Patmos and others: see Harvey 1989, 49-55, 229-234; Harvey 1994, 134-136; Kaplan 2006. Smyrlis (2002, 254-255) assesses that probably the greatest part of produce of large monasteries was eventually shipped away or transferred by land.

was in the 16<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1125</sup>; this would make sense given its proximity both to arable land and to the Kynegos monastery. Similarly, if the 12<sup>th</sup>-c. church of Agios Ioannes in Daphne was a *metochi* of the Kynegou monastery already then, as it was later, it would have played a role in the transport of produce of its mother-monastery, as it lies at the exit of the Athenian basin towards the SE coast. Kaisariane and Taxiarchon Asteriou are both located on the central pass over Hymettus.

The foundation of large monasteries in the 11<sup>th</sup> c. has already been connected with exploitation of extended estates.<sup>1126</sup> Direct evidence for monastic agricultural production in Attica is scant: the Kaisariane monastery is attested by Choniates to have had involvements with honey production<sup>1127</sup>, while Ioannes Kynegos owned vineyards, as indicated on an inscribed column. The concentration of monasteries on Mt Hymettus suggests a mixed economy, based on exploitation of both woodland and lowland fields.<sup>1128</sup> In the case of Osios Meletios we know of advanced craftsmanship in production of sculpted marble, which was used and exercised influence in further churches of the wider area, as well as about manuscript reproduction, which show highly specialised industrial and artistic activity.

The foundation of a large monastery on Kithairon by Osios Meletios (who very soon attracted a hundred monks<sup>1129</sup>) appears to have been a policy directed towards adequate

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<sup>1125</sup> Its architectural form is compatible both with a small monastery and with a *metochi*. For the architectural form of *metochia*, compared to small monasteries, see Smyrlis 2002, 248; Giro 2002.

<sup>1126</sup> Darrouzès 1976, 175-176. Kaplan 2006, 27-37.

<sup>1127</sup> *Michaelis Acominati Opera*, ed. S. P. Lambros, II, 311 (No. 156) and 643. Stadtmüller 1934, 263, No. 156. It is surprising, however, that the 'deal' on honey production which Choniates describes here refers to only ten beehives, which the abbot of Kaisariane kept away from the abbot of the Keos monastery (where Choniates lived); one might expect such deals between powerful monasteries to have involved cultivation of larger scale.

<sup>1128</sup> On the exploitation of woodland and scrubland in the Middle Byzantine empire see Dunn 1992, esp. 240-262.

<sup>1129</sup> A hundred is a large number for monks of one monastery: see Morris 1995, 181 for comparison with Baçkovo and Stroumitza. The Athos monasteries show numbers of a different scale.

endowment for the monastery.<sup>1130</sup> It is not clear if this initial endowment of land came from imperial sources, Meletios' personal property (with which he may have bought land)<sup>1131</sup>, donations by local aristocrats or small donations of land owned by the new monks and local peasants.<sup>1132</sup> However, the settlement of a hundred monks in a short time probably shows that the monastic property existed to a large extent during its foundation, or temporally close to it. If this was indeed the case, then the most probable source is the personal property of Meletios or a large private, or indeed imperial donation.

After the establishment of the main monastery, the foundation of a large number of *paralavria* was an action directed towards the recovery of small donations, apparently from the local and regional elite.<sup>1133</sup> The annual donation (*solemnium*) of 422<sup>1134</sup> *hyperpyra* by Alexius I appears to mirror the fact that the monastery at its first stages was not able to cover its own needs. The height of this grant sets the Meletios monastery on a comparable scale with the Athonite monasteries, and in fact high amongst them.<sup>1135</sup> The grant of cash, instead of land, possibly shows that the monastery already owned landed property. Monasteries used this influx of cash in order to obtain stock, improve properties and supplement their

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<sup>1130</sup> Kaplan 1994, 107: "It is noticeable that very large monasteries are much less concerned than other monasteries with the problem of increasing their holdings – for the simple reason that they were adequately endowed with property at the time of foundation." The increased number of monks of the 11<sup>th</sup>-c. Theotokos Evergetis monastery, outside Constantinople, caused the monastery to acquire additional landed property through which its everyday needs could be satisfied: see Armstrong – Kirby 1994, 148. The rise of number of monks to ca. 300 only 35 years after Meletios' death (*Nikolaos Methonis, Life of Meletios*, 56) seems to show that the monastery owned extensive estates; see Morris 1995, 182: "(...) it can be seen that some houses were capable of almost unlimited expansion in numbers as they owned extensive estates".

<sup>1131</sup> For *dynatoi* in *Hellas* who founded monasteries and built churches on their own estates see Herrin 1972, 200.

<sup>1132</sup> For examples of these practices see Kaplan 1994, 109.

<sup>1133</sup> As observed by Dunn 1995, 764. For an example of the concern for financial difficulties see *Nikolaos Methones, Life of Meletios*, 66-67. For the varying status of local patrons (aristocratic families, bishops, monks, priests, secular officials and the ordinary people see Kalopissi-Verti 1992.

<sup>1134</sup> Harvey (1989, 83, note 16) suggests that the sum of 422 *hyperpyra* may have to be corrected to 432 *hyperpyra*, i.e. exactly 6 litres.

<sup>1135</sup> Armstrong – Kirby 1994, 160, note 71. The Athonite monasteries received the highest known *solemnia*: see Harvey 1989, 82-83; Harvey 1994, 132; Kaplan 2006, 29.

manpower.<sup>1136</sup> It is indeed likely that the remote areas of Kithairon had remained fallow<sup>1137</sup>, and therefore needed additional labour and employment in order to become productive.<sup>1138</sup> The emergence of settlements in the Skourta plain during the 12<sup>th</sup> c. was therefore seen correctly as an effect of monastic economic activities in the area.<sup>1139</sup>

Morris interpreted the grants by Alexios I towards monasteries<sup>1140</sup> as untypical of his general policy, and owed to favours which he intended to make to members of his family who were closely connected with these monasteries.<sup>1141</sup> Family relationships between Alexios and the founders of Meletios are not known, but may have existed.<sup>1142</sup> However, they may have not been the only reason for this support; Harvey stresses the significance of the *solemnia* for numismatic circulation in remote areas which could otherwise remain outside it.<sup>1143</sup>

The acceptance of this large grant by Meletios contradicts his biographers stating that he refused large private donations, avoided the formation of a large landed monastic property, and cared for financial support of the monks only through their personal labour.<sup>1144</sup> But this kind of contradiction is not peculiar to the Kithairon monastery.<sup>1145</sup> Moreover, the testimony

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<sup>1136</sup> Morris 1995, 189. Smyrlis 2002, 252: “Archival evidence shows that the monks undertook projects of expansion of the land under cultivation, settling peasants, and making land improvements. They may also have provided poor peasants with the equipment necessary for cultivation.”

<sup>1137</sup> For palaeoenvironmental evidence showing recession of cultivated land after the end of Late Antiquity see Koder 1994.

<sup>1138</sup> This procedure, especially in relation with wood felling, is described by Dunn (1992) based on historical, archaeological and palaeoenvironmental evidence. Historically known examples of monasteries, for the foundation of which monks had to clear fallow land and fell trees, are the ones of Taxiarches in Aigileia and Megalo Spelaio in Kalavryta (both in the region of Patras) in the 10<sup>th</sup> c.: see Lambropoulou 2004, 96.

<sup>1139</sup> Munn – Zimmermann-Munn 1990, 38.

<sup>1140</sup> Cf. Alexios’ donation of 500 *modioi* and 12 tenants towards the Theotokos monastery at Stroumitza (Harvey 1989, 50) and his annual grant of 24 *nomismata* to the Theologos monastery on Patmos (Harvey 1989, 83). For sums of *rogai* and *solemnia* towards monasteries see also Morris 1995, 194f., Table 4.

<sup>1141</sup> Morris 1995, 281, 287-288. Harvey (1989, 69-70) added the interpretation that in the early stage of his reign, Alexios needed to consolidate his authority.

<sup>1142</sup> For 11<sup>th</sup>-c. examples of links of patronage between aristocracy and monasteries see Morris 1981.

<sup>1143</sup> Harvey 1989, 82.

<sup>1144</sup> *Nikolaos of Methone, Life of Meletios*, 56.

<sup>1145</sup> A similar contradiction has been observed about the activities of Agios Athanasios of Athos and other respected figures of monastic foundations: see Morris 1995, 206-207.

that “the monks did not own any of this landed property apart from their dwelling and a vegetable garden”<sup>1146</sup> should not be interpreted as a lack of land ownership by the monastery itself; land is expected to have been cultivated by the *paroikoi*, which presumably worked for the monastery, and supervised by the *oikonomos*.<sup>1147</sup> Often local lay superintendents, the *pronoetai*, lived in or near the monastic estates, and cared for their management.<sup>1148</sup> If taken literally, this information would mean that the management of the monastic estates was of lay or at least hybrid character.<sup>1149</sup> This would combine well with the suggestion that the formation of the monastic property was not gradual, through the efforts of the monks, but was (almost) simultaneous with the foundation of the monastery; for, in the former case, monks would be expected to manage the estates, as comparative material shows. In the case of individual endowment, management by the *oikonomos* and/or *pronoetai* is common.<sup>1150</sup> In any case, the number of three hundred monks, who resided in the monastery 36 years after Meletios’ death<sup>1151</sup>, demonstrates that the monastery owned an extended property, which it would have needed in order to sustain its residents.

Historical evidence for specific links between Attic monasteries and the local aristocracy has hardly survived. The Homologeton monastery (Ambelokepoi) was granted an *ateleia* by the Velissariotes family of Constantinople<sup>1152</sup>, and Michael Choniates addressed a letter concerning the *proasteion* Oropos to the *logothetes* Velissariotes. A member of the

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<sup>1146</sup> Nikolaos Methones, *Life of Meletios*, 56. Nikolaos states this information as a confirmation of the monks’ dedication to cult. However, the opposite stance, namely that monks had to work, in order to provide food for their brothers, is considered as a pious occupation in the *typikon* of the Athonite Lavra (Smyrlis 2002, 251). Distance from labour was therefore not compulsory as an expression of religious piety.

<sup>1147</sup> For land management by 11<sup>th</sup>-c. monasteries see Harvey 1994. For the *paroikoi* as the main source of labour from outside the monastic ranks see Morris 1995, 182.

<sup>1148</sup> Smyrlis 2002, 248.

<sup>1149</sup> For these kinds of management see Smyrlis 2002, 248-249.

<sup>1150</sup> For ways of management in both cases see Smyrlis 2002, 249-250; Smyrlis 2006, 191ff.

<sup>1151</sup> Nikolaos Methones, *Life of Meletios*, 56.

<sup>1152</sup> Lambros 1880, 631.

Kamateroi family appears to have founded the Penteli Tao monastery. The landowner Germanos Spourgites, attested in the *Praktikon*, renovated the church of Agios Ioannes Mangoutes<sup>1153</sup>, while the *spatharokandidatos* Nikolaos Kalomalos renovated the church of Agioi Theodoroi in 1049<sup>1154</sup>, both north of the Athenian Acropolis. The complaint by Niketas, Metropolitan of Athens, in 1089 about the damage which had been caused to the finances of his see by grants of *charistike*<sup>1155</sup> shows that at least some big Attic monasteries had been handed over to powerful laymen. Niketas' testimony, contemporary with the chrysobull of Alexios I to Osios Meletios, demonstrates the effort, both by local aristocracy and by the State, to gain control of big monasteries in the late 11<sup>th</sup> c., in Attica as elsewhere in the Empire.

All the above derives from evidence about large monasteries. At the same time, there is limited evidence for the existence of small monasteries, which may have been more typical of the monastic life of the empire as a whole.<sup>1156</sup> The cases of Panagia at Aigosthena and Agios Nikolaos at Kantza are indicative of their architectural form.

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<sup>1153</sup> Mention of Spourgites in the *Praktikon*: Granstrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou 1976, 31. On the church of Agios Ioannes Mangoutes see Bouras 2010, 192. It is unknown if the church belonged to a monastery.

<sup>1154</sup> Bouras 2010, 173-179. Bouras (*ibid.*, 173) thinks that this church probably did not belong to a monastery, since it lay outside the Post-Herulian wall and replaced an older, poorly constructed church.

<sup>1155</sup> Thomas 1987, 201. For the reaction of patriarchs and bishops towards the *charistike* in the late 11<sup>th</sup> c. see Thomas 1987, 186-213; Morris 1995, 268-270.

<sup>1156</sup> Morris 1995, 175. The novel of Basil II (996) attests to humble monasteries of fewer than ten monks, founded by peasants: *ibid.*, 88, 177-178.



#### 4. Road networks<sup>1157</sup>

**Table 5** and Pl. 64 summarise evidence for the use of ancient roads in the Early and/or Middle Byzantine period. Roads which circumscribe mountains are logically diachronically useful, since relatively few routes could be driven by cart in the craggy Attic terrain. But also mountain routes, such as the passages of Hymettus and the Dekeleia pass, were used in the medieval period, as adjacent datable structures attest.

The *Tabula Peutingeriana* attests to a regular itinerary (Crusa-Pache-Megara-Eleusina-Athena) (Pl. 53f) used by the *cursus publicus*, which is well corroborated by epigraphic evidence for the section Eleusis-Athens. *Miliaria* certify the regular upkeep of the Iera Odos in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. Four *miliaria* have the exact same content: they commemorate Arcadius, Honorius, and a certain proconsul Eusebius. The latter is commemorated also in a fifth *miliarium* found at Patras, thus providing strong evidence for repairs undertaken under his time on the road from Patras to Athens.<sup>1158</sup>

The roads of the Megarid acquired new significance during the Early Roman period, when the eastern coast of the Corinthian Gulf started being used for the unloading of ships' cargoes. Italian products were unloaded in *Creousis*<sup>1159</sup>, and were transported by land to Euripos, a journey of one day, and thence to various cities of Euboea and of northern Greece.<sup>1160</sup> Ships also unloaded their cargoes in the port of *Pagai*, from where the products

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<sup>1157</sup> The main roads of Attica are marked with brown colour on the printed maps, following information of the *Barrington Atlas* and of the *KvA*. Excavated sections of these roads which were shown to belong to the Early or Middle Byzantine period are marked with red or blue colour, respectively (e.g. between Athens and Peiraeus).

<sup>1158</sup> Sironen 1994, 39.

<sup>1159</sup> Livy 36.21.5, 42.56.5. Pausanias also approached Creousis from the sea (9.32.1), and then continued to Pagai and Aigosthena.

<sup>1160</sup> Ephorus in Strabo, IX, 400; cf. Ps.-Scymnus in Mueller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, I, 216, Ill. 490-495. Livy, XLIV, i, 4. Cf. Hatzfeld 1919, 70.

were transferred to Megara and Thebes. The importance of the terminal points of these routes is shown by the establishment of important colonies of *negotiatores* at *Pagai* and *Thespiiai* in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.<sup>1161</sup>

The *Antonine Itinerary* marks the stations ‘Phocide, Thespias, Megara, Eleusina, Athenis’<sup>1162</sup>, thus showing, as Hammond observes, that the road Thespiiai-Megara-Eleusis was more important than the road Thespiiai-Eleutherai-Eleusis-Megara in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* marks the route from ‘Crusa’ (*Creousis*, the harbour of *Plataiai*) to ‘Pache’ (*Pagai*) (20 Roman miles), and from there to Megara (15 miles) (Pl. 53f).<sup>1163</sup> The road from *Creousis* / *Plataiai* to *Pagai* / Megara would then presumably have been used for commerce as well as armies, and was therefore probably passable to carriages during this period.<sup>1164</sup> The *miliarium* of Diocletian and Maximian<sup>1165</sup>, if indeed found in the area of *Oinoe*, on the south slope of Kithairon, possibly stood on the road from *Creousis* / *Plataiai* to *Pagai*.

During the Byzantine period, travellers between Constantinople and the West regularly crossed central Greece to points on the Gulf of Corinth, to avoid circumnavigation

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<sup>1161</sup> Hatzfeld 1919, 68-70 (Thespiiai), 73-74 (Pagai). *Pagai* even issued coins from the time of Marcus Aurelius to Septimius Severus: Head 1911, 394.

<sup>1162</sup> *Itineraria Romana*, 49, paragraph 326, 1.

<sup>1163</sup> *Tabula Peutingeriana*, ed. Miller 1916, col. 565. On the Greek section of the Peutinger Table see Pritchett 1980, 197-288. The exact itinerary between *Creousis/Plataiai* and *Pagai* is not attested clearly by any kind of evidence. The main commercial road probably went through *Plataiai*; the erection of a Late Roman or Early Byzantine fort at *Plataiai* (Aravantinos – Konecny – Marchese 2003, esp. 300-301) certifies the role of this centre in the communications of eastern Central Greece. From *Plataiai* the itinerary turned south, towards Megara, using Hammond’s Road. In its way, it cut through the inland territory (but not the city) of *Pagai*, which is the reason why the latter is marked as a station in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. The hypothesis that *Pagai*’s territory extended into the mountainous country eastwards has been expressed by Hammond (1954, 116). The junction of Hammond’s Road with the road leading to *Pagai* lies north of Megalo Vathychori, at Tower F: Hammond 1954, 108. See also the track noted on *HMGS*.

<sup>1164</sup> Hammond 1954, esp. 115. Pritchett (1980) is controversial: on p. 205 he seems to think that the main road from *Creousis* to *Pagai* was the coastal one (our road (a)), whereas on p. 274-277 he appears to follow Hammond’s view.

<sup>1165</sup> Sironen 2008, No. 13.297 (= Sironen 1997, 103, No. 32bis). “Αὐτο[κράτορσιν Καίσαρ]σιν Διοκλητιανῶ [καὶ Μαξιμιανῶ] (...)”, 293-305 AD. The findspot of this inscription is problematic: Fourmont reported that it was found in “Agia Panagia, in Chonika”, which Sironen interprets as *Oinoe*. I was not able to find any church dedicated to the Panagia in or around Mazi / *Oinoe*.

of Attica and the Peloponnese and the western part of Via Egnatia.<sup>1166</sup> They crossed either SE Boeotia or Attica<sup>1167</sup>. The harbour west of Sounion was probably used by Venetian ships in the 15<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1168</sup> The significance of Hammond's Road in the medieval period is attested by the *Chronicle of Morea*, and its description of the battle, on the peak Karydi (Mt. Pateras), between the Prince of Achaia, William Villehardouin, and the Duke of Athens, Guy de la Roche.<sup>1169</sup>

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<sup>1166</sup> On the use of the Gulf of Corinth for communication between Rome and Constantinople from the 6<sup>th</sup> c., and on the raised significance of the Gulf of Corinth for communications between east and west from the early 8<sup>th</sup> c. see McCormick 2001, 531-537. See also Dunn 2006, 44-45. Trombley (1989, 219) describes the transport of grain from the vicinity of Thebes to Oropos and Boeotian Skarpheia in Late Antiquity.

<sup>1167</sup> *TIB* I, 99, offers relevant references to Georgios Sphrantzes and Nicolo da Martoni.

<sup>1168</sup> *TIB* I, 99.

<sup>1169</sup> In 1258, advancing from the Isthmus, the Prince of Achaia captured the skala of Megara and the pass of Megara, and evidently was proceeding towards Boeotia. The Duke of Athens chose to defend Attica and Boeotia at the pass by the Karydi peak, but unsuccessfully; the Prince won the battle, and the Duke retreated to Thebes: *Chronicle of Morea*, l. 3259-3269 (the subject of the first three lines is the Prince of Achaia):

## 5. Economy

### 5.1. Land holding and wealth

The *episkepsis* of Megara, one among only five known in the whole of Middle Greece and the Peloponnese in the 12<sup>th</sup> c., is a case in point. *Episkepseis* were distributed in the areas of the Empire where magnates were also present.<sup>1170</sup> Intensive church-building in the plain of Megara may be connected with patronage by representatives of the state or the imperial family, though this remains a hypothesis.

The 11<sup>th</sup>-c. Cadaster of Thebes shows that Athenian families owned landed property in the region of Thebes.<sup>1171</sup> Among them figures an official, ‘Θεόδωρος σπαθάριος αθηνέος’. The Rendakioi family, of Athenian origin and with most members residents in Thebes, appear as the wealthiest in the tax-register.<sup>1172</sup> These families had significance for the broader region, albeit not beyond.<sup>1173</sup> Many members of these Athenian families are recorded as residents of Thebes and Euripos.<sup>1174</sup> Although wealthy individuals recorded as residents of Athens are missing from this document, their existence (*καστηρηνοί*) is known from Michael Choniates, who complained to the emperor Alexius III that they try to obtain *χωρία καὶ στάσεις χωριτικάς* from the smaller landowners of Attica.<sup>1175</sup>

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<sup>1170</sup> Hendy 1985, 89 and map 19. *Episkepseis* were estates with an independent administrative status, which belonged to the state, or over which rights were exercised by members of the imperial clan or of the court aristocracy, by grant from the state. For distribution of magnates see *ibid.*, map 18.

<sup>1171</sup> Svoronos 1959, II.d.1.54; II.d.4.64; II.f.2.71 etc.

<sup>1172</sup> Svoronos 1959, 74-75; Herrin 1972, 201.

<sup>1173</sup> Herrin 1972, 199f.; Harvey 1989, 63 and 74.

<sup>1174</sup> Svoronos 1959, 11-16, lines A1, 38, 73, 77; B19, 31.

<sup>1175</sup> See the updated reading of this extract from Choniates by Papageorgiou (2008).

Based on the recorded amount of tax, Harvey argues that even the owners of the largest properties appear rather petty compared to landowners of Macedonia and Thrace. Also, the register records a handful of large peasant holdings, and a much greater number of small holdings.<sup>1176</sup> But these, according to Harvey, still belonged to the important landowning families, rather than to peasant producers, as argued earlier: “The subordination of direct producers to powerful landowners in the Theban region had been almost entirely effected by the 11<sup>th</sup> c.”<sup>1177</sup>

The *Praktikon of Athens* was composed either for a monastery or for the Metropolis of Athens.<sup>1178</sup> The latter is plausible due to the wide, and balanced, geographical distribution of its properties. In either case, the recipient of the document owned a variety of cultivations (fields, olive trees, vines) of generally modest size, plus an extremely extended property of semi-mountainous land, which it would have used for timber, charcoal, and flock breeding.<sup>1179</sup> The *Praktikon* also attests to economic viability of the tenants: ca. 65% of the listed tenants are either *zeugaratoi* or *boidatoi*, while among the *aktemones*, only two are

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<sup>1176</sup> Harvey 1989, 63 and 74: “Compared with the larger estates of Thrace and Macedonia, the local elite of the Theban region appears rather petty. The image of landowners with entire villages contrasts with that of the *archontes* of Thebes and Chalkis with their shared ownership of small peasant landholdings which had been acquired piecemeal. Only a few families such as the Rendakioi were important, but they did not compare with the great aristocratic families of the empire. It is possible, of course, that some landowners did possess larger properties in other parts of the region not covered by the tax-register. Also, we do not know the extent of state properties in the region. Nevertheless, the titles which the landowners in the tax-register held (several *protospatharioi*, *spatharioi*, *kometes*, *kandidatoi* and other titles which had become greatly debased by the eleventh century) suggest that these were individuals who had considerable importance locally but no further.”

<sup>1177</sup> Harvey 1989, 75-76, with earlier bibliography and arguments.

<sup>1178</sup> The former possibility has been supported by the publishers of the *Praktikon*, and has been followed by most scholars (for example Kazanaki-Lappa 2002, 646). However, Lemerle (1979, 200, note 2) and Dunn (1995, 761, note 37) leave a possibility open that the owner was the Metropolis of Athens itself.

<sup>1179</sup> Dunn 1992, 254-262.

*aporoi*.<sup>1180</sup> The Athenian Metropolis is shown, by another document, as owner of small property units, as well as monasteries.<sup>1181</sup>

## 5.2. Agricultural production

Attica does not appear as a great producer in sources, but the characterization of the Megarian hinterland as an *episkepsis* shows that they had a noteworthy production. Production was therefore stimulated both by the state and the Church.

Olive-oil would have been produced in the olive groves of the Athenian, Thriasian and Megarian plains, as well as, perhaps to lesser extent, in other areas.<sup>1182</sup> Choniates mentions postage of oil and soap as presents.<sup>1183</sup> The Osios Meletios monastery received an annual offer of olive oil from peasants of the area.<sup>1184</sup> Honey from Attica in general, and from Hymettus in particular, was renowned throughout the Byzantine period<sup>1185</sup>, and since it appears in non-Attic sources, it was certainly exported. In that regard, Hayes' theory about production of amphorae of the type Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61 in Boeotia or Attica, and use of them as beehive containers transported with ships, is tempting, but more research is required in that direction.<sup>1186</sup>

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<sup>1180</sup> Dunn 1995, 770-771; Dunn 2006, 56.

<sup>1181</sup> Uspenskij 1900.

<sup>1182</sup> Olive trees are catalogued in various places in the *Praktikon of Athens*: Grandstrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou 1976, 11, 31-32 ('χωρίον Χρυσόχος').

<sup>1183</sup> *Michael Choniatae*, ed. Lambros, vol. II, 136, 137. Bouras 2010, 115, note 950. Soap is made, as known, of olive-oil.

<sup>1184</sup> *Nikolaos Methones, Life of Meletios*, 66.

<sup>1185</sup> See chapter B.2.1, notes 313-314. In addition, the *Expositio* (LII, l. 8, p. 188) mentions "mel atticum" as one of the few noteworthy products of the province of Achaia.

<sup>1186</sup> Hayes (1992, 76) suggests a production centre of these amphorae in Boeotia or Attica, based on the frequent appearance of the amphora in Attica, rural Boeotia and Corinth – these examples remain unpublished. Günsenin (1989, 274) and Sanders (1993, 283), on the other hand, consider a production centre in NW Turkey as probable, due to the common appearance of the amphora in the wider area. The coherent

Attic salt was renowned in the Roman period. The testimonies by Pliny and Cicero, that it was mild and used for seasoning, show that it was exported widely then.<sup>1187</sup> Megara also exported salt, which however, according to Pliny, was better used as a preservative.<sup>1188</sup> Equivalent evidence from the post-Roman period is lacking.

### 5.3. Exchange within Attica and numismatic circulation

**Table 6** summarises the coin hoards reported from Attica outside Athens. Hoards of the late 6<sup>th</sup> c. are found exclusively in urban and semi-urban sites. Numismatic research on hoards of this period is ongoing (A.7). Regarding the theory about catastrophic Slav invasions, we may bear in mind that there is no evidence for destruction of the relevant towns in the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. On the contrary, many Attic basilicas (Brauron, Olympos, Alimos) show use in the later 7<sup>th</sup> c. and beyond.<sup>1189</sup> This position should not be interpreted as a denial of any appearance, or settlement, of Slavs on Attic lands. In fact, a few toponyms do indicate Slavic

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appearance of a large number of sherds (in Attica, but also on Keos) suggests that its production was centralised (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 354). Recent research in Eleutherna, central Crete, has proved that at least one production centre of this amphora type, of a slightly coarser appearance than usual, was located in the wider area of Eleutherna (Poulou-Papademetriou 2006, 83-84). It is not impossible, therefore, that a further production centre was located in Attica or Boeotia, as Hayes believes.

This amphora type is believed to have contained honey (Hayes 1992, 61, 76). This theory is based on residual analysis in some amphorae of similar types found at Constanța (Tomis) in Roumania (Rădulescu 1973, 197-198, 202-203). The reference derives from Hayes, and I rely on his use of this article, since its content [in Rumanian] was not clear to me). This theory is also based on the interior surface treatment of this amphora type: it is smeared with a brush, roughly and towards all directions, thus reminding the interior surface treatment of ancient and Byzantine beehives. Hayes has therefore suggested that these amphorae may have been designed as beehives. Sanders (1993, 283) considers the honey-container theory as implausible. Dunn reminds me (pers.224comm.) that honey producers need to transfer their beehives to areas with different flora throughout the year, and that this might explain their design as amphorae.

<sup>1187</sup> Langdon 2010, 161, with further references. Langdon (*ibid.*) conducted a survey of Attic salt lakes indicated in 19<sup>th</sup>-c. maps, and marked all vestiges of ancient structures around them.

<sup>1188</sup> Smith 2006. Langdon 2010, 166.

<sup>1189</sup> Tzavella 2010, 655-656. Herrin (1972, 46) notes: “The continued activity of bishops both of Corinth and Athens is a clearer guide to the unrecorded period of the invasions.”

appearance.<sup>1190</sup> However, there is no clear archaeological evidence for Slavic disruption. It is therefore important to investigate other reasons, relevant with administration and economy, which dictated this transformation.<sup>1191</sup>

Location of Middle Byzantine hoards in rural sites demonstrates habitation of representatives of the elite in these sites, along with their habitation in the *kastron* of Athens (attested by Choniates<sup>1192</sup>).

#### 5.4. Industrial production

Scholars interpreted finds in the Laureotic district connected with metallurgical activity as an indication of the Early Byzantine state to push forward its industrial production by exploiting some of the mines, or the metallurgical remains of earlier centuries: silver or lead.<sup>1193</sup>

Paulus Silentarius mentions silver from “Παγγαῖον” and “Σουνιάς ἄκρη” which decorated Agia Sophia in Constantinople.<sup>1194</sup> Paulus probably used “Σουνιάς ἄκρη” as a toponymic widely known for its production of silver in Antiquity, and “Παγγαῖον” as a metallurgical source of Macedonia<sup>1195</sup>.

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<sup>1190</sup> Such as Charvati, Gramba, and possibly Vrana.

<sup>1191</sup> A similar attempt in Karagianni 2010, 80-82, who considers the change of the role of Egnatia as a transformative factor for the evolution of neighbouring settlements.

<sup>1192</sup> Herrin (1972, 114) and Papageorgiou (2008) both interpret ‘kastrenoi’ in the context of Choniates as wealthy landowners.

<sup>1193</sup> Butcher 1982, 137-138; Fowden 1988, 55.

<sup>1194</sup> *Paulus Silentarius*, ed. I. Bekker, l. 677-680: “ἀλλά καὶ ἀργυρέοιο χύδην οὐ φείσατο κόσμου. ἐνθάδε Παγγαῖοιο ῥάχης καὶ Σουνιάς ἄκρη ἀργυρέας ὤψιν ὄλας φλέβας.”

<sup>1195</sup> Mt Pangaion, in eastern Macedoania, is a well-known source of gold and silver since Antiquity. The same name, ‘Pangaion’, was attached during the Classical or Hellenistic period to one of the mountains of the Laureotic exploited for silver (Crosby 1950, 206-208, No. 2; 255, No. 18, lines 6-7), probably as a reminiscence of the well-known Macedonian silver source. The Laureotic ‘Pangaion’ may be identified with the Rimbari mountain ridge, north of Kamareza / Agios Konstantinos, according to Lohmann (1993, Teil I: 85), although the evidence is not conclusive (*ibid.*, 104). It is reasonable to assume that Paulus Silentarius’ text refers to the rich Macedonian source under this name.



Very little is known about silver mining and its organization in Late Antiquity<sup>1196</sup> and Byzantium<sup>1197</sup>. A question which arises here is if silver production in Laurion in Late Antiquity was run centrally by the state or by private enterprisers. The view presented by A.H.M. Jones is that of gold mines in the western Balkans being run by the state in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. These were not large-scale enterprises manned by groups of labourers under the management of imperial officials or contractors, but little shafts worked by independent miners, or perhaps small groups.<sup>1198</sup> This historical evidence would agree with archaeological evidence from Thorikos, since the latter suggests small-scale production.

Connected with the above, a further question regards the possibility that the renewed exploitation of the Attic mines was not just of local significance, but should also be interpreted in the context of the wider needs of Byzantine production.<sup>1199</sup>

The dye industry was active in Attica both in the Early and the Middle Byzantine periods. In Early Byzantine Megara a considerable number of workshops included dye installations.<sup>1200</sup> Before the introduction of silk production in Byzantium, it is possible that purple dye was used for cotton and wool, the latter being known to have been a major industry in Megara during the ancient and Roman periods.<sup>1201</sup>

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<sup>1196</sup> Jones 1964, 838. Grierson 1992, 137. A relative sparseness of silver minting has been observed for the Early Byzantine Empire compared to the Classical and Hellenistic period. Grierson 1992, 138. In the Early Byzantine empire, silver was only virtually used for coinage, but it was used extensively for luxury vessels and jewellery, as well as for payments in metal weight (ingot): Grierson 1992, 137, 140. Early Byzantine mining appears to have been organised especially in the Balkans and Asia Minor: Vryonis 1962, 11-14.

<sup>1197</sup> Vryonis 1962; Bryer 1982; Matschke 2002. For recent research on silver mines in the Taurus Mountains, which were probably explored in the Early Byzantine or 'Dark-Age' period, see Aslihan Yener – Toydemir 1992.

<sup>1198</sup> Jones 1964, vol. II, 838-839. State-run exploitation is described also by Vryonis (1962, 2-3).

<sup>1199</sup> Fowden (1988, 55) seems to imply that the latter was the case.

<sup>1200</sup> See Appendix [G].9.

<sup>1201</sup> Smith 2006. Sakellariou – Pharaklas 1972, 10. In fact, some of the workshops with large basins may have been used for wool whitening, as similar basins were used for this activity: see Bouras 2010, 114 and note 956. Ground plans of the basins of the Megarian workshops seem identical to the ones found in Athens (photos in Bouras 2010, figs. 67-68), which have been interpreted as workshops producing either dye, or

The character of the dye industry changed completely with the introduction of silk production, which was an imperial monopoly.<sup>1202</sup> Athens itself produced dye *intra muros*<sup>1203</sup> at least from the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1204</sup> Murex shells were fished on the Attic coasts<sup>1205</sup>. Athenian dye is normally considered to have been sold to Thebes.<sup>1206</sup> However, since recent research shows large-scale fishing in the NW part of the Corinthian Gulf, and probable provision of Thebes from there<sup>1207</sup>, it is possible that Athenian dye played a less important role in the silk production of Thebes than has been thought. Cheaper cloths were bound to be produced in Athens, and were dyed in Athens.<sup>1208</sup>

Early Byzantine ceramic kilns for vessels have been excavated in Marathon, Skala Oropou and Megara.<sup>1209</sup> Their products and their circulation remain unknown. A Middle Byzantine ceramic kiln has been found in Marousi, but its products are also unknown.<sup>1210</sup>

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leathers, or used for wool whitening. But the discovery of murex shells in one of the Megarian workshops with large basins certifies this kind of industry.

<sup>1202</sup> On the production of silk in the Byzantine empire see Jacoby 1991-92..

<sup>1203</sup> Thick layers of crushed purple shells have been discovered on the site of Herodes Atticus Odeion: Jacoby 1991-92, 481, note 163. A neighbourhood called ‘Konchylarioi’, dye workers, is mentioned in the *Praktikon of Athens*; see Grandstrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou 1976, 27f., 35. The neighbourhood has been located outside the 11<sup>th</sup>-c. city wall, but inside the Themistocleian wall, between the Acropolis hill and the Muses hill: *ibid.*, map on p. 26; Bouras 2010, 61, 113. On the dye industry of Athens see Kazanaki-Lappa 2002, 643, 644-645; Bouras 2010, 113-114.

<sup>1204</sup> A *terminus ante quem* for dyeing industry is provided by the burial inscription of a κογχυλάριος, dated 1061: Jacoby 1991-92, 481.

<sup>1205</sup> Fishermen of murex shells are mentioned by Michael Choniates to have operated off the island of Gyáros, between Andros and Kea (ed. Lambros, vol. II, 275, 635). Bouras 2010, 113.

<sup>1206</sup> Jacoby 1991-92, 481. Koilakou 2004, 221. Regarding dyed silk, an 11<sup>th</sup>-c. document from Cairo, Egypt, estimates that two thirds of the final cost covered the production of silk, while one fourth covered the production of purple dye (Harvey 1989, 184, note 70). Revenues from purple dye production would therefore have been low in comparison to silk, but still quite high.

<sup>1207</sup> Dunn 2006, 58-59. Koilakou 2004, 223.

<sup>1208</sup> Bouras 2010, 113 and note 944.

<sup>1209</sup> Vrexiza: Chapter B.5.3, note 635. Kato Souli: B.5.6, note 664. Skala Oropou: B.6.3, note 723. Megara: [G].9. Ceramic kilns have also been excavated in farmsteads at Marousi and Menidi, but it is not clear if they produced vessels or tiles. Production of tiles is much easier and did not demand advanced technological knowledge.

<sup>1210</sup> Bouras 2010, 113, note 941.

Marble quarrying in Penteli in Late Antiquity appears to be testified, even if in one case. Decorative marble carving was definitely executed in Middle Byzantine Athens/Attica.<sup>1211</sup> Exploitation of the marble quarries of Hymettus and Penteli in the Middle Byzantine period is therefore probable, despite lack of literary evidence.

## 6. Conclusion

Archaeological research on the hinterland of Athens can provide answers in fields where literary texts remain silent. Demographic rise and intensive economic activity is confirmed for Late Antiquity. The Early Byzantine Attic landscape appears not dissimilar to the ancient one in terms of habitation patterns, despite changes in terms of landholding patterns and administration. During the following ‘Dark-Age’ period, habitation and activity has been attested in some cases, thus disproving theories of desertion, but advance in archaeological methods is needed in order to acquire a better understanding of this period. Regarding the Middle Byzantine period, updated archaeological methodologies are starting to offer results; the rural population becomes visible, and the emerging image combines well with results of monumental architecture and art history, as well as literary evidence.

Ongoing archaeological research in Attica is expected to provide further answers to the issues discussed in this study.

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<sup>1211</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 602.

## Appendix A: Monuments and excavated sites

### B.1. The basin of Athens

#### 1.2. The city wall of Athens and the extension of the city

**The city wall of Athens**<sup>1212</sup>: The Themistocleian city wall (479/8 BC) was reconstructed and expanded towards the east by the Emperor Valerian (253-260) and his son Gallienus (260-268) (Pl. 1a).<sup>1213</sup> Only fifteen or twenty years after this reconstruction, and soon after the Herulian invasion (AD 267), a new, much smaller circuit wall was erected; this protected only the Acropolis hill, its south slope (for a certain period)<sup>1214</sup> and an adjacent area to its north.<sup>1215</sup> The inscription *SEG XXI 768* testifies that the philosopher Iamblichos, a benefactor of Athens who lived there between 362 and 391, undertook serious repairs to curtain walls and towers; but it is not clear which one of the two circuit walls it refers to. None of the excavated wall sections have as yet been attributed to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> c. by their excavators.

Archaeological evidence has brought to light the foundations of 26 towers adjacent to the Valerianic wall which were dated by their excavators to the age of Justinian.<sup>1216</sup> Both these and late reconstructions of the curtain wall are made of *opus incertum* and *spolia*, which

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<sup>1212</sup>Travlos' study (1960, 125-130, 144-145, 156-162), albeit preliminary, remains of paramount importance for the history of the medieval Athenian fortifications. The detailed survey by Theocharaki (2011) about the exact course and construction phases of the wall (both the Themistocleian / Valerianic and the Post-Herulian one), including recent archaeological finds and with extremely accurate topographic data, adds to and enhances the old results. An attempt to tackle the question of the Middle Byzantine fortifications of Athens is made by Bouras (2010, 29-40).

<sup>1213</sup>*Zosimus* 1.29.3; *Syncellus* 381; *Zonaras* 12.23. Theocharaki 2011, 131ff.

<sup>1214</sup>Bouras 2010, 31, note 89.

<sup>1215</sup>For evidence about the date of erection see Frantz 1988, 6; for the course of its circuit see *ibid.*, 6-7. For a description of the wall see the contribution by Travlos in Frantz 1988, 125-141. For recent discoveries, which complement archaeological knowledge on the wall see Tsoniotes 2008.

<sup>1216</sup>The assumption that the Post-Herulian wall, which was also strengthened around that time, was the only circuit wall used in the Early Byzantine period, has now been invalidated on the evidence that the Valerianic wall was drastically strengthened and rebuilt then. See Theocharaki 2011, 135; Bouras 2010, 32f., note 98. Frantz 1988, 58, 82-83.

cannot be (or have not been) dated specifically. A date of construction in the 5<sup>th</sup> or the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. is also possible.<sup>1217</sup> The chronology of construction in the age of Justinian by excavators has been based on Procopius, *De Aedificiis* (4.2.23-25), where he states that Justinian fortified Athens specifically among the cities south of Thermopylae. However, this text is contradicted by Procopius, *Historia Secreta* (26.33), where he states that “and not least in Athens itself, no public building was restored nor could any other needful thing be done”. These historical testimonies need to be tested in the light of archaeological evidence.

Evidence about defence of Athens in the ‘Dark Ages’ and the Middle Byzantine period is rather scant.<sup>1218</sup> The *Praktikon of Athens* repeatedly mentions a ‘Βασιλικόν τεῖχος’, which enclosed fields, vineyards, churches, ancient buildings and a ‘τζιγκανιστήριον ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ’. Given the size which such a circuit must have had, the ‘Βασιλικόν τεῖχος’ has been interpreted as the remains of the Valerianic wall. The condition of this wall by this time, however, can hardly have been good, while the number of defenders which would have been necessary for a circuit of ca. 8 km makes it improbable that the Valerianic wall was an efficient defensive wall at this time.<sup>1219</sup> On the other hand, archaeological evidence shows that the walls of the Acropolis were strengthened in the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>1220</sup>

### 1.3. Ambelokepoi

**Agiou Pantes (Homolegeton monastery):** The *katholikon* of the monastery stood in a ruined condition in the early 20<sup>th</sup> c.; it was excavated by Soteriou, and was later completely restored

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<sup>1217</sup>Theocharaki (2011, 136) thinks that a pre-Justinianic chronology is more probable, since the excavated sections of the wall do not show architectural features consistent with those of known Justinianic constructions.

<sup>1218</sup>For a recent and detailed discussion see Bouras 2010, 29-40.

<sup>1219</sup>Bouras 2010, 34-35.

<sup>1220</sup>Bouras 2010, 35-38. Travlos (1960, 156-162) thought that the the medieval defense wall known as ‘Rizokastro’ belonged to the 11<sup>th</sup> c., but a more recent study shows that it belongs to the early years of the Frankish occupation, and thus it is not included in the present study: see Makri –Tsakos –Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1987-88; Bouras 2010, 40, with further references.

(not marked on *KvA* Blatt IV) (Pl. 1b).<sup>1221</sup> Bouras dates it before the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1222</sup> Korres, based on a study of the *spolia* which lay around the church, believes that the ruin which stood in the early 20<sup>th</sup> c. had replaced an earlier basilica; and that this had succeeded an ancient, probably Classical, temple.<sup>1223</sup> The Agioi Pantes church provides therefore a case of remarkable cult continuity. The Homologeton monastery was granted an *ateleia* by the Velissariotes family of Constantinople.<sup>1224</sup> Moreover, Koder and Hild have observed the similarity of its name with the *monasterium Cinoloitae*, which belonged to the Church of Athens according to the letter of Pope Innocent III.<sup>1225</sup>

**Asomaton monastery:** The *katholikon* of the Asomaton monastery is located 1 km further southwest of Agioi Pantes. Its initial construction phase, probably of the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> c., was followed by a later Middle Byzantine phase, probably of the 12<sup>th</sup> c. Before 1673, when it was restored by the monk Parthenios Petrakis and renamed after him, it was known as the Koukoupouli monastery and was a metochion of the Kareas convent.<sup>1226</sup> The church preserves sculpted decoration of good quality.

#### 1.4. Galatsi

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<sup>1221</sup>Bouras 2010, 220-223. On the excavation results see Soteriou 1926, 247. The church is not marked on *KvA* Blatt IV.

<sup>1222</sup>Bouras 2002, 329. He implies that it belongs to the 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>1223</sup>Korres 1996, 103-109, esp. 104.

<sup>1224</sup>Lambros 1880, 631.

<sup>1225</sup>*TIB* I, 173. The identification of the Homologetai and the Cinoloitai monasteries has been accepted by Bouras (2010, 222, note 13).

<sup>1226</sup>Bouras 2010, 223-229 (with recent results about chronology). Soteriou 1960-61. Orlandos (who dates its initial phase to the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> c.) 1933, 125-128. The name 'Koukoupoulis' belongs to an Athenian family; two inscriptions of Phrangos Koukoupoulis, both dated to 1482/3, have been engraved on columns of the Parthenon; see Orlandos 1973, Nos. 149, 166.

**Omorphe Ekklesia:** Located at the NW foot of Tourkovouni. The chronology of the church varies between the late 12<sup>th</sup> and the early 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1227</sup>, and its history is not illuminated by any preserved historical document. It is dedicated to Agios Georgios, and is believed to have been the *katholikon* of a monastery (Pl. 2a). The sculpted marble members of the monument show excellent workmanship, which contradicts the somewhat carelessly executed *cloisonné* masonry. Two Gothic architectural members suggest that the monument may postdate 1204.

## 1.6. Patesia

**Agios Loukas:** Located underneath the modern Agios Loukas church in Patesia, by one of the main roads which led from Athens to the north. Pittakes, who excavated on this spot in 1860, reported “remains of a large church, the aisles of which are paved with mosaics, while the main aisle is paved with large slabs of Hymettian stone”.<sup>1228</sup> These belonged to the Early Byzantine basilica, which was succeeded by a smaller Byzantine basilica, the *katholikon* of a small monastery; the latter was already in a ruined condition by the time of excavation. Its dimensions were 7x11 m. The identification of this church with the *monasterium sancti Lucae*, catalogued in the letter of Pope Innocent III, has been supported by a few scholars.<sup>1229</sup> Drawings of wall-paintings of the Middle Byzantine church were executed by Karl Poppe in 1840 (Pl. 2b): these depict a saint figure framed by a ciborium, as well as several bands with elaborate floral ornamental motives.<sup>1230</sup> The former theme is iconographically connected with works of art of the 10<sup>th</sup> c., and hints to Islamic iconographic influence.<sup>1231</sup>

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<sup>1227</sup>Bouras 2010, 154-157, with further bibliography. Bouras 2002, 99-102.

<sup>1228</sup>Pittakes 1859, φυλλάδιον 51, 1884.

<sup>1229</sup>Bouras 2010, 207.

<sup>1230</sup>Bouras 2010, 207, fig. 186.

<sup>1231</sup>Bouras 2010, 206-208.

## 1.8. *Phlya* – Chalandri

**Francokklesia:** The Frankish Church NE of Chalandri was known only as a name until recently, when it was excavated as part of the Attike Odos works (Pl. 3a).<sup>1232</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> c., ruins of it were still visible (*KvA Blatt V*, ‘KapellenRuine Franco Monastiri’).<sup>1233</sup> It is located by the SE bank of the Chalandri stream. Orlandos has suggested that the church pre-dated the Frankish conquest, when it was delivered to or occupied by the French Frères Mineurs.<sup>1234</sup> This small single-aisled basilica (11x3,6 m) was probably constructed as a cemetery church, as attested by the built grave (*arcosolium*) which was built simultaneously, attached to the south wall of the church; two pit graves were opened in the narthex. The only safe indication for the chronology of the church is a hoard of billon deniers and tornesia, dating between 1280 and 1311, which were found under the destruction layer of the southern part of the apse; these point to its erection before 1280. A glazed Green and Brown painted cup (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 12<sup>th</sup> c.), which was found just north of the church<sup>1235</sup>, hints to use of this space, and possibly of the church, already in the 12<sup>th</sup> c., confirming Orlandos’ hypothesis. Noteworthy is the funerary character of this late church, which is located amidst a much older cemetery, of the ancient and Early Byzantine periods.

Recent excavations which took place sixty m SE of Francokklesia revealed an extensive agricultural installation with three successive chronological phases, which range from the mid 12<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1236</sup> In the layer of the second phase, a half tetarteron, possibly of Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180) was found. In this phase, the largest part of the installation was occupied by storage spaces with pithoi, which are dated to the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> c. by

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<sup>1232</sup>Pantelidou-Alexiadou 2001-2004, 512-515; *eadem* 2004; *eadem* 2005a. After its excavation, the monument was transferred 50 m SE of its original location, at the junction of Attikes St. and LeukonOreost.

<sup>1233</sup>It was also described very briefly by Orlandos (1933, 177).

<sup>1234</sup>Orlandos 1933, 194.

<sup>1235</sup>Pantelidou-Alexiadou 2005a, 107.

<sup>1236</sup>Pantelidou-Alexiadou 2005b.



sherds of glazed vessels stuck on one pithos. The chronological range of this phase of use between the later 12<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> c. is certified by fragments of datable glazed vessels which were found in the stratigraphic layers of the phase. During the third phase, slightly later, the space continued to be used as an agricultural installation, whereas a pair of bronze earrings, inlaid with gold, surprises with its high-value craftsmanship.

### 1.9. *Athmonon* – Marousi

**Marmariotissa (Agioli Anargyroi):** A 9<sup>th</sup>-c. inscription, engraved on a column shaft, was seen in the Marmariotissa (Agioli Anargyroi) church both by G. Lambakis<sup>1237</sup> and A. Orlandos, who published a squeeze of it (Pl. 3b).<sup>1238</sup> It reads: Καθηρωθη ω αγιος υκ[ο]ς / τ[ης π]αναγιας θεωτωκου επι Ν[ι]κητα / τ[ου] αγιωτατου ημων μητρο[π]ολητου / Α[θη]νων μνη σεμπεβηω η´ ημερα β / ι[νδ] ιδ´ ετους ζΤΝΘ´´ / Κ[υρι]ε [β]ωηθει / τ[ου] δουλου / σ[ο]υ Νηκολα / ου [μο]ναχου / α[μ]αρτο / [λο]υ αμην. The inscription was followed by a cross with the monograms IC XC on either side. The inscription therefore informs about the dedication of a church to the Virgin on September 8 (the feast of her Birth) of the year 850, when Niketas was the metropolitan of Athens.

The dedication of this 9<sup>th</sup> c. church to Panagia by the Metropolitan of Athens suggests that the Virgin was the patron saint of the area during the Middle Byzantine period. The connection of the Christian cult of the Virgin with the ancient cult of the virgin goddess Artemis cannot be omitted here. Continuity of this cult can be traced to the modern period, since the name of the recently demolished church of Marmariotissa refers to Panagia. Moreover, the Virgin is considered as the patron saint of Marousi until today.<sup>1239</sup>

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<sup>1237</sup>Lambakis 1902, 16.

<sup>1238</sup>Orlandos 1933, 202, fig. 272.

<sup>1239</sup> This cult continuity has been already remarked by Lambakis (1902, 16) and Palles (2004, 45 and note 145).

A small excavation which took place to the east and south of the church did not reveal any older building remains, which, however, may exist in the immediate vicinity.<sup>1240</sup> Interestingly, the excavation revealed eight tent-shaped graves just east of the church. Most of these had an east-west direction, and contained no objects. The only exception was the burial of an adult and a child; a ring with a figure-of-eight bezel was found at the position of the hand of the adult. This shape of ring probably dates to the Dark Age or the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>1241</sup> A coin which was found by one of the other graves, and which dates to 1078-1081, provides, according to the excavator, a *terminus ante quem* for the chronology of the burials. Two further tent-shaped graves were found south of the church. The evidence, therefore, although limited, attests to the erection of a church dedicated to the Virgin in 850, and to the existence of a cemetery near it, which was used for some time in the period from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> c. The Early Christian burial inscription of Euphrosyne, which was seen in Marmariotissa (*IG 13472*) might come from the same cemetery, a fact which would show a continuity of use of this area for burials; it is possible, however, that the inscription came from the surrounding area.

## 1.10. Monomati

**Basilica and cemetery:** A group of twelve Late Roman graves was excavated at the junction of Dekeleias and Konstantinoupoleos st. A Byzantine basilica was later built on top of this cemetery, and some of the graves (e.g. Grave 7) appear to have been re-used as ossuaries during the period of use of the church.<sup>1242</sup> The basilica is small, single-aisled, with a semi-

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<sup>1240</sup> For the excavation see Lazarides 1968, 116-118, fig. 3.

<sup>1241</sup> See as a parallel Papanikola-Bakirtzis (ed.) 2002, 449, No. 603: ring from a cemetery in Azoros Elassonas.

<sup>1242</sup> Platonos-Yota 2004, 177-179, drawing 9, figs. 100-101, and 198-200, drawing 13, figs. 116-117. Apart from a few bronze rings no other burial objects were found, and the chronology of the cemetery to the 'Late Roman' period remains to be further specified or confirmed.

circular apse (diameter of 1.90 m) and was paved with large rectangular tiles, placed in alternate east-west and north-east direction (Pl. 4a). Coins were found at two spots: A coin of Justinian I or Heraclius was found NE of Wall 4, while thirteen Anonymous folleis, dated between 970 and 1092, were found stacked on top of the ruined surface of Wall 3 – apparently after the church’s destruction. The excavator does not offer any further indications for the period in which the church was used.

### 1.13. Iera Odos and the Daphni monastery

**Daphni monastery:** The monastery is dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin, and derives its common name from its location at the north foot of Mt Aigaleo, which was earlier called ‘Daphnovouni’. The monastery lies on Iera Odos. The founders of the convent, as well as the conditions of its foundation, are unknown, but the extremely high quality of its construction and mosaic decoration demonstrates a direct artistic connection with Constantinople, and possibly with the imperial environment.<sup>1243</sup> According to Mouriki, “Although the mosaics of Daphni seem to be an isolated case in terms of style in contemporary monumental painting, they mark a new classical trend at the beginning of the Comnenian period which assumes paramount importance for the subsequent development of Comnenian painting.”<sup>1244</sup> Their artistic significance therefore goes far beyond regional level.

The monastery has been long believed to have succeeded an Early Byzantine predecessor<sup>1245</sup>, but Bouras persuasively argues that none of the known buildings of the

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<sup>1243</sup> The first detailed study of Daphni was published by Millet (1899). For the artistic affinities of the mosaics of Daphni with works of art produced in, or directly influenced by, Constantinople, see Mouriki 1980-81, 94-98.

<sup>1244</sup> Mouriki 1980-81, 94.

<sup>1245</sup> Millet (1899, 3-15) dated the lower parts of the circuit wall of the monastery to the ‘Early Christian’ period; he also excavated remains of the western wall of a building, west of the existing *katholikon*, which he interpreted as an Early Christian basilica. He was followed by Orlandos (1925b, 70-75; 1933, 217), Pallas (*RE* 1, 1966, coll. 1120-1133, Koder and Hild (*TIB* I, 141), and other scholars (for a full list see Bouras 1998,

monastery is earlier than the 11<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1246</sup> The foundation of the monastery dates towards the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> c., probably around 1080, as historical evidence<sup>1247</sup>, the architecture<sup>1248</sup> (Pl. 4d) and the mosaic decoration<sup>1249</sup> of the *katholikon* attest. The mosaics were executed between 1080 and the turn of the century, a period which coincides with the reign of Alexius Comnenus, who developed a new policy towards monasteries. An open stoa was annexed to the *katholikon* during the 12<sup>th</sup> c., and was re-built and transformed by Cistercian monks later.<sup>1250</sup>

The monastic buildings were surrounded by a square circuit wall, ca. 100 m long on every side, which is protected with square towers. This fortification renders the Daphni monastery a site with strong defence, placed on a major road of Attica.<sup>1251</sup>

### 1.27. *Halimous*– Alimos

**Basilica at Alimos:** Located on the Agia Anna hill.<sup>1252</sup> The basilica occupied the important religious site of the Classical *Thesmophorion* of *Halimous*, which was dedicated to the cult of Demeter as a patron of agriculture and marriage, and was performed strictly by women. The basilica is small (11x5 m), and initially consisted of one aisle (Pl. 5c). The discovery of an

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2). Later, Orlandos (1955-56, 69-73, fig. 5) excavated a gate in the east wing of the circuit wall, which he also dated to the 'Early Christian' period, based on the depth in which it was found, as well as on the material of its construction (conglomerate stone blocks).

<sup>1246</sup>Bouras 1998. His views were confirmed during recent restoration works by the 1<sup>st</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities: see briefly Gini-Tsophopoulou 2001-2004, 505.

<sup>1247</sup>Janin 1975, 311. The monastery is mentioned in the *Life of Osios Meletios* written by Th. Prodrimos. Moreover, a lead seal of Numismatic Museum of Athens, dating to the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> c., bears the iambic inscription *Σφραγίς προέδρου Παύλου ποιμένος Δαφνίου*: Laurent 1963-1972, II, 1244f.

<sup>1248</sup>Megaw 1931-32, 102, 103, 107, 112, 116, 117, 120, 122, 125, 129. Bouras 1998.

<sup>1249</sup>Mouriki 1980-81, 94-98.

<sup>1250</sup>On the 12<sup>th</sup>-c. stoa see Bouras 2002, 114-117.

<sup>1251</sup>The circuit wall was thought by Millet, Orlandos and others to be of Early Byzantine date, but Bouras (1998, 1-6) persuasively argues that it was originally built in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c. The strategic location of the monastery has been stated also by Fowden (1988, 52-53, 58-59), who, however, follows Millet in his view that Daphni had an Early Byzantine phase.

<sup>1252</sup>Soteriou 1929, 195. The basilica was excavated by the German Archaeological Institute, under W. Wrede, early in the 20<sup>th</sup> c. The short report and the ground plan which were offered to Soteriou are the only published information about this church. During World War II, the site of the sanctuary and the basilica was occupied and used by the German army, and all remains were destroyed or covered with soil. On the site see Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 77-81, 141. The basilica is also reported in Orlandos 1933, 155-156; *TIB* I, 170.

*enkainion* shows that it housed remains of a martyr. Two side aisles and a narthex, built of rubble masonry, were added later in the Early Byzantine period. The marble columns which separated the aisles, as well as the ambo which was added at this stage, show a notable investment. At an even later stage, during the transitional or the Middle Byzantine period, an apse was added at the east end of the south aisle.

Recent archaeological investigations on the hilltop of Agia Anna revealed two graves of the LRom/EByz period: a built cist grave and a large pit, with a conch on one side, which was used as a grave and ossuary.<sup>1253</sup> The excavator supposes that these graves may be situated on the floor, or the courtyard of the above-mentioned basilica, but excavation is needed to test this hypothesis.

**Building complex 100 m east of Agia Anna hill:** The building had two construction phases and was used in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> c., as attested by coins.<sup>1254</sup> It initially consisted of a very large square space, while in a second phase its sides were separated to smaller rooms, and the central part possibly served as an *atrium* (Pl. 6a). The outer wall was built with ancient stone blocks in second use, as well as smaller stones, tiles and mud. Floors were made of earth or lime mortar, while one room was floored with tiles. Some of the rooms were used for storage, as demonstrated by four pithoi and twelve storage pits which were dug in the ground. Two of the storage pits were coated with hydraulic mortar. The building complex was interpreted by the excavator as storerooms of a great landowner or of a monastic foundation. The latter hypothesis was thought to be strengthened by the discovery of an non-fluted column shaft which bears an incised cross, surrounded by small bronze pins; but research shows that

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<sup>1253</sup>Kaza-Papageorgiou 2001-2004, 475.

<sup>1254</sup>Kaza-Papageorgiou 1989, 57-59; Junction of Elikonidon and Palaistines st. Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 143.

crosses were inscribed on walls (and presumably also columns) of houses, as well as churches<sup>1255</sup>.

### 1.28. *Euonymon* – Trachones

**Basilica:** Excavated ca. 1.5 km NE of the Agia Anna (Alimos) basilica, west of Vouliagmenis Avenue, NE of a 16<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup>-c. church of Panagia (Eisodia Theotokou) and next to a modern church of Zoodochos Pege.<sup>1256</sup> Spolia used in the masonry of the basilica suggest that it replaced a Classical monument; the broader area was used as a cemetery during Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times.<sup>1257</sup> The chronology of this basilica is not clear, and the excavator judged that it oscillates “κατά την μεταξύ της παλαιοχριστιανικής και της πρωτοβυζαντινής εποχής περίοδον”, which, according to our periodisation, should be translated to “the end of the Early Byzantine and the beginning of the ‘Dark-Age’ period”. The basilica has one aisle and a narthex which communicate through a *tribelon*. The masonry of the basilica consists of large-sized conglomerate stones, set vertically in the ground, with rubble masonry between them (Pl. 6c). This kind of masonry occurs in buildings of the Middle Byzantine period (ca. 12<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>1258</sup>, and therefore the chronology of the basilica may have to be reconsidered. The basilica had a second narthex (or roofed ancillary room) adjacent to its south, where a grinding stone and a *pithos* were found. The excavator suggests that the latter finds come from an earlier use of the site, but examples of Early Byzantine basilicas which housed agricultural installations are now known from various sites.<sup>1259</sup> The Trachones

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<sup>1255</sup> Moutsopoulos 2004, 21.

<sup>1256</sup> For the excavation see Lazarides 1964, 96-97. On the Ottoman village Trachones see Palles 2009, 398-403. On the church of Panagia see Orlandos 1933, 156 (Εισόδια Θεοτόκου). On the name ‘Trachones’ see Palles 2009, 398.

<sup>1257</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 119-121.

<sup>1258</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 386. Examples in Attica: Agios Nikolaos at Kantza, church at Kalmi (Laureotic Olympus).

<sup>1259</sup> See sub-chapter on the basilica of Laureotikos Olympos.

basilica had two successive floors at different levels, which show lengthy use or / and renewed activity.

Furthermore, the Trachones basilica housed a cemetery; ten tent-shaped graves, similarly belonging to two different levels, were found in the narthex. An early Christian burial inscription was found in this cemetery, and commemorates Dionysius the silk-weaver (or silk-merchant, according to Sironen), slave of the illustrious *anthypatos* Plutarch.<sup>1260</sup> According to Sironen, silk-merchants are rarely mentioned in Early Christian epitaphs of Greece; the mentioning of Dionysius' occupation fits in well with him being the servant of a proconsul. It is tempting to identify Plutarch of this inscription with the proconsul known from an inscription from Megara, where the proconsul Plutarch is thanked for rebuilding the city walls; but Sironen is cautious with this identification. He tentatively dates the inscription to the 4<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1261</sup>

### 1.29. *Aixone* – Glyphada and Elliniko

**Basilica and cemetery:** An Early Christian basilica has been excavated on the shore of the small gulf north of Cape Punta<sup>1262</sup>, on the site of an extended Classical cemetery which was used until the Early Byzantine period. At the junction of Phivis and Metaxas st., the excavator found a large number of Classical graves, four Roman graves, and one which could be dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1263</sup> The cemetery extended further SW. On the coast (mod. Asteria Glyphadas), a number of LRom/EByz tombs were erected inside and just outside a rectangular enclosure

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<sup>1260</sup>Creaghan – Raubitschek 1947, 27, No. VI; Sironen 1997, 218-219, No. 170; Sironen 2008, 84-85, No. 13445. dates it tentatively to the 4<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>1261</sup>Sironen 1997, *ibid.*; Sironen 2008, *ibid.*

<sup>1262</sup>Orlandos 1930. The excavation was started by N. Kyparissis, who did not publish his results on the cemetery apart from a marble lekythos (Eliot 1962, 19; Orlandos 1930, 258, note 1), and was continued by Orlandos.

<sup>1263</sup>Petritaki (1979, 72) conducted a rescue excavation in this cemetery, and found a Classical cemetery, which was used up to the Roman period. One of the graves contained an oinochoe dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c.

wall of the Early Helladic period.<sup>1264</sup> Thirty-four graves were excavated; many of them contained clay and glass jugs of the 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> c., and a few bronze coins. It is reasonable to assume that the choice for the location of the basilica was dictated by the existence of the cemetery.<sup>1265</sup>

The basilica is three-aisled, covered with a wooden roof, as indicated by the thickness of the exterior walls (0.55 m) and the maximum diameter of the columns (0.285 m) (Pl. 6b). Nevertheless, and despite its modest size (15.75x17.50 m), the building shows luxurious architectural elements, such as the columns of the stylobate, 2.65 m high, made of blue and of white marble, and its paving with blue and white marble slabs, which create a decorative pattern. The synthronon of the apse has steps at both ends, an unusual feature which places it at an intermediate stage between an elevated apse and a proper synthronon. The basilica was dated to the turn of the 5<sup>th</sup> towards the 6<sup>th</sup> c. by Orlandos. Pallas thinks that it dates relatively late compared to the other Early Christian basilicas of Attica.<sup>1266</sup> In this first phase, it was used up to “an unknown era” and was destroyed by an unknown cause, as the excavator states.<sup>1267</sup> The basilica had two subsequent construction phases. In the second phase, the colonnades were walled, and only the middle part of the basilica was in use. Two coins, one of the empress Theodora (1054-1055) and one of the Comnenian dynasty, found on the floor of this structure, probably come from the last period of its use. In the third construction phase, a small chapel was erected in the area of the original apse and the eastern part of the main

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<sup>1264</sup>Kaza-Papageorgiou 2000, 112-114.

<sup>1265</sup>A view supported also by Kaza-Papageorgiou (2009, 438).

<sup>1266</sup>Pallas 1986, 58, 60. His argument lies on the location of the outer door of the narthex on the axis of the building, an element which he considers as late in date.

<sup>1267</sup>Orlandos 1930, 261. Koder and Hild (*TIB* I, 165) assume that the destruction occurred in the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> c., but this does not rely on any of the reported archaeological data.



aisle. Christian tent-shaped graves were found south of the basilica, but their ruined condition did not allow a firm dating.<sup>1268</sup>

**Secular building:** Located at the junction of Gounari and Valaoritou st.<sup>1269</sup> The building remains were visible above ground up to 2001, and have been marked on *KvA* as a rectangular structure. It is a square building, ca. 52x52 m, with rooms attached to the outer walls, and with a large central courtyard (Pl. 7b). A second, large rectangular courtyard is adjacent to the outer north wall of the complex. Foundation remains of a rectangular ‘tower’, 2x2.5 m (therefore actually watchpost), were found attached to the inner face of the west wall. An oblong room attached to the outer east wall, with five circular pits dug in the ground, as well as a large room on the south side, are of unknown use. The dating of the complex was based on the discovery of Middle Byzantine pottery.

### 1.32. *Anagyrous* – Vari

**Nympholyptos cave:** Located on the SE foot of Hymettus. The cave contains a rock-cut shrine, numerous ancient rock-cut inscriptions with dedications to the Nymphs, and the relief figure of a man and his name, ‘Archidemos’. Excavations in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. produced pottery, nearly a thousand of LRom/EByz oil-lamps, and numerous coins, which enable the assumption that the cave was used from ca. 600 to ca. 150 BC, and that it was re-used from the early 4<sup>th</sup> c. to at least the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD.<sup>1270</sup> A small proportion (ca. 50) of the recovered lamps have been preserved in the collection of the German Archaeological Institute (Pl. 8a). These bear both pagan and Christian decoration (representations of Athena, the god

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<sup>1268</sup>Gini-Tsophopoulou 1986, 27.

<sup>1269</sup>Kaza-Papageorgiou 2001-2004, 471-473. Kaza-Papageorgiou 2009, 445-448.

<sup>1270</sup>Weller – Dunham et al. 1903. On dating evidence based on coins see p. 284-285, 335-337.

Elios, Artemis, Pan, Eros, but also the sacrifice of Abraham).<sup>1271</sup> The cult use of the cave by Christians is confirmed by an iron ring with cross decoration<sup>1272</sup>, and by cross sgraffiti on tree spots in the interior of the cave<sup>1273</sup>. A few of these lamps were recently dated to ca. 300 AD, whereby their majority was dated during the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> c.

## B.2. Mt Hymettus

### 2.2. Kynegou Philosophon monastery

On the northernmost tip of Mt Hymettus stands the Byzantine monastery dedicated to Agios Ioannes Prodromos and known as ‚Philosophon‘ presumably from the name of his owner. In 1208, Michael Choniates addressed a letter to the abbot Luke (‘Τῷ καθηγουμένῳ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κυνηγοῦ τῶν Φιλοσόφων’).<sup>1274</sup>

The architecture of the *katholikon* has been dated from the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> c. to the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. (Pl. 9a-b).<sup>1275</sup> The *katholikon*, despite its small size, shows a very careful construction and clear artistic intentions: extremely careful architectural analogies, antithesis between the cloisonné masonry of the apse and the cupola on the one hand, and the rubble masonry of the walls, and sculptural decoration of high quality. Use during the 12<sup>th</sup> c.

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<sup>1271</sup>Bassett, ‘The cave at Vari: Terra-cotta lamps’, in Weller – Dunham et al. 1903, 338-349. Schörner – Goette 2004, 100-106.

<sup>1272</sup>Weller – Dunham et al. 1903, 285. Schörner – Goette 2004, 109.

<sup>1273</sup>Schörner – Goette 2004, 109.

<sup>1274</sup>Lambros 1879-80, II, 247f.(No. 120).Stadmüller 1934, 259.

<sup>1275</sup>Orlandos 1933, 173: beginning of 12<sup>th</sup> c. Megaw 1931-32, 97-99, 116, 125f., 129 (esp. 97-99 and 129): second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> c. Bouras 2002, 200: 1204-1205.

is also attested by a Slip-Painted glazed jug found in a hole in the south wall of the *katholikon*.<sup>1276</sup>

An inscribed marble column shaft attests to vine cultivations owned by the monastery. It reads: Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς / παρά Χ[ριστ]οῦ τοῦ Θε[ο]οῦ καὶ τοῦ / Τιμίου Προδρόμου, ὅς / γινώσκει τοὺς ἀμπελώνας / τῆς Μονῆς καὶ ὠφελεῖται ἐξ αὐτῶν [ἀ]πό το[ῦ] νῦν μέχρι / καὶ ἔσχάτου / Προφητικόν Δρέπανον... The chronology of the inscription is not clear; the column shaft was found embedded in the (later) narthex of the *katholikon*.<sup>1277</sup>

A *metochion* dedicated to Agios Ioannes, which belonged to this monastery in the Ottoman period, lies on Vouliagmenis Avenue, SE of the Olympieion (see Chapter B.1.26, Daphne). The church belongs to the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1278</sup> In the 1960s, a Middle Byzantine church was found underneath the Ottoman church.<sup>1279</sup> It may be hypothesized that this was a *metochion* of the Kynegou monastery already in the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> c.

## 2.5. Kaisariane monastery

The monastery dedicated to the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, known as Kaisariane, is located west of the Euzonos peak. The provenance of its name has been long discussed<sup>1280</sup>, but no definite origin has been attributed to it. Its site lies close to natural springs and cultivable fields, and it has been supported that Kaisariani lay within a cultivable area in Antiquity.<sup>1281</sup> At the same time the site offers protection since it is naturally hidden

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<sup>1276</sup> Lazarides 1960, 68, Pl. 57e.

<sup>1277</sup> Lazarides 1960, 68.

<sup>1278</sup> Orlandos 1933, 151.

<sup>1279</sup> Lazarides 1970, 142-143.

<sup>1280</sup> Milchhöfer 1883, 25. Kambouroglou 1890, 197-199.

<sup>1281</sup> Langdon 1982, 90.

from the Athenian plain.<sup>1282</sup> The monastery, the core of which dates to the Middle Byzantine period, is still preserved to a remarkable degree.

The site was originally occupied by a sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite.<sup>1283</sup> Early Byzantine activity is attested through wall remains and sculpted architectural members. SE of the monastery circuit wall lie remains of three further churches which succeeded each other chronologically. The earliest one is a three-aisled Early Christian basilica with a narthex, dated tentatively to the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1284</sup> This is the original place of use of the Early Byzantine spolia which have been used in the Middle Byzantine monastery. On the remains of the basilica a Middle Byzantine cross-shaped church was built; Lazarides dates it to the 10<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1285</sup> The third phase is represented by a Frankish church.

The *katholikon* of the monastery was recently dated to the early 12<sup>th</sup> c. by Bouras<sup>1286</sup>, and is characterized by high quality of construction and by stylistic austerity (Pl. 10a). The monastery certainly existed by 1209, when it was catalogued as *abbatium Sancti Siriani* in the letter of Pope Innocent III.<sup>1287</sup>

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<sup>1282</sup>An extensive wall at the foot of the 'Kaisarini Berg' (*KvA*) was thought by McCredie (1966, 51-52) to have been a fort, probably of the ancient period (*non vidi*). However, as Langdon (1982, 90) observes, no buildings were found in it, and the thickness of the wall (80-90 cm) suggests that it was used for land demarcation or for protection of grazing livestock.

<sup>1283</sup>*Suida Phot.* 'Κυλλοῦ Πήρα· ἡ Πήρα χωρίον πρὸς τῷ Υμηττῷ, ἐνῷ ἱερόν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ κρήνη, ἐξ ἧς αἱ πλούσαι εὐτοκούσιν καὶ αἱ ἄγονοι γόνιμοι γίνονται. Κρατῖνος δὲ ἐν Μαλθακοῖς Καλλίαν αὐτῆ φισιν, οἱ δὲ Κυλλουπήραν.' The identification of Κυλλοῦ Πήρα with the Kaisariane spring has been followed by most scholars (see e.g. Orlandos 1933, 158-159).

<sup>1284</sup>Lazarides 1960, 66.

<sup>1285</sup>Lazarides *ibid.* If Lazarides' chronology is correct, one might argue for a possible pre-12<sup>th</sup>-c. phase of the Kaisariane monastery. However, any firm conclusions about the chronology of the cross-shaped church need further research.

<sup>1286</sup>Bouras 2002, 159-162. The initial chronology around 1000, given by Strzygowski (1902, 51-96), was followed by Koder – Hild (*TIBI*, 178). Megaw (1931-32) moved the chronology to the last quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> c., while Orlandos (1933, 161), probably following Megaw, vaguely mentions a chronology in the 11<sup>th</sup> c. Megaw's arguments appear to be superseded by the ones of Bouras.

<sup>1287</sup>*Acta Innocentii III*, Col. 1560D.

## 2.6. Kareas monastery

Located on the west slope of Hymettus, ca. 2 km south of Kaisariane.<sup>1288</sup> The date and the conditions of its erection are unknown, but the monastery is mentioned in the ‘Praktikon of Athens’.<sup>1289</sup> The *katholikon* and surrounding buildings probably belong to the Ottoman period, but include Early Byzantine spolia in their masonry. This was a stauropolegic monastery in the Ottoman period, and possibly earlier<sup>1290</sup>; Koder and Hild have formed the reasonable hypothesis that it may be identified with the *monasterium Copreae* included in the letter of Pope Innocent of 1209 with the holdings of the Church of Athens.<sup>1291</sup>

Southwest of the monastery lay the Ottoman village Kara. A description of the ancient remains in its area, delivered by Milchhöfer, does not include finds which might belong to the Late Roman and Byzantine periods.<sup>1292</sup>

## 2.7. The summit of Hymettus

**Zeus sanctuary:** An ancient sanctuary of Zeus located near the summit of Hymettus appears to have been used until the 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD, since fragments of ca. 120 LRom/EByz lamps and a coin of Arcadius (395-408) were found there. Most lamps have been assigned a date in the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1293</sup> Only one of them bears Christian decoration. The use of lamps as offerings in mountain cave sanctuaries, but also on mountain peaks, was common practice in this period, as is amply shown in Attica.

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<sup>1288</sup>Orlandos 1933, 157. For a detailed description of the monuments and their history see Palles 2009, 380-389.

<sup>1289</sup>Grandstrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou 1976, 33.

<sup>1290</sup>Palles 2009, 382.

<sup>1291</sup>*TIB* I, 175. Koder 1977, 141. Neroutsos (1892, 70, note 2) suggested that it may be identified with a church of Panagia in Κορπιή, which, in his times, was identified with Koropi. Today we know that the ancient *demos* of *Kopros* was located east of Eleusis (see relevant chapter). Although *Copreae* etymologically lies close to the names of the ancient *demoi* *Kopros* and *Kropidai*, both lying east of Eleusis, the significance of the Kareas monastery in the Ottoman period offers ground to the argument proposed by Koder and Hild.

<sup>1292</sup>Milchhöfer 1883, 28. On the Ottoman village see also Palles 2009, 389-393.

<sup>1293</sup>Langdon 1976, 72-76. Three more lamp fragments exist in the DAI collection (Grigoropoulos 2009, 446 and 450 [Nos. 129, 130, 168], 472, FO 038).

Langdon offers an additional explanation for the renewed systematic use of the site of the god of rain in the late 4<sup>th</sup> and the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. He argues that this must have been a period of grain shortage in Athens, since Athens always had to import grain (and was annually gifted with grain by Hadrian, Constantine, and possibly other emperors), and the wars with the Goths during this period would have caused a serious reduction in grain supply for Athens, especially since Constantinople was now the main destination for grain cargoes.<sup>1294</sup> This would have created a good reason for people to pray to their rain god. This sounds like a plausible explanation, but evidence closer connected to grain consumption in Athens during this period is needed in order to support it further. Moreover, the chronology of lamps provided in the volume VII of the Athenian Agora series, on which Langdon relies for the chronology of the sanctuary lamps, has been updated.<sup>1295</sup>

## 2.9. The site of Prophetes Elias

The site is located on the east slope of Hymettos, on 524 m altitude, W/NW of Koropi, and is currently occupied by an early modern church dedicated to Prophetes Elias. Kotzias excavated the area around the church, while looking for the sanctuary of Rainy Zeus (*Zeus Ombrios*) and Apollo Proopsios.<sup>1296</sup> He found foundations of two ancient temples, which he thought to have belonged to the two gods. One of the two temples underlies the church of Prophetes Elias. Between the construction phases of the temple and the standing church Kotzias found remains of an earlier church, of which a rough ground plan is shown in his site plan (Pl. 10b). The church has one semi-hexagonal apse, which seems to be the reason why Kotzias thought that

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<sup>1294</sup>Langdon 1976, 93-95.

<sup>1295</sup>Binder 1982, 138-139; Sanders 2004, 174-175. Slane and Sanders (2005, 280-283) offer a well-argued example of such a chronological update for Attic lamps found in Corinth in 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>-century deposits.

<sup>1296</sup>Kotzias 1949; 1950.

“the church cannot be dated earlier than the 11<sup>th</sup> c.”.<sup>1297</sup> The published archaeological data do not allow any other conclusion about the chronology of the church.

Movable finds do, however, provide hints for the Byzantine history of use of the site. A coin of Heraclius (616/7), found south of the church, attests to its use in the 7<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1298</sup> Elsewhere<sup>1299</sup>, Kotzias mentions the discovery of “Roman sherds bearing incised horizontal or wavy lines”, which are probably LRA2 bodysherds. A coin of Alexius I Comnenus, found near the one of Heraclius, along with a further coin of Manuel I Comnenus constitute evidence for use of the site in the 12<sup>th</sup> c., and are once again corroborated by ceramic evidence.<sup>1300</sup>

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<sup>1297</sup>Kotzias 1949, 63. Moreover, he adds that “it is certain, judging from the letter of Akominatos to the abbot Luke (Lampros 1880, II, 160), that the church was in function during the years of the Archbishop”. Kotzias relies on the sentence: “Ἄρα ἐπί τὸν Ὑμηττὸν ἀνακεχώρηκε”, where Choniates refers to Hymettos in general as a ‘holy mountain’ which housed many monasteries. Kotzias’ assumption, that Choniates refers to the site of Prophetes Elias specifically, cannot be supported.

<sup>1298</sup>Kotzias 1950, 157: “Φαίνεται δε ἀκόμη, ὅτι ἡ το πρῶτον ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνου κτισθεῖσα ἐκκλησία ἀνηγέρθη πρῶτως, διότι πρὸς Ν ταύτης καὶ παρὰ το πολυμερές οἶκημα Σ (Kotzias 1949, pl. 1) ἀνευρέθη χαλκοῦν νόμισμα τοῦ Ἡρακλείου (616-7), παριστῶν ἐμπροσθεν τὸν Ἡράκλειο, τὸν Κωνσταντῖνο καὶ τὴ Μαρτίνα, ὀπισθεν το στοιχείο Μ, CON ἔτος 41 [;] καὶ νομισματοκοπέιο Β (βλ. BMC ἀρ. 172).”

<sup>1299</sup>Kotzias 1949, 73.

<sup>1300</sup>Kotzias 1949, 73: “Ἐν τῇ αὐτήεπιχώσει [i.e. same as the one which provided the sherds with grooved lines] παρουσιάσθησαν ἀρκετὰ ὄστρακα ἐξ ἀγγείων Βυζαντινῆς ἐποχῆς μετὰ λευκοκιτρίνης ἐσωτερικῆς γανώσεως ἢ ἀλοιφῆς, ἐφ’ ἧς κύκλοι ὁμόκεντροι, ταινίαι, δικτυωτὰ πλέγματα, σπειροειδῆ σχήματα καφεῖνω χρώματι κ.τ.τ.”. These can probably be identified with open glazed vessels of the 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup> c., such as Fine Sgraffito, Green and Brown Painted Ware (‘σπειροειδῆ σχήματα καφεῖνω χρώματι’), perhaps even Zeuxippus Ware (‘κύκλοι ὁμόκεντροι’). The colour ‘λευκοκίτρινη’ successfully describes the colour of the glaze used very commonly during this period.

## B.3. The plain of Mesogeia

### 3.3. Pikermi

**Ano Pikermi Basilica:** The ruins of an Early Christian basilica have been reported by Travlos to have stood close to the Metamorphosis church. Travlos was able to see foundations of its walls, consisting of dilapidated dark stone, in a fenced piece of land located 120-180 m to the north of the Metamorphosis cemetery, lying on either side of a street leading towards the east. The dimensions of the basilica measured, according to Travlos' calculations, ca. 57x36 m.<sup>1301</sup> I was not able to locate these remains during my visit.<sup>1302</sup> Today the land around the church has been redesigned in land plots with houses and large gardens.

**Metamorphosis:** Located in the cemetery of Ano Pikermi. The Metamorphosis church has an Ottoman and an early modern phase, and according to Makrokostas it has preserved the south wall of the initial (Byzantine) phase (Pl. 10c).<sup>1303</sup> Two sculpted reliefs, embedded to the west wall, may belong to this original phase: the marble door lintel, decorated with interlaced triple circles and interrupted by a Greek cross (Pl. 10d); and a marble slab, carved with a Latin cross, with stems and leaves growing on either side of it.<sup>1304</sup> Both reliefs probably belong to the 11<sup>th</sup> c., judging by their style.<sup>1305</sup> Also the form of the window of the original phase (Pl.

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<sup>1301</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1302</sup> Travlos notes that these foundations have been recorded with red colour and with the indication 'Mauerreste' on *KvA*, Blatt XII; these, however, have been drawn on *KvA* to the south of the Metamorphosis church, rather than to its north, where Travlos reports to have seen the foundations. It is not clear, therefore, whether these foundations were located to the north or to the south of the Metamorphosis church.

<sup>1303</sup> Mastrokostas 1956, 32 and fig. 9. Since then, the building has been slightly modified. The window on the south aisle, belonging to the original phase, does not currently exist and its form is known to us only from a photo of the 1950s.

<sup>1304</sup> Mastrokostas 1956, 32, figs. 10 and 11 respectively.

<sup>1305</sup> Door lintel: For the circles see as a parallel Vanderheyde 2005, 18-20, nos. 8-10, from the St. George church at Dramesi, south Epirus. For a very similar cross, both in shape and style, see the exhibited marble relief No. 935 in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> c.: Chalkia 2007, 133, no. 89. Relief slab: Boura



10c), with a dog-tooth frieze running around it and horizontally around the wall, is compatible with a chronology in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 11<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1306</sup>

### 3.3. Skemphthi (Agios Vasileios), Vourva

**Basilica:** The basilica was excavated just to the south of a standing chapel dedicated to Agios Vasileios; it is noted on *KvA* as “verfallene Kapelle mit antiken Säulenstümpfen”.<sup>1307</sup> The basilica was three-aisled, with a semicircular apse, a double narthex and with three rectangular annex rooms adjacent to its north aisle (Pl. 12a). Its dimensions measure 18x16.5 m. Marble columns, double colonettes and a large number of square clay slabs, with which the church was paved, were found in its interior. The masonry consists of rubble stones laid in horizontal rows (Pl. 12b); rows of tiles must have interrupted the rubble masonry, possibly at intervals of ca. 0.80 m (similarly to the Brauron basilica), but none of them are preserved in the masonry, the preserved height of which does not surpass the 0.50 m. Based on the plan of the basilica, D. Pallas considered it as somewhat earlier than the basilica of Brauron, which itself has been dated to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1308</sup> At a later phase, after the church had been destroyed, tiles from the paving of the basilica and rubble stones were used to reconstruct the eastern part of the original building as a small single-aisled church, of which no plan or photo is available. A grave built of layers of tiles at the SW corner of the later church must belong to this period of use.

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1980, fig. 127; the style is not quite the same, which may suggest a somewhat later chronology for the Metamorphosis slab.

<sup>1306</sup> Gioles 1992, 127. Ch. Bouras (2002), in his book with the detailed description of 12<sup>th</sup>-c. Greek churches, does not include the Metamorphosis church; this supports an earlier chronology for its original phase.

<sup>1307</sup> Mastrokostas 1956, 31-32. Lazarides 1964, 99. Lazarides 1965, 138.

<sup>1308</sup> Pallas 1986, 53-55.

### 3.4. Brauron – Vraona

**Basilica:** Located 500 m to the west of the ancient sanctuary of Brauron (*vidi*). The basilica is three-aisled, with a double narthex, a baptistery and other annex buildings (Pl. 15a-b).<sup>1309</sup> It is of medium size (the main nave measures 21x18.5 m), but its architecture shows careful craftsmanship, while the marble floor, the carved column capitals and other marble architectural members, and frescoes imitating columns and marble revetment, indicate a considerable investment. Both Stikas and Pallas dated the basilica to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1310</sup> A gold solidus of Justinian, dating to 538, confirms this date.<sup>1311</sup>

A marble plaque with low relief decoration of two peacocks on either side of a vessel, found in the inner narthex, was dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> c. by the excavator<sup>1312</sup> (Pl. 15c); it is possible that its use hints to a phase of renovation which took place in the basilica in that period. A single-aisled chapel, built in the main nave after the destruction of the basilica, represents a third phase of church construction on the site.<sup>1313</sup>

Evidence for the length of use of the basilica is provided by the burials which were found inside and around it. One of the graves which were opened in the inner narthex was marked with a marble column fragment, on which a burial inscription had been carved in the 6<sup>th</sup> c.: + *ENΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ / ΚΙΤΕ ΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΟΥ / ΑΗ ΛΕΙΠΤΙΚΑ ΓΑΜΕ / ΤΙ ΓΕΝΑΜΕΝΙ*

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<sup>1309</sup> On its excavation see Stikas 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954. For a description and discussion of its architecture see Pallas 1986, esp. 46-49.

<sup>1310</sup> Stikas 1952, 104. Pallas 1986, 51, 52, 60; he thinks that it is somewhat later than the Lechaion basilica at Corinth, and probably earlier than the basilica of Laureotic Olympus, which he places just before 559.

<sup>1311</sup> Stikas 1953, 103-104.

<sup>1312</sup> Stikas 1952, 82. For a parallel see Soteriou 1929, 83, fig. 101, dated also in the 7<sup>th</sup> c. but only on stylistic ground. Orlandos (1960, 249, pl. 185b) presented an impost capital with similar iconographic theme and similar stylistic execution, which was found among column capitals of the tectonic type; he dated them to the 6<sup>th</sup> c., but a comparison of these capitals with the ones exhibited in the Byzantine Museum of Athens would be an argument for their chronology in the 'Dark Age' period. Pallas (1986, 49) thinks that the Brauron plaque should be dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c., but the parallel that he cites is a mosaic and its similarity with the Brauron plaque is only an iconographic one, not a stylistic one.

<sup>1313</sup> Its ruins can be seen in Stikas 1952, 76, fig. 3 and 78, fig. 5. Today only its plan can be discerned on the ground.

ΑΓΑΘΩ / ΦΕΡΩΝΤΟΣ ΤΕΛΕΥ / ΤΑ ΜΗΝΙ ΑΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ / Η Α Β.<sup>1314</sup> Another burial inscription on a plaque was found in the inner narthex: + ΚΥΜΗΤΗ / ΠΙΟΝ ΚΥΝΟΔΙ / ΟΥ+ΥΠΟΔΙΑ / ΚΟΝΟΥ +<sup>1315</sup>; latter has been dated to the 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1316</sup> In another grave, opened in the outer narthex, four pitchers and one cup were found, which can be dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> c. (Pl. 15d).<sup>1317</sup>

**Brauron Tower:** Located 3 km to the W/SW of the Christian basilica, on a low mound overlooking the valley of Erasinos (Pl. 15e), and near the main ancient road (*Σπειριακή Οδός*) which connected the harbour of Porto Raphte with the NW part of the Mesogeia (*vidi*).<sup>1318</sup> The vicinity around the tower is covered with similar, gently sloping hills, used for the cultivation of vines, gardens and olive-trees.<sup>1319</sup> The impressive tower, still preserved almost intact, at a height of 13 m, seems to have controlled the agricultural production of the area.<sup>1320</sup> Its location does not provide particular strategic advantages (visual control of the wider district is impeded by the neighbouring hills), although it could control the road (shown on *ΚνΑ*, ‘Vraona’, ‘Wachturm’) which followed the route of the river stream. Its role is further enlightened by the information provided by Milchhöfer, that the low fertile hills lying to the NE of the tower, just across the river stream, were called ‘Metochi’. On his map (*ΚνΑ* Blatt VII, ‘Vraona’, ‘Metochi’), he notes the plan of an extensive building, which he describes as a

<sup>1314</sup> Sironen 1997, 264, no. 229. For the last line, Sironen reads: *ή(μέρ?)αβ’*.

<sup>1315</sup> Both inscriptions illustrated in Stikas 1952, 80-82 and figs. 8-11.

<sup>1316</sup> Sironen 1997, 263, no. 228. A third inscription found in the basilica is a simple prayer, dated between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> c.: *Χ(ριστ)έ βοήθι / [τ]ῷ δεομένῳ / Α + Ω*. Sironen 1997, 341-342, no. 338.

<sup>1317</sup> Cf. Felten 1975, 67 and pl. 20-21. Kotzias 1952, 124, figs. 20-21 (for a chronology of these vessels in the 7<sup>th</sup> c. see sub-chapter on the basilica of Laureotic Olymp).

<sup>1318</sup> Kakavoyanni 2009, 185.

<sup>1319</sup> Ross (1855, 225) mentions that this area was called ‘Κήποι’ (‘Gardens’), indicating the intensive character of cultivation in this fertile area in the 19<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>1320</sup> Langdon 1995, 489-490, 500. Langdon also supports the predominance of its agricultural rather than its defensive character. He does not provide any suggestion for its chronology.

monastic farmstead (“Klostergehöft”) owned by the Asomaton monastery of Athens.<sup>1321</sup> Only a very small part of it is preserved today (*vidi*); the masonry of the preserved walls dates to the early modern period. The masonry of the tower would also coincide with a similar chronology.<sup>1322</sup> Ceramic sherds around the tower belong to the late medieval or early modern periods (15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> c.).

### 3.9. Kantza

**Agios Nikolaos:** A Byzantine church once stood just to the east of the Lion of Kantza, beneath the surviving basilica of Agios Nikolaos, which was built as a *metochion* of the Agios Ioannis Kynegos monastery in 1592.<sup>1323</sup> The standing basilica has a semi-hexagonal apse, underneath which the remains of a large semicircular apse are clearly visible (Pl. 15f). The foundations of the west wall of the earlier church, made of large blocks<sup>1324</sup>, were revealed during excavation, while scant remains of its lateral walls can still be seen on the ground surface to the north and to the south of the 16<sup>th</sup>-c. basilica.

Excavation took place in the area to the southwest of the standing basilica and revealed architectural remains of a small monastery attached to the older, Byzantine church.<sup>1325</sup> Three rooms of the monastery were excavated. One among them was used as a kitchen, while another was unroofed, with a water-proof cistern opened in its floor. Movable

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<sup>1321</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 8. The Asomaton monastery lied in the centre of Athens, between the ancient Agora and the Kerameikos area. Its church, still fully preserved, has been dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> c. Ross (1855, 226), however, writes that the two monastic estates in Ano and Kato Vraona were owned by the monastery of Pentete (Tao).

<sup>1322</sup> The walls of the tower have narrow windows, probably used as gun slits. In the masonry, the use of tile fragments set horizontally in three or four courses in the vertical joints, is found in masonries of the Late Byzantine and the Ottoman periods, but here and early Ottoman date is likely. Examples of the same period can be seen in Ottoman phases of Acrocorinth, the early modern castle of Pythagoreion in Samos etc.

<sup>1323</sup> Chatzesoteriou 1973, 212.

<sup>1324</sup> This way of construction was used in the 12<sup>th</sup> c. (Bouras 2002, 386 and fig. 406) but is not confined to this century: see Koilakou 1988, 84, fig. 1 for an early 14<sup>th</sup>-c. example.

<sup>1325</sup> Arapoyanni 1986. A detailed description of the architectural finds, as well as a catalogue of the Middle Byzantine movable finds, constitute Appendix I.

finds certify the everyday character of use of these rooms, and date from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> c. (Pl. 16).

The question remains therefore, if the Byzantine church pre-existed the foundation of the monastery, or if they were erected simultaneously. A possible piece of evidence for the chronology of the Byzantine church is yielded by two marble relief members, embedded in the west wall of the 16<sup>th</sup>-c. basilica (Pl. 17a). One is its door lintel, depicting a Greek cross surrounded by leaves, dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> or to the 11<sup>th</sup> c. on the basis of dated parallels.<sup>1326</sup> The other is a fraction of a marble architrave with relief decoration of stylised Cufic letters, dating to the same time period.<sup>1327</sup>

**Palaiopanagia:** (= Old [church of the] Virgin). Located 1.3 km east of the Agios Nikolaos church and in close proximity to the southern stream of Megalo Revma. The church is a small single-aisled basilica of the Ottoman period, but its north wall has incorporated a part of an older church of Byzantine date (Pl. 17b-d). It is the north apse of a cross-shaped church with a dome and with three or four apses. It preserves a two-light window with a frame built of bricks and with a marble mullion. The mullion bears a capital decorated with a lyre-shaped motif filled with a rosette, and a dossier with a relief cross framed with leaves (Pl. 17d). The wall and window remains of the original church have been dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1328</sup> Parallel to the north wall of the church, the trace of a wall indicates the existence of an earlier building, possibly a predecessor of the 12<sup>th</sup>-c. church.

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<sup>1326</sup> Cf. Mavroeidi 2008, 288, fig. 3 (10<sup>th</sup> c.); Mavroeidi 1999, 123, no. 165 (late 10<sup>th</sup> – early 11<sup>th</sup> c.); 96, no. 135 (10<sup>th</sup> c.); 148, no. 202 (similar execution of the leaves; 11<sup>th</sup> c.). A similar plaque has been embedded in the west wall of the *katholikon* of the Tao monastery church, in SE Penteli: see Bouras 2002, 257, fig. 293; this, however, may belong to the 12<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>1327</sup> Cf. Mavroeidi 1999, 108, no. 149 (10<sup>th</sup> c.); 110, no. 151 (10<sup>th</sup> c.); 127, no. 173 (11<sup>th</sup> c.). Boura 1980, fig. 7, nos. 39-40 and pls. 165-170 (10<sup>th</sup> c.). Also the 11<sup>th</sup>-c. epistyle from Agios Ioannes, Ligourio, Argolis. The architrave from Agios Nikolaos iconographically stands close to the above parallels, but stylistically it differs from them. No closer stylistic parallel was found.

<sup>1328</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 234-5.

### 3.10. *Paiania* - Liopesi

**Agios Athanasios basilica:** This is an Early Christian basilica in the SE “outskirts” of modern Paiania.<sup>1329</sup> The ruined walls are visible around, and underneath, the Ottoman-dated church of Agios Athanasios (Pl. 18a-b); the north wall of the later church rests on the north stylobate of the earlier basilica. The basilica is three-aisled, with a semi-circular apse and a (possibly tripartite) narthex. Its dimensions are ca. 34 x 21 m, with a quite wide main nave. Rectangular annex rooms were excavated to the north of the narthex and of the north aisle, while during a recent excavation, two small rooms and part of an apse, probably belonging to a chapel, also of Early Christian times, adjacent to the SE side of the basilica, were found (see ground plan).<sup>1330</sup> The floor of the basilica was paved with square fired clay slabs. The masonry consisted of rubble masonry interrupted with regular courses of tiles (*opus mixtum*); each course of tiles consists of three or occasionally five rows.

Several architectural sculptures from the Early Byzantine basilica have been incorporated and survived in the Ottoman church, thus giving us a chronological clue for the erection of the original basilica. An impost block, now embedded in the built bench along the western façade of the Ottoman church, bears relief decoration of a circle with a Greek cross and the letter ‘R’ growing out of the top of the cross; the circle is framed with acanthus leaves and lily flowers. Pallas dates it before the mid-6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1331</sup> An impost block in second use in the Ottoman church bears on its narrow side in low relief a Latin cross in a half ellipsoid frame; on either side of the frame, a large half bamboo leaf. Lily flowers crown the junctions

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<sup>1329</sup> Mastrokostas 1956, 27-31. *Churches of Attica*, 235-237. The updated description of its location is on the south edge of the modern town, some 200 m north of the fork to Markopoulo or Koropi, and just east of the Stavros – Markopoulo road.

<sup>1330</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1994.

<sup>1331</sup> Pallas 1986, 57.

between the frame of the cross and the leaves. Pallas dated this capital after the mid-6<sup>th</sup> c., due to the style of the leaves and the execution in very low relief, tending towards gouged decoration. During repairing works in the Ottoman church, an Early Christian funerary inscription was found incorporated into the built screen (*τέμπλον*); this most probably came from the immediate vicinity of the original basilica.<sup>1332</sup>

The chronology of the erection of this church is far from certain, and it is confused by a mixture of architectural features which characterise both earlier and later basilicas; e.g. the emphasis on the width of the main nave points to an older date, and so does the lack of a central door in the western wall of the narthex; however, the close alignment of its side doors with the doors leading to the side aisles points to a later date. At the same time, the re-use, in the Ottoman church, of two architectural sculptures of a certainly different date, makes one wonder whether one of these two spolia may have originally belonged to a church other than the basilica lying under Agios Athanasios. D. Pallas assumes that the style of the later of the two spolia, the capital with the ellipsoid frame and the bamboo leaves, agrees chronologically with the architectural features of the basilica, while the first discussed impost block may have originally belonged to an even earlier, unknown church of Paiania.<sup>1333</sup> According to his argumentation, the basilica should be dated after the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> c.

**Agia Paraskevi basilica:** Located in the centre of the modern town. The apse of the basilica and the northern stylobate have survived in the Ottoman-dated church of Agia Paraskevi (Pl. 18c-d). The Early Christian basilica has not yet been excavated.<sup>1334</sup> Its apse has a diameter of

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<sup>1332</sup> Sironen 2008, 110, no. 13517 (= Sironen 1997, 258, no. 226). For its discovery see Chatzedakes 1973-4, 193-194, pl. 138a-d. This inscription, mentioning 'Euphemia, a young woman of 45 years' [*sic*], is particularly interesting for its great length (56 lines), as well as for the curses posed to whoever might open the grave. It does not mention any year or indiction.

<sup>1333</sup> Pallas 1986, 58-59.

<sup>1334</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 234-235.

4.60 m and bears remains of the *synthronon* along its interior wall. The narrow window at the centre of the apse must have been made after the blocking of a much bigger Early Christian window, and a Byzantine impost block has been used for its blocking. The south stylobate of the basilica lies visible outside the later church; the width of the central aisle of the basilica is 5.70 m. Many fragments of non-fluted columns, and various undecorated architectural members, lie around the church. Also three non-fluted columns and one marble lintel used in the two doors leading from the main nave to the sanctuary date to the Roman or Late Roman period.

**Panagia:** A further early modern church built on Byzantine remains, dedicated to Panagia [A], lies east of the centre of the town (*vidi*).<sup>1335</sup> It is a three-aisled basilica with three semi-hexagonal apses, and with a side chapel on the south side. The present church dates to the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> c., and its structure contains a large number of *spolia*: two non-fluted marble columns and an impost block with relief decoration of a cross. The latter probably stems from the basilica of Agios Athanasios, since an identical impost block has survived in that basilica. At a distance of ca. 5 m from the NW corner of the Panagia church, ruins of the corner of a larger building (an early basilica?) are visible on the ground. Moreover, a marble plaque with relief decoration, embedded in the masonry above the lintel of the central door, can be dated to the Middle Byzantine period. The existence of an earlier church at this spot is highly possible.

**Agia Triada:** Situated on a small, cypress-covered hilltop at the western part of Proselio (*vidi*). The hill of Agia Triada commands a very good view of the western Mesogeia plain.

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<sup>1335</sup>Panousakis 1982. Goette 2001, 234.



The church consists of a single-aisled basilica with a dome, which belongs to the original phase, and of an elongated narthex of a later date (Pl. 19a-b). Bouras, Kalogeropoulou and Andreadi earlier dated the church and the fresco of the Christ Pantocrator in the dome to the 12<sup>th</sup> c. (Pl. 19c), although they added that some of its architectural features point to a 13<sup>th</sup>-c. date.<sup>1336</sup> Bouras, however, did not include the church in his recent study of 12<sup>th</sup>-c. architecture. The church is currently surrounded by a built fence of uncertain date. In and outside the modern territory of the church, marked by the fence, a few clay sherds are visible. At a distance of 20 m to the west of the church, outside the built fence, a low mound on the ground running parallel to the west wall of the church marks the existence of a ruined wall. Only excavation could reveal if this is the wall of an earlier building or an earlier built fence; if it is the latter, then it might suggest the existence of a monastery around the Agia Triada church, which would match the evidence provided by the letter of Pope Innocent III.

A non-systematic field inspection conducted on the east slope of the Agia Triada hill showed that the slope is covered with stones of small and medium size (Pl. 19d), perhaps from ruined buildings, and some sherds of medieval or early Ottoman date. The visit was continued further to the NE, towards Agios Andreas, in an area covering ca. 300 m (E-W) by 200 m (N-S); no Byzantine remains of activity were seen in that area.

**Agios Andreas:** Located in Proselio, Paiania. The church is a small single-aisled basilica of Ottoman date (Pl. 19e).<sup>1337</sup> It has a semi-circular apse, which, due to its very large diameter compared to the size of the church, evokes the hypothesis that it might have been built on the

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<sup>1336</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 238.

<sup>1337</sup> A large basilica was built in 1997 just to the SE of the old church.

ruins of an apse of an earlier, larger basilica.<sup>1338</sup> No other hints for the existence of an earlier church are visible.

No other hints for the existence of an earlier church are visible, but an old report notes ruins in the area.<sup>1339</sup> A short, non-systematic field inspection (March 4<sup>th</sup> 2009) in uncovered plots of land, located ca. 100-200 m to the east and south-east of the church, revealed the existence of several stone blocks of various sizes, as well as fragments of bricks and clay sherds concentrated in a few clusters. No decorated sherds were seen, but the considerable number of jug handles which are oval in section suggests a medieval date. Also the rim of a chafing dish, made of coarse fabric and covered in colourless glaze, hints to a date in the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>1340</sup>

**Agios Nikolaos:** Located in Chalidou, Paiania. The church is a small-sized cross-in-square (Pl. 20a-b). A *terminus ante quem* for the erection of the church is provided by the fragments of its original wall-paintings, of excellent quality, which survive in and below the dome, and which have been dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> c. (Pl. 20c).<sup>1341</sup> According to Bouras, the architecture of the monument does not show any characteristic features of the 12<sup>th</sup> c., and therefore may date shortly or long before its wall-paintings.<sup>1342</sup> Over the entrance a Byzantine marble slab with a cross surrounded by leaves (Pl. 20d), has been built into the masonry; Pallas dated it “between the Early Christian period and the 9<sup>th</sup> c.”, and a chronology around the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. is certified

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<sup>1338</sup> Mouzakes, however, notes that apses of large diameter compared to the main aisle appear not only in Early Byzantine basilicas but also in some Late Byzantine – Early Ottoman churches; additionally, apses with a ground-plan larger than a semi-cycle are common in Late Byzantine Attica. See Mouzakes 2006, 343, 359-360.

<sup>1339</sup> Chatzesoteriou 1973, 218. Stone blocks and clay sherds were seen south of the church during my visit.

<sup>1340</sup> For an exact parallel see Chalkia (ed.) 2007, 204, no. 143 (BXM no. 1321).

<sup>1341</sup> Mouriki 1980-81, 119. *Churches of Attica*, 233-234. (In the slightly earlier, Greek edition of *Churches of Attica*, *Εκκλησίες της Αττικής*, 1969, 233-124, the authors expressed the opinion that the church may date to the Ottoman period, which was soon abandoned after the closer study of the frescoes.)

<sup>1342</sup> Bouras 2002, 319.

by parallels both in and outside Attica.<sup>1343</sup> The small chapel dedicated to Agios Savvas, attached to the south side of Agios Nikolaos, has two construction phases, the earlier of which is contemporary with Agios Nikolaos.<sup>1344</sup>

In the churchyard there are a number of architectural fragments from an older building. Bouras, Kalogeropoulou and Andreadi note that “all around, ruins and heaps of stone show that there were houses nearby in the Byzantine period, to which the church belongs”. Furthermore, Gini-Tsophopoulou discovered, at a short distance southwest of Agios Nikolaos, building ruins and marble architectural members, which, according to local tradition, belong to a church of Agioi Theodoroi.<sup>1345</sup> The area around the church is spotted with potsherds and a few traces of walls, but no evidence for the chronological period of occupation was found. Eighty years ago, the remains of medieval occupation in the area of Chalidou survived to a better degree, since N. Kotzias notes that “... among the ruins [i.e. around the church of Agios Nikolaos], one can see clearly churches, baths, a tower, an aqueduct and other buildings of Frankish times”. That Chalidou existed as a settlement around AD 1300 is demonstrated by an inscription which commemorates a person named ‘Δημήτριος Ιωάννης ο Χαλιδίτης’ and bears the date 1302 (Pl. 20e).<sup>1346</sup>

### 3.11. Koropi

**Kastro tou Christou:** The Kastro tou Christou hill has an oblong shape, with the long axis directed east-west. At its east end, a modern monastery has been erected around an old church

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<sup>1343</sup> Pallas, 1986, 59. Cf. Chalkia (ed.) 2007, 124, no. 82 (BXM no. 926). Soteriou 1924, 11, fig. 15: The capital is of unknown provenance, but probably from Attica, and Soteriou dates it to the (later) 9<sup>th</sup> c. Vanderheyde 2008, 343-345, no. 1, fig. 1 (dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> c.; the execution of the cross is identical to the cross of the plaque of Agios Nikolaos Chalidou).

<sup>1344</sup> Lazarides 1972, 189.

<sup>1345</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1991c.

<sup>1346</sup> Kotzias 1925-6, 196, note 1.

dedicated to the Birth of Christ, to which the hill owes its name. This church, already reported by Milchhöfer and still perfectly preserved, is a small single-aisled basilica of unknown date, preserving two small monolithic columns of greyish green marble.<sup>1347</sup> The spot where the chapel stands has known cult activity since ancient times, as many rock-cuttings of Hellenistic times have been found next to the chapel. It is therefore highly possible that either the chapel of the Birth, or its architectural predecessors, go back to Early Christian times and replaced a pagan religious site.

The flat top of the hill is protected by a strong medieval circuit wall (Pl. 21c-d), which still survives in most parts to a height of 0.5-1.20 m (Pl. 22a). The wall follows the steep edges of the hill, especially at the south side. It has an ellipsoid ground plan, with a long axis of 190 m and a short axis of 65 m, thus encircling an area of ca. 10,500 sq. m. A smaller circuit wall survives on the summit (west part) of the hill, encircling a considerably smaller area, the surface of which cannot be measured without a systematic survey of the hilltop. Numerous terrace walls partition the lower enclosed area.

The outer wall appears to belong coherently to one phase of construction: it has a width of ca. 1 m, and it is made of undressed stones, predominantly of medium, but also of large and small size (Pl. 22a). The masonry is not sophisticated but solid, with large amounts of whitish mortar still preserved in the masonry. Ceramic tiles have been used in the masonry only very occasionally.

At the western edge of the outer circuit wall, an opening in the wall indicates a gate oriented towards the passage over Mt Hymettus (Pl. 22b) (not drawn on Kotzias' ground plan). Another gate must have been situated at the middle of the northern course of the wall,

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<sup>1347</sup> Goette (2001, 231) notes that this kind of marble has arrived here from Euboea (probably from the Karystos quarries, at the south of the island).

where the slope is relatively even, and where nowadays there is a large opening at the course of the wall, showing some degree of destruction (Pl. 21d).

The history of the Kastro tou Christou hill during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine period is attested mainly through ceramic evidence. The hill has repeatedly been reported to bear ‘medieval remains’. First Kotzias, who undertook excavation on the top of the hill, looking for evidence for prehistoric activity, found “...a large number of Roman sherds, although medieval sherds were also present”.<sup>1348</sup> A. Kalogeropoulou noted that habitation on the hill continued from Hellenistic to Roman and to Late Roman times, but did not provide sufficient evidence for the latter period.<sup>1349</sup> Wrede collected an Early Roman and two LRom/EByz amphora sherds.<sup>1350</sup> The latest so far known evidence for activity or habitation on the hill has been provided by a bronze coin of the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1351</sup>

The role of the ‘Kastro tou Christou’ is not perfectly clear. Its large size suggests that it was also used for habitation. A few large piles of stones, which may have belonged to houses, are to be seen in the enclosed area, but the high vegetation prevents any further observation. Moreover, agricultural activity, attested by Kotzias<sup>1352</sup>, which took place on the hill during modern times, has affected the landscape. However, the prominence of the hill, near the exit of the southern pass over Hymettus, its direct access to water source (on its north slope), in combination with its defensive character, show that it played a strategic role.<sup>1353</sup> It may also have played a commercial role, since it commands one of the major roads leading into the basin of Athens.

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<sup>1348</sup> Kotzias 1950, 171.

<sup>1349</sup> Kalogeropoulou 1969, 62.

<sup>1350</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 475, FO 054. Early Roman: Dressel 1B. LRom / EByz: LRA2 and an unidentified imported amphora fragment.

<sup>1351</sup> Kotzias 1950, 171.

<sup>1352</sup> Kotzias 1950, 166.

<sup>1353</sup> This is also the opinion of Milchhöfer (1883, 32).

**Metamorphosis church** (Transfiguration of Christ): Located at the SE border of the town. The church may have stood at a crossroads leading from Koropi both to Vari (SW) and to Markopoulo (east) (*vidi*). The Metamorphosis church is a perfectly preserved example of a cross-in-square church, the aisles of which are separated from each other with wall sections (instead of columns), bearing a semi-cylindrical apse with a three-light window (Pl. 22c-d). Due to its architectural features, it has been dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> c., while the frescoes belonging to the original phase have been dated around 1000.<sup>1354</sup> Restoration works revealed graves of the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> c. in the interior of the church.<sup>1355</sup>

### 3.12. *Lamprae* – Lambrika

**Kiapha Thiti:** Excavation revealed an Early to Middle Byzantine fortified site built upon a Hellenistic sanctuary (Pl. 24a-b).<sup>1356</sup> The middle part of the hill ('Mittelburg'), at a height of 175 m, is protected with an Early Byzantine fortification wall which encloses the north and the west part of the hill, running for ca. 100 m, while the other sides are naturally protected through the steep slopes. The wall has a width of 1.5 m, and although it is generally rather badly preserved, it survives up to 2 m at its east end. It is built of solid rubble masonry set in mud. The stones show two 'faces', between which smaller stones form the core of the wall. No gate was preserved, but the excavators assume that one must have existed.

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<sup>1354</sup> Orlandos 1961, 13-19.

<sup>1355</sup> Lazarides 1963.

<sup>1356</sup> Hagel – Lauter 1990, 69-107. For the wall see pp. 92-93.

Inside the fortified area a small LRom/EByz building with two rooms was excavated.<sup>1357</sup> Despite thorough investigation, the excavators did not find remains of any other building of this period in the encircled area.

In the lower part of the hill ('Unterburg'), beneath the fortification wall, a man-made terrace was found, the soil of which contained a number of pagan votive gifts related to the Hellenistic sanctuary. The excavators conclude that this soil was transported from the top of the hill to the bottom, in order to expand the terrace; this must have happened in correlation with the erection and the use of the church which was built on the top of the hill. Two sherds of a late period were also contained in this soil; the excavators date them to the LRom/EByz times, but they are also compatible with a dating in the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>1358</sup>

The most important finds were excavated on the top of the hill: a second fortification wall, with a few rooms attached to its inner face, and a small basilica in the centre of the fortified area.<sup>1359</sup> It encloses the west and the north part of the summit (therefore having a direction similar to the one of the wall on the 'Mittelburg'), while the east and south parts are protected through the steep slopes. The enclosed area of the summit has therefore a surface of 35 x 20 m. The fortification wall has a width of ca. 1,3 m and an original height of 3-4 m. Its masonry is the same as the one of the lower fortification wall, while a gate has been located on its north side.

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<sup>1357</sup> *Ibid.* The chronology of the building relies on its masonry (which the excavators could not identify with any of the known 'ancient' types of masonry), as well as on the discovery of 'combed ware' ("Rillenware SR-30", which could be interpreted as a Late Roman 2 Benghazi amphora sherd) inside the building. Latter sherd is not depicted in the publication, its chronology therefore oscillates between the Late Roman and the (early) Middle Byzantine periods.

The chronology of the fortification wall is based (a) on the fact that it lies upon a Hellenistic structure, which appears to have laid in ruins for a significant amount of time before the fortification wall was built; (b) on the assumption that it must have been related to the two-room building and to the church on the top of the hill; both structures were dated to Late Roman or Early Byzantine times.

<sup>1358</sup> *Ibid.*, 94 and pl. 15e-f.

<sup>1359</sup> *Ibid.*, 69-92.

The church occupies the centre of this area. It has three building phases (Pl. 25a), the first of which has been dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> c. on the basis of four screen plaques (Pl. 25b), decorated in relief of crude workmanship, which were revealed among the church ruins, and on the earliest group of pottery found on the summit. The date of construction of the fortification wall and the rooms is not clear, but the excavators argue that the wall was built at the same time (or soon after) the church was constructed, and that it was repaired at some point in the Middle Byzantine period.

The pottery found on top of the hill belongs to three distinct groups. The first includes clay lamp fragments of the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c. (Pl. 25c). The second group consists of coarsewares of a somewhat later period, which the excavators place in the 5<sup>th</sup> and especially the 6<sup>th</sup> c., but we date to the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c. (see parallels below) (Pl. 26a). The third group contains glazed wares, which the excavators date not after the 11<sup>th</sup> c. (no drawing or photos are provided for the third group). Neither Late Roman Red Slip wares nor any of the typical 12<sup>th</sup>-c. glazed categories were found.

The excavators date the foundation of the fortified site and the church between the late 4<sup>th</sup> and the late 6<sup>th</sup> c., with a preference towards the later date.<sup>1360</sup> This chronology derives both on the chronology of the relief plaques found in the church as well as from the comparison of the pottery found (their “second group”) with the pottery found during the excavation of the Knossos basilica, itself having been dated between the early 6<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1361</sup> The earlier ceramic objects from the Knossos site, safely dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c., must be correlated with its use as a cemetery, which preceded the erection of the church. The later objects, however, come from the period of use of the church (which went beyond the 6<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>1360</sup> *Ibid.*, 94-96.

<sup>1361</sup> Frend – Johnston 1962, 212, 222-229.



c.<sup>1362</sup>) and the use of a tower to its south. Kiapha Thiti sherd no. SR 16 and SR 20 find their parallel in Knossos sherd no. 37, and Kiapha Thiti SR 22 and SR 27 in Knossos no. 49. Moreover, comparison of the second ceramic group of Kiapha Thiti with 7<sup>th</sup>- and 8<sup>th</sup>-c. ceramic deposits from the excavation of Sarachane in Istanbul further consolidates the chronology of the last phase of its use: cf. Kiapha Thiti sherd no. SR 13 with Sarachane, 174, Deposit 34, fig. 54d (mid to late 8<sup>th</sup> c.).<sup>1363</sup> In addition, the second ceramic group from Kiapha Thiti includes two sherds decorated with incised lozenges and early glaze<sup>1364</sup>, which is compatible with a similar chronology. The pottery of the second group of Kiapha Thiti can therefore be dated to the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c., thus showing that the use of the site continued during the ‘Dark-Age’ period.

**Agios Demetrios:** Located 700 m north of the coast (pl. 25d) (*vidi*). The church has a triconch ground-plan with a dome, and has been built in two distinct phases, the earlier of which has been dated towards the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> c. and the later to the Ottoman period.<sup>1365</sup> The 11<sup>th</sup>-c. building shows excellent workmanship of its masonry.

### 3.13. Markopoulo

**Dagla:** Near the surviving church dedicated to the Taxiarches, ruins of a Late Roman building, probably a bath, were excavated under two successive layers belonging to a basilica

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<sup>1362</sup> A coin of Heraclius of 612/3 was found “resting on the natural clay below the ruined nave” (Frend – Johnson 1962, 212), and apparently comes from the period of use of the church.

<sup>1363</sup> Hayes 1992, 174, fig. 54d.

<sup>1364</sup> Hagel – Lauter 1990, 82.

<sup>1365</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 90-91. On its frescoes see Gini-Tsophopoulou 1988, 437f.

(the first layer dating to the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c.) (Pl. 26b).<sup>1366</sup> Around the basilica a cemetery was created. Twenty-seven graves with multiple burials were excavated; an ossuary contained twenty-seven burials. Published finds include two bronze buckles of similar type, with a rectangular plate bearing relief decoration of a griffon on the one side and a lion on the other side (Pl. 26c-d), of the late 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> c., and fragments of glazed bowls with ‘Green and Brown Painted’ decoration, of the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1367</sup> Interestingly, the saint to whom the church was dedicated, Agios Aimilianos, was still known to the people of the area in the 1960s.

The Taxiarches church is the probable location where a dedicatory inscription of a church, dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> c., was seen in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. The inscription reads: [Ὑπέρ ἐύχῆς - - -] καί πάντων τῶν προσφερόντων - - -] / [- - - εἰς τὸν ἐύκτῆ]ριον οἶκον τοῦτον ἐ[γένετο]<sup>1368</sup>. The church to which the inscription refers possibly is the Agios Aimilianos church, but this hypothesis cannot be tested. The Taxiarches church itself probably dates to the 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1369</sup>

### 3.14. *Steiria* and *Prasiae* – Porto Raphte

**Monasteri hill:** A Middle Byzantine church has been found on the north slope of a low hill called ‘Monasteri’. It is a small inscribed cross-shaped domed church, which survives to a height of 0.5-2.0 m (Pl. 27b) (*vidi*). The church was dated to the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c., based on its architectural features. Its ruins were known to the locals as ‘Agios Helios’, (= Holy Sun), which is a peculiar name for a church, deserving some explanation. Since Milchhöfer

<sup>1366</sup> Lazarides 1960. The basilica was in a ruined state in the 1960s, but still quite well preserved.

<sup>1367</sup> These are the only objects found in the 27 graves: Lazarides 1960, 71 and pl. 57γ-δ. One of the two belt buckles was published by Gini-Tsophopoulou (in: Papanikola-Bakirtzis [ed.] 2002, 394-395, No. 485), who dated it to the 7<sup>th</sup> c.; recent finds from Kievan Rus, however, provide evidence for chronology in the late 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> c.: see Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 204, Type G2, sub-type 6, Nos. 446-452, 242-247. In Attica, the same type of belt buckle has been found in Laureion and the basilica of Laureotic Olympos.

<sup>1368</sup> Sironen 2008, 9, no. 13255.

<sup>1369</sup> The Taxiarches church was initially dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> c., based on the style of its frescoes: *Churches of Attica*, 156-158; *TIB* I, 214. A detailed study of the frescoes, however, showed that they are works of popular art of the late 13<sup>th</sup> c.: Aspra-Vardavaki 1975-1976; Bouras 2002, 337. A square marble plaque in its floor, dates ‘to Byzantine times’ according to Bouras: *Churches of Attica*, 156-158.

mentions the existence of church remains, known as ‘Agia Kyriake’, in exactly the same area, it is a highly probable hypothesis that ‘Agios Helios’ is a corrupted version in Greek of the Albanian ‘San Diele’, which means ‘Holy Sunday’.<sup>1370</sup> Therefore Agia Kyriake is probably the saint to whom the church was dedicated. A few graves without burial finds were excavated around it. In its immediate vicinity, remains of the Early Byzantine town were found, but no Middle Byzantine remains.

### 3.15. *Prospalta* – Kalyvia

**Agios Petros:** Located in Ennea Pyrgoi. It is a cross-shaped domed church with three semi-hexagonal apses and a tripartite narthex (Pl. 28e).<sup>1371</sup> Architectural elements point to a date shortly after the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1372</sup> Its masonry contains a considerable amount of spolia; among them a 4<sup>th</sup>-c. BC funerary inscription, commemorating two citizens of *Prospalta*<sup>1373</sup>, is part of the evidence for the location of the ancient *demos*, while a 4<sup>th</sup>-c. AD funerary inscription with christograms and two names in *tabulae ansatae*<sup>1374</sup> attests to the burial use of the area in a later period. The impost capital used in the two-light window of the central apse bears a monogram cruciform inscription which reads *Ε(πι)σκ(ό)που Ίν(α)τί(ου)* (Pl. 28c).<sup>1375</sup>

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<sup>1370</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1994, 104-105. Milchhöfer 1889, 9.

<sup>1371</sup> Orlandos 1923, 181-190. Coumbaraki-Panselinou 1976, 39-50.

<sup>1372</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 336.

<sup>1373</sup> *IG* iv 2512.

<sup>1374</sup> Sironen 1997, 264, no. 230.

<sup>1375</sup> Orlandos 1923, 186-187 and fig. 16. Orlandos suggests that this Ignatius may have been the head of ‘some other Attic bishopric, which had its see in the Mesogeia plain; this is also suggested by the placename ‘Piskopi’ in the area of Paiania.’ It is difficult to support such a theory, since no other evidence exists for the location of a bishopric in Paiania, apart from the placename ‘Piskopi’, which, however, can be interpreted in different ways (see sub-chapter ‘Paiania’). The impost capital was recently broken during a vandalism; despite its subsequent conservation, the inscription is now lost; See Gini-Tsophopoulou 1984, 71. The inscription had fortunately already been drawn by Orlandos (1923, fig. 16).

The interior of the church preserves numerous wall-paintings of good quality, which stylistically recall other Attic churches of the 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1376</sup> Three painted inscriptions belong to the same layer of painting; one among them, located in the Bema, mentions the year during which the wall-paintings were executed, ΣΤΨΜ or 1232.<sup>1377</sup> Another inscription in the narthex mentions the saints to which the church was dedicated, St Peter and Paul, as well as its donor: ... *Ἐπανελεύσ(ει) Δευτέρα τ(οῦ) Δεσπότη(ου) / Ἰγνάτιος κέκραγα λιτά ζῶν τάδε / Ἐκ γῆς Ἀθηνῶν ἡγμένος μονότροπο(ς) / Νήσων προεδρεύων δε Θερμείων Κέω.*<sup>1378</sup> The donor, Ignatius, was bishop of the suffragan see of Thermia (Kythnos) and Keos.<sup>1379</sup> This inscription is our only source for the existence of a bishop of Thermia and Keos named Ignatius.<sup>1380</sup> Panselenou considers as certain that the monk and bishop Ignatius commemorated in the painted inscription should be identified with the bishop Ignatius of the engraved inscription placed upside-down in the window of the central apse.<sup>1381</sup>

### 3.16. Keratea

**Agia Kyriaki:** Located at the foot of Mt Paneion, 1.5 km NW of Keratea. Agia Kyriaki is a small single-aisled basilica (Pl. 29a-b) (*vidi*). Its architecture bears no distinctive features, but

<sup>1376</sup> These have been studied systematically by Coumbaraki-Panselinou (1976, 51-120 and 1987-8).

<sup>1377</sup> Panselenou 1987-8, 178.

<sup>1378</sup> Panselenou 1987-8, 173. For a discussion on the religious and political significance of the dedication of the church to both Peter and Paul by Ignatius see Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 38 and Hirschbichler 2005, 83 and 91-92.

<sup>1379</sup> For the use of the term 'πρόεδρος' in ecclesiastical hierarchy, and its use instead of the words 'bishop' and 'abbot' see Panselenou 1987-8, 174-5. The bishopric of Thermia and Keos is first mentioned in the *Notitia* of Neilos Doxapatris, dated to 1142/43 (see Darrouzes 1981, 154). The suffragan bishopric of Kea (but not of Thermia) is also included in the list of bishoprics compiled in the letter of 1209 by Pope Innocent III (see Koder 1977, 138).

<sup>1380</sup> Panselenou 1987-8, 178.

<sup>1381</sup> Panselenou 1987-8, 174-5.

its interior preserves wall-paintings, dated by a painted inscription in the Bema in 1197/8.<sup>1382</sup> Their creator can be considered as a provincial artist, who lacked sophisticated skills but used his imagination, did not always follow the established approach to the standard Christian themes, and was influenced by folk art traditions. Two impost capitals with relief decoration of a Christogram in a circle, surrounded by floral motives, have been embedded in the west façade of the Middle Byzantine church of Agia Kyriaki.

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<sup>1382</sup> On the architecture and the painted decoration of the church see *Churches of Attica*, 93; Lazarides 1969, 98; Djuric 1976, 69-70; Velmans 1977, vol. I, 144; Mackenzie 1982, 139-146; Gini-Tsophopoulou 1988, 439-441; Bouras 2002, 284-5. The inscription is only partially preserved: “...ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ἸΨΕ” (6705 = 1197).

## B.4. Mount Penteli

### 4.4. The Daoù (Tao) monastery

Located on the SE tip of Penteli. The common name of the monastery is Tao (‘Ταώ’) or Daoù (‘Νταού’). The name owes its origin to the combination, in the period of Frankish occupation, of ‘da’ and ‘Hù’; for ‘Hù’ Orlandos supports a Georgian origin<sup>1383</sup>, while Ladas argues that it may be due to a mis-reading of an inscription.<sup>1384</sup>

The inscription on a door lintel, which is now broken and embedded in the 16<sup>th</sup>-c. church, but most probably belonged to the Byzantine church, provides evidence for the founder of the initial church, Nikos Kamateros (Pl. 31c).<sup>1385</sup>

The monastery was abandoned at the beginning of the Ottoman occupation, and was re-founded in the 16<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1386</sup> During restoration works in the east wall of the *katholikon*, remains of a triconch structure, shown as a dotted line, were revealed under the apse<sup>1387</sup> It is not certain, however, if this belongs to the foundation of the 16<sup>th</sup>-c. apse, or to an earlier building.

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<sup>1383</sup> Orlandos 1933, 182-186.

<sup>1384</sup> Ladas 1952-58, 50, fig. 20.

<sup>1385</sup> Orlandos (1933, 185) transcribes this broken inscription as following: «Νίκος ο Καμ(α)τιρός † ο κτίσ(ας) τ(η)ν Τ(αώ) τ(αύτην) αμίν.» The transcription of the second part of the inscription (right of the cross) is, however, not certain. The addition, by Ladas (1952-58, 24-26, fig. 1), of a hypothetical central fragment which he transcribes as «τ(ω) Π(αντοκράτορι) (ο) επικέρνης» is clearly not supported by the surviving epigraphic evidence.

The family of Kamateroi had property in central Greece; see Darrouzès 1970, 48-49. For a detailed list of members of the Kamateroi family see Ladas 1952-58, 64-74.

A member of this family, Epiphanius Kamateros, governed Hellas and Peloponnesos with the title of *anthypatos* (*Life of Meletios*, 53). Two seals which might belong to him carry the titles *proedros* and *eparchos*, and *spatharokandidatos kai tourmarches*; see Bon 1951, 196-197, No. 47. The lead seal which mentions the *eparchos* and *proedros* Epiphanius Kamateros has been dated to the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c. and was probably found in the Athenian district, since it is included in the Athens Numismatic Museum: *Ἐπαρχος ἐκ σοῦ καὶ πρόεδρος Παρθένε Ἐπιφάνιος Καματηρός ὄν σκέποις*. Konstantopoulos 1917, 98, No. 345. A note on Epiphanius can be found in Herrin 1976, 267 and chart, No. 16.

<sup>1386</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup> c., after a raid during which most monks were killed, the Tao monastery was bought by the large Dormition monastery, which is located on the south slope of Penteli. See Palles 2009, 261.

<sup>1387</sup> Lazarides 1965, 133-136.

## 4.8. Kastri

**Fort:** Kastri owes its name to the existence of a small fortification at the east end of the modern homonymous suburb, on a pointed outlier of Penteli, at 500 m altitude (visible as ‘Καστρίον’ on the *MGS* map; ‘Kastraki’ on *KvA* Blatt V, upper right corner.).<sup>1388</sup> The peak occupies a very strategic location at the north entrance to the Athenian plain from NE Attica, as the pass over *Dekeleia*/Tatoi runs by it, and has an excellent view over the plain.

Surrounding the oval peak is a fortification wall (Pl. 32a) of unworked field stones which has long been known, though taken for a comparatively modern structure.<sup>1389</sup> The fortification wall has an oval shape with a long N-S axis and completely encircles the plateau of the peak, thus having a perimeter of 415 m. Its thickness is 2.40-2.50 m. There is no mortar or other binder between the stones. The wall is preserved to a height of 2 m in places, and McCredie believes that it never would have been much higher<sup>1390</sup>; but it may have had a brick superstructure.

Traces of buildings are still visible within the circuit, despite their ruined condition and the disturbance caused by a small later chapel and activity around it. A description of these buildings is included in the report of McCredie. On the highest point, built against the east fortification wall, is a rectangular building 12.70x9.20 m (‘b’), with 1.15 m thick walls. Both from the thickness of the walls and from the location at the highest point of the plateau, it may be inferred that this building was a watchtower. A further large building (‘c’), 10x10 m, lies north of the chapel. It appears to have had at least six rooms, and to have been built

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<sup>1388</sup> The fort and the buildings have been described by McCredie (1966, 56f.).

<sup>1389</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 33: “(...) Kastraki: its analogy with the fortifications of Etosi [Pikermi area] and Tamburi Gura at Ninoi [Marathonian area] allow us to characterise it as a refuge and defence place of a post-Hellenic period, perhaps of the war of Independence.”

<sup>1390</sup> McCredie 1966, 52-56, fig. 10 and pl. 12a-b.

with little regard to right angles. A third rectangular building (7.50x4.30 m) lies just south of building 'c'. Series of small rooms were built along the inner face of the fortification wall, in a manner which reminds of the arrangement of rooms in the fortification of Ovriokastro, Mesogeia. They are either a simple string of rooms ca. 3.70 m deep and 2-4 m in width (as 'd') or a more elaborate sort of structure two rooms deep (as 'e').

#### 4.9. Stamata - Amygdeleza

**Basilica:** An Early Christian basilica has been excavated on the top of the Amygdaleza hill, where antiquities were found already in the 19<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1391</sup> It is three-aisled (24.5x16.7 m), with a semi-circular apse and a narthex, and numerous ancillary rooms, with a baptistery among them (Pl. 32b). Its ground plan is similar to other Early Christian basilicas excavated in Attica.<sup>1392</sup> Its construction has been dated towards the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> c.; a hint towards the earlier chronological limit of this period are the coins which were found during the excavation and which date both to the 5<sup>th</sup> and to the 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1393</sup> Shortly after its construction, the baptistery and other ancillary rooms were erected adjacent to its south wall.

To the Early Byzantine phase of its use belong four built cist graves, excavated east of the apse. Two among them have walls covered with white stucco, with painted and inscribed decoration, as well as inscriptions, thus presenting the only preserved example of Early Christian graves with painted decoration from Attica.<sup>1394</sup> Inscriptions are: 'ΦΩC ZΩHC' and '+O ΘC O Π / ATH / CAC TON / A / ΔHN EA / EHCON +KE IY XE AΦECIN

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<sup>1391</sup> Basilica: Gini-Tsophopoulou 1979, 122; *Idem*, 1980; *Idem*, 1990, 90-92; *Idem*, 1995, 71-73. Earlier antiquities: Waldstein – Tarbell 1886-1890, 191. Milchhöfer 1889, 58, reports on numerous antiquities in the valleys surrounding the hill, but not on the hill itself.

<sup>1392</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1980, 88 and note 2; 90 and note 1; 95.

<sup>1393</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1980, 95.

<sup>1394</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1990. The two graves with the painted decoration were transferred and are currently exhibited in the Byzantine Museum of Athens, along with ceramic and other finds from the basilica.



A[M]AΠTIOY..... / ΔEKEMENOIC.....HN' in Grave I; 'EΛEHMΩN KE' in Grave II. Each side of the graves bears an incised cross filled with red paint, while Grave I bears also painted decoration of trees, a bird and a fish. Grave I contained multiple burials of children and youths, while Grave II contained the remains of one skeleton, a pair of gold earrings, a golden pin and a lekythos. The two other (undecorated) graves III and IV contained multiple burials and five juglets (four in Grave III, one in Grave IV) which date around the turn of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> c.

A LR2 amphora and pithoi with stamped and inscribed rims, dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> c., which were found in the narthex and the ancillary rooms of the basilica suggest that parts of it functioned as storerooms. Clay bread seals of the same period were also collected.<sup>1395</sup>

During the Middle Byzantine period cult was confined to the east part of the main nave of the basilica, where a smaller church was constructed. The other parts of the monument were destroyed, and pit and tile graves were opened in their floor; these contained multiple burials, ceramic vessels and sherds (mostly unglazed) which have been dated to the 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c., bronze rings and bracelets and five coins, two dating to the 11<sup>th</sup> c., a half tetarteron of Manuel I Comnenus and two Venetian issues.<sup>1396</sup> Further ancillary rooms, adjacent to the north wall of the basilica, were built with rather careless masonry during the later Byzantine period, and seven more pit and tile graves were excavated in them.

The Amygdaleza hill offers evidence for religious continuity from the ancient to the Early Byzantine period. It is almost certain that an ancient sanctuary existed on top of the hill before the erection of the basilica, as ancient inscriptions, architectural remains and Hellenistic oil-lamps and drinking cups, included among the excavation finds, attest.<sup>1397</sup> But to which ancient *demos* did it belong? Testimonies of ancient writers have lead scholars to the

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<sup>1395</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1995, 73.

<sup>1396</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1980, 93.

<sup>1397</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1990, 90 and pl. 40a-b. Waldstein – Tarbell 1886-1890, 191.

location of the *demos Hekale* in the broader area of the Amygdaleza hill, but no remains of the centre of the *demos* have been found.<sup>1398</sup>

Furthermore, Milchhöfer found two Classical reliefs depicting Aphrodite 2 km E/SE of Amygdaleza, at the church of Agia Paraskevi, at the NW limit of the small plain Koukounarti (*KvA* Blatt XIX, lower centre) or Koukounaries (*MGS* and *Road* maps). He convincingly deduced that an Aphrodite sanctuary must have existed in the immediate vicinity, and he tentatively connected it with the epigraphic evidence *IG* II 570, which refers to the “Aphrodisia and other feasts, in which the *demoi Plotheia* and the *Epakreis* participated.”<sup>1399</sup> The *demos* of *Plotheia* has been located with certainty to the south of Stamata, in the site of Old or Epano Stamata.<sup>1400</sup> As Milchhöfer argues, the meaning of the word *Epakreis* in this inscription was a religious community which included the *demoi* of *Hekale*, *Plotheia* and *Ikarion*.<sup>1401</sup>

Based on the extant evidence, one may conclude that the Early Byzantine basilica and adjacent settlement of Amygdaleza were constructed on the ancient site of either a peripheral sanctuary or the acropolis (including a sanctuary) of a *demos*, which may have been the *demos Hekale* (according to Traill). If the sanctuary on the hill is the Aphrodite sanctuary, remains of which are reported by Milchhöfer nearby, then one could argue that the Early Byzantine basilica and settlement were erected at a site where all three *demoi* of *Epakria*; *Hekale*, *Plotheia* and *Ikarion*, were religiously active (see *IG* II 570).

Another inscription, which was found during the excavation of the basilica, leads to a similar answer; it is a marble *stèle* of the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, which was later re-used

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<sup>1398</sup> Traill 1975, 46. Thompson 1970, 64.

<sup>1399</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 57-58. For the Aphrodite reliefs see also Milchhöfer 1887, No. 376, 377.

<sup>1400</sup> Traill 1975, 41. Steph. Byz., «Πλώθεια, δῆμος Αἰγίδος φυλῆς. ὁ δημότης Πλωθιεύς καὶ Πλωθεύς. τὰ τοπικὰ Πλωθεῖζεν Πλωθέαζε Πλωθιδῖσιν.»

<sup>1401</sup> For the various meanings of *Epakria* see A. Milchhöfer, *RE* V, 2673-4. I was not able to find any newer research on this topic.

for the stone floor of the Bema of the church. The upper part of the inscription is illegible, while the lower part reads: ‘ΟΙ ΔΗΜΟΤΑΙ ΕΠΑΚΡΕΕΣ ΕΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ ΑΡΞΑΝΤΑ’.<sup>1402</sup>

Therefore, even if the sanctuary underlying the basilica cannot be identified with the Aphrodite sanctuary, the inscription which was found recently in the basilica (if it was not moved from elsewhere) suggests that this was a sanctuary of the *Epakreis*; it may even not have belonged to a single *demos*. In this case, one could suggest that the Early Byzantine religious centre and settlement of Amygdaleza did not replace the centre of a single *demos*, but rather developed on a site with a regional – religious, and possibly political – significance. The evidence, however, is not enough to sustain such a theory, which can at present only be formulated as a hypothesis.

Between Stamata and Koukounarti rises a hill (433 m) named ‘Pirgarti’ on *KvA*, but ‘Pournari’ both on the *MGS* and *Road* maps. Milchhöfer assumed that its name derived from the existence of a tower, although he did not see any remains.<sup>1403</sup> It is possible that the correct name is ‘Pournari’, a demotic form of the Byzantine ‘Pirnarion’ (ancient ‘Prinos’), which can easily have been mis-recorded as ‘Pirgari’ or ‘Pirgarti’ by the geographers of the *KvA*.

## **B.5. The Marathonian district**

### 5.2. Vrana

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<sup>1402</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1980, 94, pl. 20a, 23b.

<sup>1403</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 58. Langdon (1995, 483, note 34) also thinks that Milchhöfer only made an assumption here, not based on any archaeological remains.

**Agios Georgios:** Located one kilometre west of the modern settlement of Vrana.<sup>1404</sup> Milchhöfer mentions that “the church of Agios Georgios has been rebuilt, while the monastery is today abandoned and destroyed. But still today, the old fame of the sanctuary attracts here (on May 4<sup>th</sup>) one of the finest and most traditional feast gatherings that Attica knows”. Milchhöfer argues that the feast is very old, and that it may even go back to ancient times, based on the discovery of ancient marble architectural members, on the one hand, and on the other on an assumption of Leake, that the name ‘Vrana’ is Slav, meaning ‘fort’ and therefore must go back “to the 10<sup>th</sup> c.”.<sup>1405</sup> Milchhöfer’s assumption about the ancient roots of the feast appears to be correct, since the ritual which is followed even today on the feast day of St George is surprisingly similar to ancient sacrifice practices: male sheep are killed, and later grilled on spikes and eaten by the pilgrims and visitors. Only sheep which enter the courtyard of the modern monastery, without being forced or provoked to do so, are chosen to be killed.<sup>1406</sup>

The monastery certainly existed in the 17<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1407</sup>, and the frescoes in the interior of the church belong to the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> c. The monastic buildings which were seen destroyed by Milchhöfer have been recently replaced with modern ones, lying just to the south of the old church. Neroutsos identified this monastery with the ‘monasterium... Sancti Georgii’, which the Pope Innocent III included to the properties of the Athenian Church in 1209.<sup>1408</sup> However, this identification is not supported by any kind of evidence. The architectural members which have been embedded in the supporting arches of the main aisle belong to Classical-Hellenistic and Late Roman times.

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<sup>1404</sup> This church is only mentioned in *TIB* I, 213. It is described by Goette – Weber (2004, 130, fig. 166). Mouzakes 2003.

<sup>1405</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 42.

<sup>1406</sup> Description of the ritual followed in Agios Georgios by Goette – Weber (2004, 132).

<sup>1407</sup> An Athonite codex of the 17<sup>th</sup> c. bears a stamp with the inscription ‘Σφραγίς μονής του αγίου Γεωργίου από τη Βρανά’. See Lambros 1896, 9, note 2.

<sup>1408</sup> Neroutsos 1892, 70.

### 5.3. The coastal part of the plain: Vrexiza, the tumulus area, Plasi

**Tower west of Panagia Mesosporitissa:** Only the lowest part of the tower is preserved, built almost entirely of blocks taken from the trophy the ancient Athenians erected hereabouts to commemorate their victory against the Persians (Pl. 33e-f).<sup>1409</sup> It measures 4.48x5.82 in ground plan and rises to a maximum preserved height of one metre. The walls are 1.05 m thick. They are set on a projecting sill, which in turn rests on deep rubble and mortar foundations. There is no doorway into this level from the outside. The ground floor is divided in two by a light wall running E and W. The original flooring, preserved in both chambers, consists of ceramic fragments set in mortar. The stucco coating the walls, at places preserved in three coats, shows the long use of the tower.

For the chronology of its use, evidence is offered by a Venetian coin of the late 14<sup>th</sup> c. and a few Byzantine sherds of the same general period or earlier, which were found above the floor of the tower, among the debris of its destruction. The earliest sherds were “very late Roman combed ware of a type that usually occurs with early Byzantine glazed pottery. In a layer of silt over the floor of the southern room, a few more sherds were discovered; the characteristic pieces were Byzantine sgraffito.”<sup>1410</sup> The excavator therefore concluded that the tower was probably built in the 11<sup>th</sup> or the 12<sup>th</sup> c., and that it fell in ruin in the 15<sup>th</sup> c. As much as we would like to place the erection of the tower already in the 12<sup>th</sup> c., this dating is not secure, since the disused pottery embedded in the silt represents a *terminus post quem*. Vanderpool’s information is nevertheless extremely valuable, since it confirms the use of the

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<sup>1409</sup> Vanderpool 1966, 93-96. Langdon 1995, 483. Milchhöfer 1889, 51. Goette 2001, 239.

<sup>1410</sup> Vanderpool 1966, 96.

tower at least during the Frankish period. Vanderpool also reports that the locality was still in his days known as ‘Kastro’. Lolling attests to the place name ‘Chani’.<sup>1411</sup>

**Tower north of Soros:** The second medieval tower of the coastal plain lies to the south of Plasi, and 600 m north of the tumulus of the Athenians (*KvA* Bl. XIX, ‘Pyrgos’ N of the Soros); its remains were excavated in the 1970s.<sup>1412</sup> It is a rectangle of finely worked marble blocks in secondary use, bonded with mortar (Pl. 34a). Its ground dimensions measure 6.63x4.57 m. In construction the tower is similar to the tower located by the trophy in having a projecting sill on all sides, deep rubble and mortar foundation, no door opening in the walls at ground level, and an interior crosswall, here running N and S. Three rectangular buildings, preserved only at foundation level, have been exposed around the tower. It is the opinion of the excavators that these structures postdate the tower. The fill of the building to the north of the tower contained “Byzantine” ceramic sherds, while the fill of the two buildings to the south of the tower contained post-Byzantine pottery. Milchhöfer, who thought that the tower was ancient, due to the use of marble blocks, adds the valuable information about the existence of “a couple of winepresses, wells, as well as the poor remains of a church lie to the east and southeast [of the Pyrgos]; these contain [in their masonry] the same marble pieces, in the majority blocks of the Pyrgos”.<sup>1413</sup> Since we now know that the tower was medieval, and that the marble blocks in its masonry were there in secondary use, we may suggest that the marble blocks of the surrounding buildings did not come from the tower, but from ancient buildings nearby; and that tower and surrounding buildings used ready material of the same source; and that they were possibly contemporary.

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<sup>1411</sup> Lolling 1876, 79.

<sup>1412</sup> B’ EPKA 1978, 56. Langdon 1995, 483.

<sup>1413</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 46. See also *KvA*, Bl. XIX, where, below the ‘Pyrgos’, ‘Cist.’ and ‘zerst. Kap.’ are noted.

#### 5.4. The town of Marathon

**Bousoula plot:** Excavation revealed parts of two buildings of rural character, belonging to two different periods.<sup>1414</sup> The earlier building was founded during the Late Hellenistic period. The later building was constructed during Middle-Late Roman times, after the destruction of the earlier building. The floors were made of packed earth. Disuse of this building appears to have been due to a flooding of the Charadros river, which destroyed the corner of two walls. A yet later construction phase is represented through some new flimsy walls.

Six burials, which were uncovered and cleaned, belong to Early Byzantine times and must have been constructed after the abandonment of the site, when only some ruins were possibly visible. Five were child burials. They did not contain objects, apart from one grave which contained a pitcher with a spherical body and convex neck; the belt buckle of the deceased, as well as a bronze fibula (it was probably a female burial) were also found here.

Numerous fragments of millstones, recovered during the excavation, as well as an oil-press and a wine-press found in a modern irrigation trench just outside the Bousoula plot, were correlated with the Middle-Roman phase of use of the building, and supported its interpretation as a farmstead.

Results of the ceramic study (conducted by the author) are following:

1. The ceramic material belongs to three distinct chronological phases: a Late Hellenistic, a Middle Roman and a Late Roman phase. It is not clear from the material if the use of the building between the Middle and the Late Roman periods was continuous, or interrupted.
2. The material of the Late Roman period consists of a relatively small amount of potsherds.

These belong to the following vessels:

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<sup>1414</sup> Morou-Kapokaki 1984.

- a. An amphora of the LRA1 type (images 1-2). The upper part of the amphora has been preserved as a whole (see Pl. 35e), while bodysherds of the same vessel were found in numerous ceramic assemblages of the excavation. Based on its shape, the amphora can be dated to the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1415</sup>
  - b. Fragments of LRA2 amphora or amphorae (images 3-4). The fabric is consistently the one of the production site in Kounoupi (Ermionis, Argolid).
  - c. Two bodysherds of LRA3 (micaceous water jar).
  - d. Two complete LR oil-lamps and fragments of four further ones (images 5-14). They all belong to the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c.
  - e. Rim fragments of four LR stewpots (nos. 15, 16 [left], 17-18, 19-20). These range in date from the (3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup>?) to the 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> c. AD.
3. Use of the farm ceases after the 5<sup>th</sup> or the 6<sup>th</sup> c.
  4. The very broken sherds which were found in the graves do not offer any evidence for their chronology. Their dating in the Early Byzantine period by the excavator apparently relied on the level in which they were found, and possibly on their orientation (if their orientation was E-W, then the excavator may have interpreted them as Christian, and therefore as post-Roman).

**Sourla plot:** Located at the 38<sup>th</sup> km and on the east side of the Athens-Marathon Avenue. Excavation revealed a large part of a farmstead, with its long axis E-W (Pl. 34b). The farmstead consists of ten rooms, built of rubble masonry, with some large blocks of local marble. The northern part of the building was occupied by two built constructions which supported staircase[s]. The large rectangular Room 7, at the east end of the farm, measured

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<sup>1415</sup> Cf. Riley 1979, 212-214. Reynolds 2004, 257, No. 178, fig. 13 (1<sup>st</sup> half of 6<sup>th</sup> c.).



7.60x5.20. A large number of LRom/EByz sherds were collected from it (see catalogued sherds and vessels and Pl. 36). Movable finds from Room 6 include amphora fragments with combed surfaces, a clay basin, lids of storage jars, a fragment of a circular schist plaque decorated with curved motives in relief and incised lozenge patterns, and a millstone with a diameter of 0.40 m. Room 5, south of Room 6, is a rectangular built cistern covered with hydraulic mortar. Movable finds from the excavation also include disc-shaped loomweights, a few sherds from a beehive, glass sherds and iron nails. Poor wall remains of an older, Classical or Hellenistic building, were found in Rooms 6 and 7.

The ceramic study (conducted by the author) showed that preserved ceramic finds range chronologically between the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. and the early 7<sup>th</sup> c. According to the excavation tags, all catalogued finds were found in Room 7. If the stewpots depicted in Pl. 36d-e belong to the 10<sup>th</sup> c., they represent a later phase of use; but the architectural remains do not suggest a later construction phase.

### 5.5. *Oinoe* – Ninoi

**Tower:** The area of Oinoe is marked by the tall medieval tower standing 3 km west of modern Marathon and ca. 1 km to the south of the modern road which leads from Marathon to Stamata / Agios Stephanos. The ground dimensions of the tower are 5.64 x 3.86 m, and its preserved height over 12 m. Its original entrance was at first-floor level, on the east side. The ground and the first floor are covered by a vault with a N-S direction, while the second and the third floor could not be explored. The first floor is divided in two rooms through an E-W crosswall.<sup>1416</sup>

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<sup>1416</sup> Langdon 1995, 482.

## 5.6. *Trikorynthos* – Kato Souli

**Stavrokoraki fort:** The question of the location of the central settlement of the *demos* has caused a broad discussion of the remains of a fortification on the SE foot of the Stavrokoraki hill. An observation written by Lohmann suggests that at least part of them may belong to our period of study. The fort remains encircle a round hill which forms the SE foot of the Stavrokoraki hill, just above the 19<sup>th</sup>-c. village of Kato Souli. The walls follow a complicated plan, and their description here relies wholly on McCredie's examination (Pl. 37a).<sup>1417</sup> Remains of gates and ruined towers have been noted by Milchhöfer<sup>1418</sup>, but McCredie was not able to find them.

The walls were earlier dated to Mycenaean times, but McCredie did not find enough archaeological evidence to support this date, although he did not disprove it either. He did not find any Mycenaean pottery, but a handful of sherds ranging from Geometric to Classical times. He therefore characterised the evidence as inconclusive. Moreover, a possible direct association of the fortification with the *demos* of *Trikorynthos* would, according to McCredie, present a historical problem, since Classical Attic fortifications were not meant to serve single *demoi*, but garrisons of the Athenian army. The fortifications of *Trikorynthos*, however, do not recall in the least other known such garrisons (e.g. Phyle, *Eleutherae*), which were particularly strong and well-built with ashlar masonry.<sup>1419</sup> Nevertheless, similar in construction to the Stavrokoraki fortification is the rubble fort of Aphidna, which, due to its location, must have served the Athenian army. Lohmann reported that tile fragments which had been used in the fortifications included some Early Byzantine fragments.<sup>1420</sup>

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<sup>1417</sup> McCredie 1966, 37-41.

<sup>1418</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 49.

<sup>1419</sup> McCredie 1966, 41.

<sup>1420</sup> Lohmann 2001, 518, n. 72.

## **B.6. The district of Oropos**

### **6.2. Kalamos**

**Agios Nikolaos:** Located in the cemetery of Kalamos. The church has been dated to the late 13<sup>th</sup> c. It is a three-aisled cross-roofed church, preserving frescoes contemporary with its time of construction.<sup>1421</sup> Excavations in the interior of the church revealed a wall section of an earlier church, running parallel to the south wall of the 13<sup>th</sup>-c. church. The earlier wall preserved part of a wall-painting with geometric patterns (Pl. 39d), which Bouras dates to the early 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1422</sup> Further remains of this earlier church were not found, since they were destroyed by Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman graves which were opened in the floor of the late 13<sup>th</sup>-c. church.<sup>1423</sup>

**Agia Paraskevi:** Located recently in a rural area SE of Kalamos, close to mid distance between Kalamos and Varnava (Pl. 39e-f).<sup>1424</sup> The church is of small size, cross-shaped, and constructed in a coarse *cloisonné* technique; earlier Byzantine spolia have been embedded in its masonry. The dome preserves remains of a wall-painting depicting the Pantocrator, of Byzantine date. Ruined buildings north of the church were probably cells. In the immediate vicinity of the church, building remains, retaining walls and stone piles show earlier activity.

## **B.7. Mount Parnes**

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<sup>1421</sup> *Churches of Attica*, 360-361. Bouras 2002, 336.

<sup>1422</sup> Bouras 2002, 336.

<sup>1423</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1982-83, 230-231, fig. 5. Gini-Tsophopoulou 1995, 73-75.

<sup>1424</sup> Gini-Tsophopoulou 1994. Before Tsophopoulou's study the church was unknown in the bibliography. Unfortunately, its exact location is not provided in the report, and I was not able to find it.

## 7.4. Beletsi

**Beletsi fort:** The summit Beletsi (840 m) was protected by a circuit wall, which still existed in the mid-1980s<sup>1425</sup>, but I was not able to see it. Its dimensions are 60 m E-W by 30 m N-S (Pl. 43a). The wall is mostly rubble, but an 11 m stretch in the middle of the south wall is built of large, roughly squared Classical stoneblocks. Ober did not see any mortar in the masonry, and argues that the circuit is unlikely to date from the Roman period (which, for him, includes the Early Byzantine). However, a fragment of a 6<sup>th</sup>-c. lamp was found by him in the circuit (Pl. 42f), on a crag which must have functioned as a watch post through many periods, as many ceramic sherds were found on it<sup>1426</sup>; also a “deeply combed body sherd of the 5<sup>th</sup> c.”<sup>1427</sup> These indicate a re-use of the fort during the Early Byzantine period. Two regional imitations of African Red Slip dishes, dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c., indicate that the crag must have been used as a watchpost through many centuries.<sup>1428</sup>

## 7.10. The fortification of Phyle

**Phyle fort:** The fort is built at a very strong position, on a peak which does not have unlimited view towards Boeotia, but a very good overview of the Athenian plain.<sup>1429</sup> The fort rises at a distance of 500 m from the road which surrounds the foot of its hill, and which leads from Chasia to the Skourta plain. The route from Chasia to the fort of Phyle was opened and

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<sup>1425</sup> Ober 1985, 144-145.

<sup>1426</sup> Ober 1987, 204, no. 5.6, pl. 26.

<sup>1427</sup> Ober 1987, 204, no. 5.5 (DAI collection); Grigoropoulos 2009, 474, FO 048 (sherd only mentioned).

<sup>1428</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 474, FO 048.

<sup>1429</sup> The most detailed description of the fort has been written by Wrede (1924), who opened excavations trenches in its interior. For a concise recent discussion on the chronology of the fort, see Ober 1987, 207.

paved in the ancient period, so that it could be used by an army<sup>1430</sup>, which would have eased communication in later times as well.

The fort has an irregular oval shape of about 100 by 40 m (Pl. 44a). The walls, 2.75 m thick, are made of ashlar masonry.<sup>1431</sup> Three rectangular towers and one round one project from the wall, while two gates open to the NE and SW. In the interior of the fort, and especially in its western part, the bedrock forms a mound which is not covered by earth. The eastern part of the interior, where the bedrock lies lower, was dumped *in one stage*, during Late Antiquity, as the excavator explicitly states, in order to create an even surface for new buildings. This soil dump was up to 4 m deep<sup>1432</sup>, thus showing considerable investment. This dump included consistently ceramic sherds of the Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and “late antique” periods; no glazed Byzantine pottery was seen. The sherds of the soil dump, which Wrede characterized as late antique, were “thick-walled sherds with coarse incised lines in their interior”.<sup>1433</sup> Two Early Byzantine lamp fragments, found on the soil surface, suggest that this “late” use dates to this period (Pl. 43f).<sup>1434</sup>

The excavation trenches opened by Wrede were too small to uncover whole buildings. However, it became clear that the “late antique”, or later, buildings were built of rubble masonry (Pl. 44c), and that they used the fortification wall as their back wall<sup>1435</sup>, a feature known from numerous Early and Middle Byzantine *kastra*.<sup>1436</sup> A complex of late buildings

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<sup>1430</sup> Wrede 1924, 147-161. Ober 1985, 185.

<sup>1431</sup> Some mortar which can be seen in places was plastered by Skias, during his effort to consolidate parts of the structure: Skias 1900, 41.

<sup>1432</sup> Wrede 1924, 200-201, 203.

<sup>1433</sup> Wrede 1924, 200. Wrede admits that he cannot date the “late antique” sherds with more precision, as to provide a firm chronology for the later building activity.

<sup>1434</sup> Ober 1987, 206, nos. 6.11-12, pl. 27 (DAI collection). No. 6.12 is possibly the same sherd catalogued by Wrede (1924, 220, no. 36). See also Grigoropoulos 2009, 470, FO 024.

<sup>1435</sup> Wrede 1924, 201.

<sup>1436</sup> The geographically closest example is Ovriokastro, Keratea (Mesogeia). An Early Byzantine *kastron* with this feature is Velika, east of Kissavos mountain (Thessaly): Sdrolia – Didioumi 2013. For a Middle Byzantine *kastron* of this kind see Rentina.

was built on top of the high bedrock mound.<sup>1437</sup> That the Early Byzantine users of the castle tried to use its space most efficiently, is also showed by the demolition, in this phase, of an ancient perpendicular wall which projected from the interior wall face (Pl. 44d, left).<sup>1438</sup> In this Early Byzantine phase, water provision was planned by means of a rectangular pipe made of terracotta tiles, which brought water from outside the fort, thus demonstrating a well-planned and masterfully executed provision.<sup>1439</sup>

## B.8. Mount Kithairon

### 8.2. The Skourta plain

**Zoodochos Pege monastery:** Located in Pyle (Dervenosalesi). The *katholikon* of the monastery, built around 1100, has an elaborate plan and is decorated with marble revetments and sculpted members of high quality. The close affinities of the original plan and dimensions of this church with the *katholikon* of the Osios Meletios monastery strengthen the earlier hypothesis that the Zoodochos Pege monastery is the one founded by Osios Meletios and dedicated to Θεομήτωρ.<sup>1440</sup> Also the replacement, during the 12<sup>th</sup> c., of the narthices of both churches by larger ones (‘λιτή’), and the attachment of a single-aisled domed chapel to the

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<sup>1437</sup> Wrede 1924, 202.

<sup>1438</sup> Wrede 1924, 205-206.

<sup>1439</sup> Wrede 1924, 204-205. This water pipe was continued to the passage at the foot of the hill. The water source of this pipe was not explored by the excavator. „Eine ähnliche Leitung soll von den Quellen der Gegend Klimenti (jenseits der Mallia Phyli und der Kalamara) durch die Kontitaschlucht NW um die Mallia Phyli herum und zur Flur Vigia führen, hätte sich also am Paßsattel mit der andern vereinigt.“ If water was brought from the nearby higher hill, then specialised engineering experience must have been employed. No cistern exists in the fort, at least after the dumping of its interior; and the next spring is situated at a distance of ten minutes, on the passage at the foot of the hill.

<sup>1440</sup> Bouras 1993-4. Orlandos 1935, 177-178. On the comparison between the two churches see Bouras *ibid.*, 34-35.

south wall of each one, suggests the ownership by a common authority. The monastery also has a bathing complex. Orlandos suggested that this monastery may have been an imperial foundation, endowed by Alexios Komnenos, with whom Meletios had a close relationship.<sup>1441</sup>

## 8.6. *Eleutherai* / Gyphtokastro

**Fort:** The fort shows some later repairs in the area of the east gate, which Ober thinks “may be assigned to the Late Roman or medieval period”.<sup>1442</sup> Indeed, the eastern part of the south long wall of the fort has been rebuilt in post-antique times at a length of ca. 25 m (Pl. 46c) (*vidi*). This section appears to have collapsed due to the pressure of the soil which has accumulated behind the wall. The Classical limestone blocks have been re-used for the rebuilding, but they are not set horizontally; moreover, ceramic chips have been used in places, especially in the vertical joints, and small stones have been used as filling between the blocks. These features, along with the lime mortar binding, suggest a construction in the Early or Middle Byzantine period. This view has been briefly supported by Lazarides as well.<sup>1443</sup> In the fort, Ober and Edmonson saw potsherds “of the Late Roman and Byzantine periods”, besides the Classical ones.<sup>1444</sup> During my visit I saw four sherds which date in the Early or Middle Byzantine periods; a rim and handle fragment of an amphora or *lageni* is probably Middle Byzantine, while three coarse handle fragments are not made of the common Attic bright orange clays, but of coarser fabrics. It is probable that the fort was used in both the Early and Middle Byzantine periods.

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<sup>1441</sup> Orlandos 1935, 177-178.

<sup>1442</sup> Ober 1985, 223.

<sup>1443</sup> Lazarides 1960, 156, where he mistakenly refers to the fort of *Eleutherai* as *Oinoe*; this was before the identification of the two sites on firm ground by Vanderpool. Koder and Hild (*TIB* I, 154) correctly understood that Lazarides refers here to the fort of *Eleutherai*. The fort of *Oinoe* does not bear any signs of Byzantine construction; even the Classical walls have been mostly destroyed.

<sup>1444</sup> Ober 1987, 215. Edmonson 1966, 58: “Hellenistic and Early Roman sherds are rather rare, while Late Roman and Byzantine wares are the most common.”

**Settlement:** The settlement, which lies just to the south of the fort, was partly excavated. The Dionysus temple site and ancient graves were revealed, but also two Early Christian basilicas (Pl. 47a-b), “poor constructions, probably houses of later periods”, and a Christian cemetery with tile tent-shaped graves.<sup>1445</sup> One of the graves contained an Early Byzantine burial lekythos and an oil-lamp. The area is now partly covered with thick scrub and I was not able to locate any of the Early Byzantine remains; only the ground plan of the Dionysus temple is visible.<sup>1446</sup>

## **B.9. The Thriasian plain**

### **9.2. Perama – Skaramangas**

**Lighthouse (?):** An unusual structure, probably a lighthouse, was excavated on the low hill (33 m) which rises between the two *Rheitoi* lakes (Lake Koumoundourou), by the sea shore.<sup>1447</sup> It has a rectangular ground plan, 12.5 x 8.8 m, with walls as thick as 3 m, made of rubble and ceramic chips bonded with mortar.<sup>1448</sup> Their preserved height, ca. 1.20 m, is probably not much lower than the original one. The inner space was found full of ash and remains of fire, traces of which were also to be seen on the walls surfaces. A few vessel fragments of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods were found in the ash. If indeed a

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<sup>1445</sup> Stikas 1939, 44-49.

<sup>1446</sup> Visit in September 2011. I was not able to see any diagnostic surface pottery.

<sup>1447</sup> Kourouniotes – Travlos 1936, 33-37.

<sup>1448</sup> The latter element of construction is reported by Langdon (1995, 478). Langdon reports that no datable pre-modern pottery was to be seen at the site at his day.



lighthouse, then the structure would guide the ships between the Eleusinian shore and the NE tip of Salamis (pl. 1c).

### 9.3. Aspropyrgos

**Tower:** The name Aspropyrgos derives from a medieval tower which stood by the National Road and was gradually demolished to a large extent.<sup>1449</sup> The tower apparently stood next to Iera Odos.<sup>1450</sup> It consisted of re-used marbles from a Roman funerary monument, bonded with mortar and ceramic chips (Pl. 44b). The tower was square, 9 m on a side, and had walls 1.5 m thick. Its doorway apparently was at first-floor level. Its interior was partitioned through two parallel crosswalls, at least one of which was contemporary with the tower. Philios, the excavator, also found fragments of at least six storage pithoi within the tower, one of which still contained barley seeds; outside the tower he found one storage pit and a ‘Byzantine’ well. The Byzantine inscriptions which were seen by Philios (and earlier by Rangaves and Lenormant) on some of the marble spolia deserve special interest (Pl. 44c). Most of them are probably funeral, and all deserve dedicated study.<sup>1451</sup> Philios initially supposed that the inscribed stones had been taken from the cemetery of an adjacent church, but his efforts to locate church remains in the wider area of the tower remained unfruitful.

### 9.4. Eleusis

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<sup>1449</sup> The tower was first investigated by Philios (1892, 35-41). Subsequently, enlargement of the roadway led to the supervised removal of the blocks composing the south side: Threpsiades 1973,81; Kyriakou-Zapheirou 1993, 39. A recent description, based on the surviving remains and on the earlier reports is included in the study of Langdon (1995, 485).

<sup>1450</sup> This section of Iera Odos has not been attested archaeologically, but given its general coincidence with the early modern and modern road it very possibly passed from this point. The existence of the medieval tower here strengthens this hypothesis. See Papangeli 2009, 131.

<sup>1451</sup> These inscriptions are excluded from the study of Sironen (2008), as well as from the *IG* collection, since they post-date AD 600.

**Defence wall:** The Sanctuary area was protected by a strong defence wall with successive construction phases (Pl. 48a-b), which were built under Peisistratus [marked in blue on Pl. 45b] (6<sup>th</sup> c. BC;), Kimon [pink], Perikles [red] (5<sup>th</sup> c. BC), Lykourgos [green] (4<sup>th</sup> c. BC), and lately by Roman emperors [black and grey].<sup>1452</sup> Valerian (253-260) is normally considered as the emperor who commanded the construction of the imposing late defensive wall.<sup>1453</sup> It is possible, however, that the proposed Valerianic phase is actually later (LRom/EByz), or that it was succeeded by a LRom/EByz phase, of which only very scant remains still survive.

The defence wall which has been characterised as Roman follows two circuit lines, adjacent to each other: the one encloses the Sanctuary area, and the other protects the flat top of the hill (acropolis) which rises immediately NW of the Sanctuary (marked with hatched lines on Pl. 48a). Although these two circuit lines have so far been attributed to the same construction phase by Ziro<sup>1454</sup> (a reasonable assumption strategically speaking, since the defence of the Sanctuary area depends on the defence of the acropolis), we will observe them separately in the present discussion, especially since they show different masonries.

The Sanctuary defence wall (marked with black on Pl. 48) is an extremely strong wall, 2.90 m thick, which has a long eastern section and a short NW section; these sections meet at the gate of the Megala Propylaia. In its long eastern section, the ‘Roman’ wall follows the line of the earlier Kimonian wall (Pl. 49a).<sup>1455</sup> In its NW section, the ‘Roman’ wall uses the western wall of the Megala Propylaia, and connects the latter with the hill crag which rises

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<sup>1452</sup> A systematic study of the defence wall has been undertaken by Ziro (1991).

<sup>1453</sup> This hypothesis was expressed by Travlos (1954, 70; 1988, 98) and supported by Ziro (1991, 277-279). Ziro argued that Eleusis organised its protection from the early northern incursions which occurred in Southern Greece, and especially the Herules, in the same period as Athens organised its own re-fortification. The re-fortification of Athens by Valerian is attested in Zosimos (I.29.2-3), and is known as the Valerianic phase of the Themistocleian circuit.

<sup>1454</sup> Ziro 1991, 279-280. Travlos (1988, 98), however, appears not to be certain if the two circuit walls are contemporary.

<sup>1455</sup> The Roman wall circumscribes the earlier circuit walls in its eastern section, while in the SE section it has been constructed *on* the courses of the earlier walls.

south of the Propylaia (Pl. 49b). In both these sections, the ‘Roman’ wall is built of large worked poros blocks, placed in regular courses, with small stones and thin tiles in the junctions. The similarity of its masonry with the masonry which occurs in the well-built towers of the Hexamilion Wall (5<sup>th</sup> c.) is noteworthy.<sup>1456</sup> However, in one small segment of the NW section, the wall shows an additional kind of masonry, which runs on top of the masonry with the large worked blocks. It consists of rubble masonry, interrupted regularly by rows of tiles (Pl. 49c). This segment of masonry survives only in a length of ca. 15 m and in a height of ca. 1.5 m above the large worked blocks. It is possible that it originally topped the ‘Roman’ masonry of large worked blocks in its whole length. This wall segment was recently re-observed and discussed by K. Tsouris, who argued for its dating in the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1457</sup>

The defence wall of the acropolis encloses the top of the hill and the upper part of its eastern slope from the south, west and north side, and is strengthened with four rectangular towers (pl. 45a). The wall is 2.70 m thick. Its remains are mostly covered with soil dump, while their maximum visible surviving height measures ca. 1.3 m from outside. In all visible sections, the wall masonry is rubble, interrupted by single rows of tiles (Pl. 49d, 50a). It therefore appears very similar to the small segment of the NW section of the Sanctuary wall, which Dr Tsouris dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> c. A chronology of the acropolis wall to the ‘Byzantine’ period has also been vaguely proposed by Papangeli.<sup>1458</sup>

The remains of the LRom/EByz defence wall on the acropolis are depicted in an etching of the Society of Dilettanti (1817)<sup>1459</sup> and in a drawing by Th. du Moncel (1845). The Dilettanti etching (Pl. 50b) shows them in a ruined condition, and marks what appears to be a

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<sup>1456</sup> Cf. Gregory 1993, Pl. 43a.

<sup>1457</sup> K. Tsouris, ‘Μεσοβυζαντινές επεμβάσεις στην οχύρωση της Σπάρτης’, paper read at the International Conference *Defensive architecture in the Peloponnese (5<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> c.)*, Loutraki 30/9-1/10/2011, Abstracts p. 69-70. I am indebted to Dr Tsouris for the photo of this wall segment which he sent to me prior to my own visit at the site, as well as for a useful discussion.

<sup>1458</sup> Papangeli 2002, 47.

<sup>1459</sup> Society of Dilettanti 1829, pl. 4 and 5.

pair of towers, both on the north and the south side of the citadel. It also shows the existence of a large roofed building on the east (right) end of the acropolis. The du Moncel drawing (Pl. 50c) shows the acropolis citadel in a remarkably good preservation, which cannot have depicted its real condition. However, the size which the drawn citadel occupies on the hill agrees with the archaeological plans drawn later by Travlos and Ziro, and so does the position of the square towers which du Moncel could see from the north. Even if du Moncel added traits which did not correspond with reality, the main features of the acropolis citadel appear to be correct. The existence of an inner citadel, depicted in the right end of the acropolis citadel, should not be taken for granted; however, it has been depicted at the same spot with the roofed building of the Dilettanti etching, and so it may designate the existence of a prominent building (vs. a house). I was not able to see remains of an inner citadel on the acropolis during my visit; the hill top does not preserve any visible built remains, although they might be buried beneath the soil and the trees which occupy its surface.

**Agios Nikolaos:** Situated in the cemetery of Magoula, near Eleusis (marked as ‘Panagia’ in *KvA*) (Pl. 52b). It is a small single-aisled basilica, which was recently attributed to the 12<sup>th</sup> c. by Bouras due to the form of its western entrance: the arched lintel has the shape of a horse-shoe, and is surrounded by a row of thin tiles.<sup>1460</sup> A few spolia have been embedded in the walls. The masonry of the apse appears to have been isodomic.

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<sup>1460</sup>Bouras 2002, 220-221. Bouras’ study relies on old photographs of the church. The church was recently covered with heavy mortar and refurbished, and among the Byzantine architectural features which he describes, only the horse-shoe shape of the entrance door is visible today.

## B.10. Southeast Attica

### 10.3. *Phrearrioi* - Olympos

**Basilica of Laureotic Olympos:** Located in the plain of *Phrearrioi*, ca. 1 km east of the modern settlement Kalyvia Olympou.<sup>1461</sup> It was dated by Pallas shortly before 559, based on epigraphic and architectural evidence.<sup>1462</sup> Floors were decorated with mosaics (Pl. 60a). One of the ancillary rooms housed an oil-press. Graves were excavated both outside the basilica, along its east side, and in the aisles and narthices. They yielded finds which can be dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c. In detail, datable finds are as follows:

- (i) Glass unguentarium (Pl. 60c, upper right): Ca. 600 or early 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallel: Alexandri 1973, 32-33, pl. 24b; the chronology of the glass vessel derives from the dating of the clay vessels found in the same grave: see Tzavella 2010, 653, 659-661.
- (ii) Glass oil-lamp (Pl. 60c, far right): 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallel: Martini – Steckner 1993, 120, No. 1.3, Abb. 35, Taf. 14.2; it was found in Grave 1, along with two bronze coins of Phocas (dated 603-610) and a follis of Constans II (dated 652/3).
- (iii) Clay jug with trefoil-mouth (Pl. 60c, upper left corner: Early 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallel: Tzavella 2010, 658, fig. 3b.
- (iv) Clay jug (smaller) (Pl. 60c): 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallel: Martini – Steckner 1993, 120, No. 1.1, Abb. 35, Taf. 14.3; it was found in Grave 1, along with two bronze coins of Phocas (dated 603-610) and a follis of Constans II (dated 652/3).

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<sup>1461</sup> Soteriou 1929, 184. Kotzias 1952.

<sup>1462</sup> Pallas 1986, 49-52. On the inscriptions see Sironen 2008, Nos. 13257, 13258, 13527.

- (v) Clay jugs (Kotzias 1952, 124-5, figs. 20-21): 7<sup>th</sup> c., possibly later. Parallels: Felten 1975, Taf. 20, No. 85-90. Tzavella 2010, 658-660, Nos. A8117-8, A8121, A8131, A8191-2; see also 656, note 34.
- (vi) Belt buckle with a rectangular plate, bearing relief decoration of a hare and a lion running to opposite directions (Kotzias 1952, 122, fig. 18).<sup>1463</sup> It was not possible to find an exact parallel based on Kotzias' description, but the type of belt buckle with rectangular plate and relief decoration of animal(s) is dated by Schulze-Dörrlamm from the late 9<sup>th</sup> to the late 10<sup>th</sup> or early 11<sup>th</sup> c.: Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 204-253, Type G2, on chronology esp. 242-248. For decoration of this type of buckle with a lion, see *ibid.*, 220ff., Nos. 457-520, and for animals looking at opposite directions *ibid.*, 237f., Nos. 550-556.
- (vii) Earrings of circular shape, decorated with three spheres (Kotzias 1952, 122, fig. 18): 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels: Papanikola-Bakirtzis (ed.) 2002, 434, Nos. 562-563; Preka 1992-3, Pl. 41j, 42a.

*A terminus post quem* for the destruction of the basilica, which occurred through fire, is yielded by a lead seal which was found in the inner narthex and dates to the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1464</sup>

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<sup>1463</sup> Minor finds described and depicted in Kotzias 1952, 122, fig. 18.

<sup>1464</sup> Kotzias 1952, 121, 128.

## Appendix B: Site visits and surveys (alphabetically ordered)

**Brauron:** A non-systematic field inspection was conducted by the author on November 15<sup>th</sup> 2009 in the area surrounding the basilica, aiming to see if any archaeological material is still preserved. I walked in an area covering ca. 400 m N-S (the northern limit was the basilica and the southern the rocky hills to its south; for a survey on the hills, see below) by ca. 400 m E-W, both to the north and to the south of the *Erasinos* stream. No archaeological material was seen on the top of the hill north of the basilica, possibly due to erosion. Archaeological material was seen in an area covering ca. 200 m (E-W) x 150 m (N-S); most of it is concentrated between the basilica and the north bank of the stream (Pl. 22b). Apart from a few, roughly worked poros and limestone blocks, the material seen was 100% ceramic, and consisted primarily of tiles and sherds.

**Oropia:** The coastal area of Oropos was recently explored in detail by the intensive Oropos Survey Project.<sup>1465</sup> The area was chosen for intensive survey as it was considered “more likely to have been affected directly by the historical developments in the sanctuary [of Amphiaraos] and the city and thus to have been representative of developments in the rest of the Oropia”.<sup>1466</sup> Although mainly interested in the Bronze Age and ancient history of the area, the OSP recorded finds which dated as late as the Early Byzantine period. Later finds fell outside the interests and purposes of the survey, and were not recorded. The survey results provide us with a well documented picture of the coastal Oropos area in Late Antiquity, and enable us to compare this picture with earlier periods.

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<sup>1465</sup> Cosmopoulos 2001.

<sup>1466</sup> Cosmopoulos 2001, 23.

The area explored during the survey has a trapezoidal shape, with a length of ca. 6 km and a width of ca. 2 km. Its northern long side coincides with the sea coast which extends between the cape just NE of Skala and the village Vlastos. Its southern long side extends from Skala to Kalamos.

Following the kind permission of Prof. Cosmopoulos, I visited the Early Byzantine sites recorded by the OSP, in order to evaluate their nature and chronology, as well as to examine whether any of them show continued use in the Middle Byzantine period. The results of my visits are briefly listed below; they are thought only as additions to the observations reported by the OSP:

- Site 90/5, Taxiarches: The wall photographed by Cosmopoulos is still visible, although further deteriorated, and it certainly belongs to a church apse (pl. 6a-b). Its small size (not measurable due to deterioration), as well as its masonry with rows of small horizontal tiles between the stones, show a date in the Middle Byzantine period or later.<sup>1467</sup> I was able to find only non-diagnostic pottery in the vicinity; this extends to a small radius (ca. 20 m) from the church ruin. The church was probably replaced by the chapel of Taxiarches which still stands ca. 50 m to its NW.
- Site 90/15, Avlotopi: This is a very extended site (ca. 300 x 300 m), just NW of the Amphiareion, probably its Hippodrome. A considerable percentage of the material belongs to Roman and Late Roman times, but I was not able to find any sherds precisely dateable to the 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. (as the OSP did), or later. Given the enhanced significance of the Amphiareion during the Roman period, it would be reasonable to suggest that this site saw its greatest expansion then.

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<sup>1467</sup> In the survey publication (Cosmopoulos 2001, 60-63) this site is thought to belong to the Late Roman – Early Byzantine periods.



- Site 93/6, Alepovouni: This is a hill with 107 m altitude, rising ca. 1 km south of Skala. Its north, west and south slopes are very even, and only the east slope rises steeply from a ravine. The hill has a good view of the Euboean Gulf, but also of the Mavrenora mountains to its south and the Asopos valley to its west. Ceramic sherds of many periods are scattered on its flat top. I was able to find only one sherd of our period of interest, and this may belong either to the Early or the Middle Byzantine period (fig. 6c).
- Site 95/2, Lagovouni: This is a west foot of Alepovouni. I was able to locate the published site, but no diagnostic sherds.
- Site 95/1, Odos Fafouti: This is an extended site in the area 'Kallithea' (*Road*), at a distance of ca. 1.5 km from the Asopos valley. In some recently ploughed sections of this site I was able to find ceramic sherds of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, among which a rim fragment of an early African Red Slip dish with mould decoration of an animal; also a LRC Form 3 rim fragment, a LRA2 body sherd and other ridged body fragments. No Middle Byzantine pottery was found.

On the sites 89/9, 89/10, 91/9, 91/10 and 93/2 I was able to find only non-diagnostic pottery. I was unfortunately unable to locate the remaining Early Byzantine sites recorded by the OSP. The published maps of the survey are not very detailed, and the grid used by the survey does not coincide with the grid of any map; it was created only for the purposes of the survey. In addition, geographical co-ordinates are not provided for the location of the sites. As a result, the re-location of their majority is extremely difficult in most cases. My efforts to locate the sites 90/3, 90/10, 91/2, 91/3, 91/6, 91/13, 91/14, 91/17, 91/21, 93/7, 94/1 and 94/2 were thus unfruitful. For the remaining sites, information provided about their location was not enough to even approach them.

**Ovriokastro:** Located 4 km east of Keratea, on top of the northernmost hill (313 m) of the Laureotic district (*vidi*). Its name was first recorded by Milchhöfer.<sup>1468</sup> The hill has a conical shape and bears an excellent view of the road which leads from Keratea to the east coast and Thorikos, or, in other words, of the southeast exit of the Mesogeia plain to the coast. On the summit of the hill there are remains of a settlement, surrounded by an enclosure.<sup>1469</sup> These have been visited by scholars of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> c., who disagreed considerably over their chronology and function.<sup>1470</sup> A systematic field survey undertaken in the early 1990s provided reliable and illuminating results on these issues.<sup>1471</sup>

The site consists of two distinct enclosed areas: the upper one occupies the top of the hill at a stable height of ca. 305 m, and surrounds numerous building remains; the lower one forms the extension of the first enclosure on the NW slope of the hill, and appears to have enclosed a large open space and only a very limited number of buildings.

The upper enclosure has an oval shape and a circumference of ca. 300 m, thus encircling an area of 6200 m<sup>2</sup>. Its long diameter (NE-SW) measures 115 m, while its short diameter (NW-SE) 71 m. The upper circuit wall is 1.6 m wide and is preserved up to a height of 1.4 m. The best preserved sections are to be found on the south and southeast side of the hill. It has been constructed with unworked stones of the local limestone, which form an

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<sup>1468</sup> Strangely, no other source exists which would certify its accuracy or explain its provenance. Milchhöfer notes, while commenting on Rhamous, which was also named ‘Ovriokastro’ in later periods, that the names ‘Οβριόκαστρο’ (= Castle of Jews) and ‘Γυφτόκαστρο’ (= Castle of Gypsies) were occasionally used in post-medieval Greece for fortifications which had been out of use for a long time (A. Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika. Erläuternder Text. Heft IX*, Berlin 1900, 6, note 3). This explanation makes sense if one considers the role played by Jews in early modern Greek mythology: Jews, and less often Gypsies, are considered as the vicious ‘other’, which often has magical power. For further uses of the place-name ‘Ovriokastro’ see Lohmann 2001, 488, note 7. The loss in oblivion of the actual name of the settlement supports the view that its use goes back earlier than the Albanian settlement of the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> c.; otherwise its name would probably have survived, as did many other Albanian place-names in Attica.

<sup>1469</sup> First recorded by Leake 1841, 71; Milchhöfer 1889, 13. See also Vanderpool 1975, 26.

<sup>1470</sup> For an overview of this older literature see Lohmann 2001, 491-493.

<sup>1471</sup> Lohmann 2001. I am grateful to Professor Hans Lohmann for his generous provision with aerial photographs of the site, photos of the enclosure and the buildings recorded during the field survey, and a detailed catalogue of the recorded finds. The largest part of this material has been included in the publication of the survey (Lohmann 2001).

interior and an exterior face, often placed loosely on one another. The bonding material is a mix of lime and mud.

The enclosure has three gates. The main gate is the one oriented to the north; it consists of two rectangular protrusions of the wall, oriented towards the north, which flank the 2.1-m wide entrance. These protrusions are the bases of two equivalent towers or bastions. A postern gate is a plain opening in the NE side of the enclosure, and is protected by a semi-circular bastion and a rectangular room (guardhouse?) attached to the interior face of the wall. A second postern gate is opened in the west side of the enclosure, and connects the upper with the lower enclosure; this latter gate is not protected by any bastion. The only other bastion of the upper enclosure is to be found on its SW side. This also has a semi-circular shape.

The upper enclosure is further characterised by rectangular rooms attached to its inner face. These are mostly preserved at its SE side, but it is highly possible that they surrounded the entire circuit, their roofs thus forming a second, wider parapet for the circuit wall. The wall could therefore be as high as 4.5 m, while its higher parts must have been constructed of mudbrick.

Most houses consist of one room of ca. 10 m<sup>2</sup>. The population which would have lived in the walled settlement has been estimated to ca. 150 inhabitants.<sup>1472</sup> There are, however, two building complexes (one 30 m SW of the highest point, 313.06, and one lying between the main gate and the NE postern gate) which cover a considerable surface (135 m<sup>2</sup> and 71 m<sup>2</sup> respectively) and show a more complex function. The rooms of the largest building also appear to have been annexed in consequent phases, which indicates not only a lengthy duration of the lifetime of the settlement but also an evolution of the material needs and possibly of the social relations which developed within it.

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<sup>1472</sup> Lohmann 2001, 505. The surface covered by all preserved buildings measures 724 m<sup>2</sup>, and this is thought to represent about 50% of the buildings which stood in the settlement during its lifetime. The buildings appear not to have had an upper storey, judging from the width of their walls.

The lower enclosure has a trapezoidal shape and is attached to the NW side of the upper circuit wall. The NW slope was apparently chosen due to its gentler incline, compared to the other sides of the hill. Its thickness is slightly less, 1.00 m, and its construction very similar to the upper enclosure, although it makes use also of small flat stones, which do not appear in the upper enclosure. The largest part of its east wall is not preserved; this was, presumably, the part where its gate was opened, protected by a bastion or a tower. Within the lower enclosure, very few building remains were found; the rest of the space was open. No tiles or ceramic sherds were found in it.

The similar layout of the two enclosures, and the location of their gates and bastions, shows that these were the product of the same construction plan; furthermore, the common construction style between the enclosures, on the one hand, and the houses, on the other, demonstrates that they all belong to the same period of use. The construction of a large open space together with the settlement enclosure can only be connected with cattle-breeding, which apparently constituted a major economic source for the village.

The number of finds recovered during the survey is surprising small, if one considers the permanent character of use of the site, which the buildings indicate. The majority of the finds are tile and vessel fragments which the excavator dated to the 8<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c. During my visit on the site on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 2008 I realized that only a small amount of pottery lies on the hilltop. No diagnostic shapes were found. The fabrics look of medieval manufacture (as opposed to possible Hellenistic residual ceramics), and one amphora or jug handle can be dated to the Early or Middle Byzantine period. The lack of known and common ceramic types of the Early and Middle Byzantine periods strengthens the view that the settlement was used during the transitional period, when ceramic production was produced and circulated locally.

**Raphte Island:** Ceramic remains of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> c. were found during a non-systematic survey on the islet by S. Hood.<sup>1473</sup> One of them was re-published by J. Hayes who included it in his LRC Form 10C, dated to the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1474</sup> Hood (1970, 43) notes: “The pottery recovered from Rafti Island includes the rim of a dish of Late Roman B ware (*Ant.* 802) like nos. 6-8 and 12 (...) also rims of dishes of LRC ware like *Ant.* 949, current in the early to middle 7<sup>th</sup> c. AD. [Note 23:] These rims are of the later, more developed type as *Ant.* 949p-y, which were relatively uncommon in the seventh-century Deposit at Sarachane, Istanbul (J. W. Hayes, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* xxii (1968), 208, nos. 62-4, and 215).” The type *Antioch* 802 is equivalent with African Red Slip Form 105 of the Hayes typology, which dates from 580/600 to 660+.<sup>1475</sup> The type *Antioch* 949 is equivalent with LRC Form 10 of Hayes’ typology.<sup>1476</sup> In particular, the sub-types *Ant.* 949p-y have the same form with Hayes Form 10, nos. 11-13. They thus belong to Type C, which Hayes dated to the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1477</sup>

**Skourta plain:** An intensive field survey, conducted by the University of Stanford, explored the Skourta plain in the mid-1980s.<sup>1478</sup> The survey showed that in the Early Byzantine period, the few sites of the Skourta plain which were inhabited since the later Hellenistic era continued to be occupied, and many new sites, individual farmsteads or small hamlets, spread over the rest of the area.<sup>1479</sup> An Early Byzantine site was identified east of Stephani (site C1), and yielded two bronze coins of the late 4<sup>th</sup> c., two bronze coins dated in the 6<sup>th</sup> c., and pottery

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<sup>1473</sup> Hood 1966. I was not able to find the periodical where Hood’s 1966 report was published, and therefore my relevant information on the discovery relies on a later article by S. Hood (1970, 38, fig. 1; 43).

<sup>1474</sup> Hayes 1972, 343, No. 12.

<sup>1475</sup> Waagé 1948, 47. Hayes 1972, 166. An example of AfRS Form 105 was found in Deposit 30 of Sarachane, which was dated 655-700: Hayes 1992, 100-101, No. 40, Fig. 40.

<sup>1476</sup> Waagé 1948, 53. Hayes 1972, 343.

<sup>1477</sup> Hayes 1972, 346. Three examples of the Hayes LRC Form 10C type were recovered in the Deposit 30 of Sarachane, which was dated 655-700: Hayes 1992, 100-101, Nos. 62-64, Fig. 41.

<sup>1478</sup> Result reports which contain information about the Early and the Middle Byzantine periods are to be found in Munn – Zimmerman-Munn 1989; Munn – Zimmermann-Munn 1990.

<sup>1479</sup> Munn – Zimmerman-Munn 1989, 110. Munn – Zimmermann-Munn 1990, 38.

of the same period.<sup>1480</sup> The site was characterized as “a modest hamlet, the most substantial site of this era so far known to us”, and covered ca. 3.5 ha.<sup>1481</sup> LRom/EByz material also occurred in small amounts at Lemthi (site A11), at the late medieval site A4 just north of the village Kako Niskiri / Panakto, at A14 on the way from Panakton into the Mazi plain, and at Korynokastro (site A2). Korynokastro, situated on top of a steep limestone crag overlooking the Sarandapotamos valley, with an ancient rubble fortification wall, provided two LRom/EByz amphora sherds and a fragment of a beehive probably of the same period, which attest to use, but probably not occupation, of the site.<sup>1482</sup> The Classical and late medieval fort at Panakton appears not have been occupied in the Early Byzantine period.<sup>1483</sup>

For the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> c., nothing is known of settlement in the area, but a single coin of Leo VI found near Skourta suggests some habitation by the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> c. Datable pottery does not become abundant until the later 11<sup>th</sup> c. A moderate number of Middle Byzantine sites are dispersed throughout the area. All are associated with chapels, and many if not all of them are likely to have been among the many dependencies of the monastery of Osios Meletios. The most substantial of these foundations was the monastery of Zoodochos Pege, west of Pyle.<sup>1484</sup>

Survey has identified Middle Byzantine villages, all associated with chapels, at Loukisia<sup>1485</sup> (near Prasino), Agios Nikolaos and Agios Georgios (both near Skourta)<sup>1486</sup>, with substantial remains from the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> c. Fragments of Byzantine architectural sculpture with stylistic affiliations to carving from the nearby monastery of Osios Meletios have been identified at Loukisia.<sup>1487</sup> Many, if not all of these villages and churches, are likely to have

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<sup>1480</sup> Munn – Zimmerman-Munn 1989, 110, 114-116.

<sup>1481</sup> Munn – Zimmerman-Munn 1989, 110.

<sup>1482</sup> Munn – Zimmerman-Munn 1989, 95.

<sup>1483</sup> Munn – Zimmerman-Munn 1989, 110.

<sup>1484</sup> Munn – Zimmerman-Munn 1989, 118-119. Munn – Zimmerman-Munn 1990, 38.

<sup>1485</sup> A church is marked by the *KvA* at (approximately?) the same site.

<sup>1486</sup> The names of these sites are reported in Gerstel *et al.* 2003 (co-authored by M. Munn), 148, 221.

<sup>1487</sup> Gerstel *et al.* 2003, 221.

been among the many dependencies of the Osios Meletios monastery.<sup>1488</sup> The 12<sup>th</sup>-c. marble relief fragments which were embedded in the churches of the late medieval settlement of Panakton probably were detached from these Middle Byzantine churches.<sup>1489</sup> Two late medieval towers, at Pyle and at Panakton, attest the interests of powerful lords in the arable land of the plain, and probably in the protection of the direct route between Thebes and Athens which ran across it.<sup>1490</sup>

**Southeast Attica:** The archaeology of Southeast Attica became thoroughly known through the intensive multi-period field survey run by Lohmann, which covered the territory of *Atene*, namely the valleys of Charakas, Thymari and Agia Photeini, and included sporadic finds in the plains of Legrena and Anavyssos.<sup>1491</sup> The survey documented an intensified use of the landscape in Late Antiquity, as well as (more dispersed) use in the Middle Ages.

A full list of late antique and medieval sites, sorted according to rough location and character, is to be found in Appendix III, Tabelle 16 of Lohmann's publication. Churches and rural installations were also identified, of which we provide a list below:

- PH 70<sup>1492</sup>: Agia Photeini church. Located in the upland valley of Agia Photeini, north of Charakas bay. Attested by Milchhöfer to be surrounded by monastic and agricultural installation.<sup>1493</sup> The church was preserved as a heap of masonry until 1984, when it was completely demolished. Pottery found at the site dates to the Imperial (?), late antique (Pl. 62c), late medieval (only one sherd) and early modern periods. There is no adequate evidence for a Classical predecessor (sanctuary or farmstead) of the church. The

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<sup>1488</sup> Munn – Zimmermann-Munn 1990, 38.

<sup>1489</sup> See Gerstel *et al.* 2003, 191-195, nos. 70-77, and p. 221.

<sup>1490</sup> Gerstel *et al.* 2003, 151-153.

<sup>1491</sup> Lohmann 1993.

<sup>1492</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 259, Teil II: 451-452.

<sup>1493</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 31.

discovery of pottery of the Imperial Roman period exclusively at this site constitutes evidence, according to Lohmann, that the *Tetrapyrghion* in *Atene* mentioned in *IG II-III<sup>2</sup> 2776* (l. 117-118, ἔσχατιᾶς πυργιδίου τετραπυργίας Ἀτηνῆσι) could be identified with this site. Lack of Middle and Late Byzantine pottery suggests that the church was used in the Early Byzantine period, according to Lohmann. However, we would add that the small number of ‘medieval’ sherds collected by him could indicate a prolonged use of the church.

- TH 16<sup>1494</sup>: Church ruin. Situated in the general area south of Palaia Phokaia, just north of the modern settlement ‘Thymari’ and SE of the low Gerakina hill. A small chapel (5.65x3.5) was erected on top of the northwest corner of an ancient secular building (Pl. 62b). Pottery of the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and late antique periods were found. This suggests (a) that the chapel was not built on a direct (i.e. Roman) predecessor, and (b) that it was not used in the medieval period.
- TH 34<sup>1495</sup>: Church ruin. Situated at the north exit of the small valley between the Kastella (310 m) and the Prophitis Elias (356 m) hills. The church was attested by Milchhöfer.<sup>1496</sup> It is a single-aisled basilica with dimensions ca. 10.5x5.05 m (Pl. 62d). The masonry consists of two phases and rubble filling, without [preserved] mortar. A cist grave was found 3 m east of the church; it measures 2.10x0.70 m. Pottery recovered at the site dates to the LRom/EByz period, according to Lohmann, although no typical wares of the period were found.

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<sup>1494</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil II: 467-470.

<sup>1495</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil II: 477.

<sup>1496</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 31.



- PH 89<sup>1497</sup>: Concentration of pottery. Situated at the south exit of the small valley between Lophos Phrekeri (221 m) and the small mound (127 m; west of Lophos Phrekeri). The scattered pottery dates exclusively to the LRom/EByz period and covers a surface of ca. 30x50 m. Lohmann interprets this site as a farmstead (vs. a pen) due to its location and the presence of a large amount of sherds and tiles. Three sherds are rim fragments of LRC dishes, Hayes Form 3, and therefore datable to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c.
- AN 3<sup>1498</sup>: Farmstead. Situated 500 m south of Kataphygi, at the NW foot of Lophos Asvestokaminos. Architectural remains and Classical and late antique sherds were scattered over a surface ca. 50x50 m. An oil press was found at the site. The large amount of late antique pottery demonstrates that the Classical farmstead was re-used. Among the late antique sherds, the only precisely datable sherd is a rim fragment of an African Red Slip dish, Hayes Form 104A (ca. mid-6<sup>th</sup> c.).
- LE 15<sup>1499</sup>: Classical farmstead with tower (attested by Wrede; destroyed in the late 1980s), re-used in Late Antiquity. Situated at the SE border of the Legrena valley, on height 31.5 (KvA), just north of the road leading to Sounion. Lohmann found poor wall remains and a construction which he interpreted as a threshing floor, as well as Classical and late antique pottery. In the 1940s, Wrede saw remains of a round tower made of coarse blocks, and remains of an enclosure (?) wall connected with the tower. Lohmann mentions that “the tower is certainly not Classical”<sup>1500</sup>, perhaps based on the masonry described by Wrede. The majority of the published late antique sherds are LRC, Hayes Form 3 rim fragments, dated to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c.

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<sup>1497</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil II: 458.

<sup>1498</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil II: 495.

<sup>1499</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil II: 511.

<sup>1500</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil I: 259, n. 1801.

- CH 14<sup>1501</sup>: Classical burial terrace and late antique building. Situated at the 62<sup>nd</sup> km of the Athens – Sounion Highway, in the east part of the Charakas valley. The site had been excavated by the B' Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and had revealed, among the Classical remains, a large Early Byzantine building.<sup>1502</sup> Lohmann states that the building had two construction phases.
- CH 15<sup>1503</sup>: Farmstead, concentration of pottery. Situated at the central part of the Charaka bay, just north of the modern Athens – Sounion road. Scattered rubble stones, poor wall remains and sherds cover a surface of 2.56 ha. Pottery of the site is Classical, Hellenistic and late antique. LRC rim fragments date the late antique phase of use to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> c.

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<sup>1501</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil II: 362-363.

<sup>1502</sup> Oikonomakou (1979, 88) initially dated the building to the Ottoman period, which, according to Lohmann (1993, Teil II: 363) does not agree with the late antique finds of the site. Later, Oikonomakou (1980, 76) corrected this chronology.

<sup>1503</sup> Lohmann 1993, Teil II: 363-364.

## Appendix C: Attic *demoi*

(see Pl. 63 for locations assigned by Traill [1975], some of which updated)

*Acharnai*: *Acharnai* was one of the largest, and was probably the most populated Attic *demos*.<sup>1504</sup> It was known for its trade of timber and charcoal, which was from the wooded Parnes.<sup>1505</sup> The centre of the ancient *demos* of *Acharnai* has been located on the neighbouring hills of Saranda Martyres and Prophetes Elias, as well as on the area extending to their SE, named ‘Auliza’.<sup>1506</sup> One or two more clusters of ancient habitation have been identified during recent excavations, and show that they were separated from each other with a distance of 200-700 m, spreading out to the borders of the *demos*.<sup>1507</sup> The latest known uses of the name *Acharnai* occur as a demotic (*Acharneus*) in inscriptions of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD.<sup>1508</sup>

*Aixone*: The location of the ancient *demos* of *Aixone*, as of most ancient *demoi* of SE Attica, is known through testimony of Strabo.<sup>1509</sup> *Aixone* was a coastal *demos* located between the promontories Koliai and Zoster.<sup>1510</sup> Its religious and secular centre are thought to have been near the church of Agios Nikolaos in the area of Pirnari, east of the promontory ‘Punta’ (*KvA*) or ‘Aixone’ (MGS, Road).<sup>1511</sup> The church of Agios Nikolaos was thought by Dodwell to occupy the site of an ancient temple.<sup>1512</sup>

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<sup>1504</sup>Traill 1975, 65, 67.

<sup>1505</sup>Platonos-Yota 2004, 34.

<sup>1506</sup>Platonos-Yota 2004, 31. Vanderpool (1965, 172-3, note 9), followed by Traill (1975, 50) proposes “either the site of the modern village or in the plain to the southwest” for the location of the *demos* centre.

<sup>1507</sup>Platonos-Yota 2005, 26, 28. Steinhauer 1994, 183-184, note 25.

<sup>1508</sup>*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5, 5796 (= *IG* III 1330; burial); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4, 3762 (dedicatory); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4, 4529 (dedicatory).

<sup>1509</sup>Their location, history, political organization and topography has been meticulously studied by Eliot (1962).

<sup>1510</sup>Eliot 1962, 6.

<sup>1511</sup>Keramopoulos 1919, 32-35. Eliot 1962, 16.

<sup>1512</sup>Dodwell 1819, 1525.

*Angele*: Located in the area currently named ‘Angelisi’, at the E of Markopoulon.<sup>1513</sup> The church of Agia Triada, located 2.5 km to the east of the modern town of Markopoulon and 3 km to the north of Panagia Merenda, marks this location. The stream which runs less than a kilometre to the south of Agia Triada, with a SW – NE direction, possibly constituted the border between the ancient *demoi* of *Myrrhinous* and *Angele*.<sup>1514</sup>

*Eleusis*: Located at the centre of the homonymous modern town. *Eleusis* was a *demos* of the Hipothoontis phyle, and one of the largest *demoi* of Athens.<sup>1515</sup> Systematic excavations in the city of Eleusis have been taking place for ca. 130 years, centred mostly in the famous Demeter Sanctuary (*Τελεστήριον*). They have revealed numerous phases of building and refurbishment in and around the sacred area, which cover the whole period from Late Helladic to Roman times. In the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC the sanctuary reached its full form.<sup>1516</sup> During the Roman period Eleusis saw renewed fame, primarily thanks to attendance of the Mysteries by emperors and high officials.<sup>1517</sup> This is reflected in extensive rebuilding and refurbishment of the Agora and the Sanctuary buildings, but also of parts of the wealthy urban quarters used for habitation.<sup>1518</sup> Throughout these periods, the urban settlement extended around the sanctuary, primarily to its east and south.

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<sup>1513</sup> Traill 1986, 129. Vivliodetis 2007, 101. Steph. Byz., «Ἀγγελίη· δῆμος τῆς Πανδιονίδος φυλῆς. ὁ δημότης ἐπιρρηματικῶς Ἀγγελῆθεν ἐκ τόπου «Χάρης Θεοχάρους Ἀγγελῆθεν». εἰς τόπον Ἀγγελῆνδε, ἐν τόπῳ Ἀγγελῆσιν. (...)»

<sup>1514</sup> Vivliodetis 2007, 101f. Interestingly, the exact location where the stream passes, 1 km to the SE of Agia Triada, still bears the name ‘Synoro’ (border).

<sup>1515</sup> Traill 1975, 52. Stephanus Byzantius mentions Eleusis only as a *demos* of the Hipothoontis phyle: *Stephani Byzantii Ethniconum*, ed. A. Meineke, 266.

<sup>1516</sup> For a concise description of the excavated remains see Travlos 1949; 1988, 91-169.

<sup>1517</sup> Day 1942, 128, 136, 194.

<sup>1518</sup> Kahrstedt 1954, 50-52, including early excavation results. Travlos 1988, 96-98.

*Eleutherai*: Identified with the well-preserved Classical fort, now known as Gyphokastro, which guards the Kaza pass, in the entrance of the saddle between Pastra and Kithairon proper. As with the case of *Oinoe*, the name applies both to the fort and to the *demos*.<sup>1519</sup> According to Pausanias, *Eleutherai* was once Boeotian but later came under Athenian control, and was the place from which the worship of Dionysos was introduced to Athens. The site of the main settlement of the *demos* has been identified just east of the fort.<sup>1520</sup>

*Erchia*: The *demos* of *Erchia* included the territory to the south of Spata.<sup>1521</sup> The Magoula hill (164 m), today integrated to the urban nexus of Spata, formed, according to Vanderpool, the acropolis of the *Erchia*.

*Euonymon*: Located at the NE border of modern Alimos, at the location of the Ottoman village Trachones.<sup>1522</sup> The centre of this *demos* was occupied by the Geroulanos property in the 20<sup>th</sup> c., and today is legally characterized as an archaeological park. A further habitation centre of the *demos* appears to have existed further south, at the site of the Ottoman village Chasani.<sup>1523</sup>

*Hagnous*: Traill located the *demos* earlier<sup>1524</sup> in the area called ‘Dagla’, but more recently<sup>1525</sup> slightly further to the west, in an area called ‘Dardiste’. Osborne and Steinhauer think that the

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<sup>1519</sup> Ober 1985, 223. Vanderpool 1978, 231, 242.

<sup>1520</sup> Ober 1987, 215. Travlos 1988, 170-176.

<sup>1521</sup> Vanderpool 1965. Daux 1963. Steph. Byz., «Ἐρχιά, δῆμος ταῆς Ἀττικῆς, ταῆς Αἰγίδος φυλῆς, ἀπὸ Ἐρχίου τοῦ ξενίσαντος Δήμητραν. Τρισυλλάβως δὲ τοὺς Ἐρχιάς φασιν. Ὁ δημότης Ἐρχιεὺς. (...)»

<sup>1522</sup> Traill 1975, 38. Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 63, 111, 129.

<sup>1523</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 131.

<sup>1524</sup> Traill 1975, 48.

<sup>1525</sup> Traill 1986, 132.

location of Hagnous should be moved further to the north, based on archaeological finds from the town of Markopoulon.<sup>1526</sup>

*Halai Aixonides*: Situated on the narrow coastal plain which is currently occupied by Voula and Vouliagmeni.<sup>1527</sup> Its territory included the promontories Kavouri, Zoster, and the broader promontory of the Vouliagmeni Lake (or at least part of the latter). Zoster was an important religious site with a Classical sanctuary, refurbished in the Roman period, on the narrowest part of the promontory<sup>1528</sup>; Leto was believed to have stopped across the bay, in the natural lake Vouliagmeni, during her wander in search of a place to give birth.<sup>1529</sup> Interestingly, Pausanias numbers “Zoster by the sea” among the “small *demoi* of Attica”.<sup>1530</sup> One could therefore suggest that the promontory of Zoster constituted a distinct community in the Middle Roman period. Eliot, however, believes that Pausanias’ testimony is explained by the use of ‘Zosterios’ instead of the current demotic ‘Halaieus’ for people living on, or near, Cape Zoster.<sup>1531</sup>

The name *Halai Aixonides* is in itself informative for the gathering of salt in Antiquity, and a salt lake is marked on *KvA*, on the coast of modern Voula. A further salt lake named ‘Haliki’ (Αλυκή) is marked on the neck of Cape Punta, at the border of modern Voula and Glyphada. The latter lake was called ‘Agiea’<sup>1532</sup> or ‘Agyra’<sup>1533</sup> by early travellers.

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<sup>1526</sup> Osborne 1985, 228, note 26. Steinhauer 2001a, 107-108. On these finds see Steinhauer 2001a, 108. Steph. Byz., «Ἀγνοῦς· δῆμος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τῆς Δημητριάδος φυλῆς· τινὲς δὲ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος ἢ ὡς Φρόνιχος τῆς Ἀτταλίδος. Ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ φουμένης ἄγνου. (...)»

<sup>1527</sup> For the identification see Eliot 1962, 25-34. Traill 1975, 50.

<sup>1528</sup> Travlos 1988, 467-468.

<sup>1529</sup> Pausanias, 1.31.1. *Stephanus of Byzantium*, ‘Zoster’.

<sup>1530</sup> Pausanias, 1.31.1.

<sup>1531</sup> Eliot 1962, 25.

<sup>1532</sup> Dodwell 1819, 1.525.

<sup>1533</sup> Stuart – Revett 1829-31, vol, 3, map of Attica facing p. 1.

Milchhöfer delivers the name ‘Agia’ or ‘Pavlo’ for the promontory marked as ‘Punta’ on *KvA*.<sup>1534</sup>

The *demos* of *Halai Aixonides* had two habitation centres with dense, urban arrangement.<sup>1535</sup> One such centre has been placed on a site earlier called ‘Palaiochori’, at the border between Voula and Vouliagmeni, and just NE of the salt lake marked on *KvA*.<sup>1536</sup> This position is suitable for the central settlement of the area, since it is centrally located with reference to the available arable land, and it controls the *ἀστική ὁδός* towards Sounion at the point where the road circumscribes Hymettus and turns away from the coast. Numerous sections of this road have been excavated in the area of Voula.<sup>1537</sup> In one of them, situated in the area of Palaiochori, the continuous use of the road from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD was confirmed through coins which were found in the ridges which had been created on the rock by wheeled traffic.<sup>1538</sup> The second habitation centre has been located ca. 1 km further SE.

*Halai Araphenides*: Located at Loutsas, south of Raphena. Cemeteries of the *demos* have been found on the east slopes of Velanideza.<sup>1539</sup> A temple dedicated to *Ταυροπόλος Ἄρτεμις*, connected to the Artemis temple of Brauron, provided safe evidence for the identification of the *demos*.

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<sup>1534</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 18.

<sup>1535</sup> On the arrangement of the *demos*’ settlements see Andreou 1994.

<sup>1536</sup> The site was acknowledged as a *demos* centre already by Eliot (1962, 32-34 and fig. 2), before the conduction of rescue excavations, on the results of which see Andreou 1994.

<sup>1537</sup> Kyriazopoulou 1984, 39.

<sup>1538</sup> Tsirigoti 1982, 57: Spetsonst., Pollentri plot.

<sup>1539</sup> Steinhauer 2001, 122-128. Milchhöfer 1889, 6. Steph. Byz., «Ἀλαί Ἀραφηνίδες καὶ Ἀλαί Αἰξωνίδες· δῆμοι, ὁ μὲν τῆς Αἰγιίδος, ὁ δ’ Αἰξωνεύς τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς. (...) ἔστι δὲ ὁ δῆμος τῆς Ἀραφηνίδος μεταξὺ Φηγαϊέων τοῦ πρὸς Μαραθῶνι καὶ Βραυρῶνος, αἱ δ’ Αἰξωνίδες ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἄστεος. (...)»

*Halimous*: *Halimous* is the name of an ancient *demos* located along the coast SE of Phaleron.<sup>1540</sup> The ancient placename survived to the present day as *Àlimos*. *Halimous* extended until the cape of Agios Kosmas (ancient Kolias) to the south.<sup>1541</sup> The main feature of the area is a rocky hill called ‘Pani’ (96 m altitude), which is surrounded by the lower hills of Agia Anna to the south, Troumbari to the east, and the hill of the old Geroulanos property to the NE.<sup>1542</sup> The Agia Anna hill is now, after recent excavations, considered as the central settlement of the *demos*, as well as its public and religious centre.<sup>1543</sup> However, Kaza-Papageorgiou states that no extended settlement has been revealed archaeologically in its territory. Ancient remains of habitation have been revealed on the south and east slope of the Agia Anna hill, as well as on the north foot of the Pani hill, and probably belonged to houses and farmhouses of different size.<sup>1544</sup>

*Ikarion*: *Ikarion* is the legendary site of the first arrival of Dionysos in Attica and has traditionally been connected with the beginnings of Attic tragedy and comedy.<sup>1545</sup> The centre of the *demos* has been located at the site of the Dionysus sanctuary which was excavated in the 1890s.<sup>1546</sup> The excavation a theatral area, a Pythion, the semi-circular monument (later church), inscriptions which secured the identification of the site and sculpture dating from the Archaic to the Roman periods. Apart from the church, no later remains were reported at the

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<sup>1540</sup> Traill 1975, 43.

<sup>1541</sup> Eliot 1962, 6, note 3. Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 63-69. The cape Kolias Akra is occupied by an excavated Early Helladic cemetery and by a twin chapel of the Ottoman period, dedicated to Agioi Kosmas and Damianos. Ancient writers inform that the cape was dedicated to the cult of Aphrodite, but also of Demeter. One cannot avoid the hypothesis of cult continuity on the site, despite the lack of architectural remains of intermediate periods. On the twin chapel see Palles 2009, pp?; on the hypothesis for cult continuity see as an example Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 87-89.

<sup>1542</sup> An extended description of the landscape can be found in Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 21-23.

<sup>1543</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou 1993, 67: Roma st., Lourantou Bros. plot. Just south of the hill, the excavator found remains of an ancient theatre. Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 77-85.

<sup>1544</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 73-75, 89-91.

<sup>1545</sup> Steph. Byz., «Ἰκαρία, δῆμος τῆς Αἰγίδος φυλῆς, ἀπὸ Ἰκαρίου τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡριγόνης. ὁ δημότης Ἰκαριεύς. τὰ τοπικά Ἰκαριόθεν Ἰκαρίαζε Ἰκαριοί.»

<sup>1546</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 56. Biers – Boyd 1982.



spot either by Milchhöfer or by the American excavators. This might be interpreted through their lack of interest in later periods, but the (even partial) survival of the early monuments suggests that their material was not completely re-used by later inhabitants, such as is the case of ancient *demoi*-centres whose later phases completely replaced the ancient remains (e.g. *Upper Lamprai-Lambrika, Prospalta-Ennea Pyrgoi* etc). One could therefore assume that inhabitants of Dionysos moved elsewhere in post-Roman times, preserving only part of the ancient renowned cult of Dionysos in the small Byzantine church. Milchhöfer, while walking towards the NW of the *Ikarion* centre, saw remains (possibly in the area of mod. Dionysos) which he characterised as ancient, thus providing no further evidence for Byzantine activity in this area.

*Kephale*: Located in the area of Keratea. Funerary inscriptions, mentioning citizens belonging to the *demoi* of Kephale and indicating the location of the cemeteries of the *demoi*, have been found in two adjacent areas. The first among them is traditionally known as ‘Megali Avli’ (= Great Courtyard), and is located 1.5 km to the NW of Keratea, between the churches of Agia Kyriake and Agia Triada.<sup>1547</sup> The second lies in the valley extending to the NE of Keratea and just to the E/NE of the small hill ‘Mylos’ (236 m), known as ‘Mesochori’.<sup>1548</sup> Mesochori was a habitation centre of *Kephale*, while a cemetery of the *demoi* has been located further to its east, around the (early modern?) church of Panagia Garika.<sup>1549</sup>

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<sup>1547</sup> Milchhöfer 1889, 12. Milchhöfer 1887, no. 214. Steinhauer 2001, 108.

<sup>1548</sup> Buchholz 1963, 496. Antoniou 1992, 127.

<sup>1549</sup> Milchhöfer 1887, nos. 201, 202, 207, 210, 211a-c, 220. Milchhöfer 1889, 13. Buchholz 1963, 455ff. Antoniou 1992, 126.

*Kephisia*: The ancient *demos* of *Kephisia* has been located at the same site as the homonymous 19<sup>th</sup>-c. village.<sup>1550</sup> Archaeologically, *Kephisia* is known especially for the monuments of the Roman period; baths, funerary monuments and marble statues of the Middle Roman period have been repeatedly revealed. Herodes Atticus had here the largest one of his villas, and epigraphic evidence has led to the connection of his name with a partially excavated bath and a funerary monument.<sup>1551</sup> These monuments and buildings are located on the mound which is today topped with the chapel of Agios Demetrios.

*Lamptrai (Upper and Lower)*: *Upper Lamptrae* retained its name with the form ‘Lambrika’. The ancient centre of *Upper Lamptrae* has been located at the SE foot of Mt Hymettus, 2.5 km to the S/SE of Koropi, due to the discovery of ancient inscriptions and to the presence of ancient worked stone blocks used in the masonry of Byzantine and post-Byzantine buildings of the locality.<sup>1552</sup> There are no certain traces of continuation of this settlement in Roman times.

The territory of *Lower Lamptrae* included the adjacent part of the south coast, today named as Agia Marina and Agios Demetrios.<sup>1553</sup> This locality is marked by the small hill called ‘Kiapha Thiti’.

*Kropidai*: Located west of AnoLiosia.<sup>1554</sup> The territory of *Kropidai*, or *Kropeia*, is the narrow opening of the basin of Athens towards the Thriasian plain, between Mt Parnes and Aigaleo. The opening was protected by the Dema Wall in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.<sup>1555</sup>

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<sup>1550</sup> Traill 1975, 38. Travlos 1988, 197.

<sup>1551</sup> About the villa of Herodes in Kephisia: Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* I, 2, 1-2. A summary of the excavated monuments in Travlos, *ibid.*; Skillardi 2009b, 595.

<sup>1552</sup> Eliot 1962, 55-56. Milchhöfer 1889, 14. Milchhöfer 1887, nos. 134-142. All these inscriptions appear to date to pre-Roman times.

<sup>1553</sup> Eliot 1962, 60-61.

*Myrrhinous*: Situated to the SE of Markopoulon, this is the best explored Attic *demos*.<sup>1556</sup> Its location has been recognised due to discovery of ancient inscriptions and to the excavation of cemeteries of Geometric to Hellenistic times (but also with a few Late Roman graves), extending on either side of the ancient road (roughly coinciding with the modern one) leading from Markopoulon to the SE, through the narrow valley between Mt Merenda and the Cherovouni (or Maliveniza) hill (414 m, noted as ‘Koryphi’ on the MGS map). The *demos* had a population of medium size and appears to have had a rural character. Its structure was characterised by dispersed farms and farmsteads rather than by a dense habitation centre.<sup>1557</sup> Its ‘centre’ lies ca. 500 m north of the Panagia Merenda church and is marked by the existence of a small ancient temple, a well, a poor amphitheatric construction and a few other buildings which probably served purposes of the function of the *demos*.<sup>1558</sup> An extensive cemetery which shows use from Geometric throughout Late Roman times has been excavated to the south of this ‘centre’, but does not correspond to the existence of a concentrated settlement. On the contrary, Classical and Hellenistic farmsteads have been excavated close to the political and religious ‘centre’ of the *demos*, thus indicating that the character of habitation in the *demos*, even in its central vicinity, was dispersed.<sup>1559</sup>

In the Early or Middle Roman period a fountain was erected at the same ‘centre’.<sup>1560</sup> Epigraphic evidence attests to the existence of the *demos* as such until at least the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.

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<sup>1554</sup> Traill 1975, 47. H. Lohmann in *Der Neue Pauly* 6 (1999), 870.

<sup>1555</sup> McCredie 1966, 63-66.

<sup>1556</sup> For a meticulous study of the evidence connected with the location, the spatial organisation and the political life of the *demos* of *Myrrhinous* see Vivliodetis 2007. See also Steinhauer 2001a, 105.

<sup>1557</sup> For recent excavations in the area of the New Hippodrome see Kakavoyanni 2003.

<sup>1558</sup> Vivliodetis 2007, 120. Kakavoyanni – Argyropoulos 2009.

<sup>1559</sup> Vivliodetis 2007, 120.

<sup>1560</sup> Kakavoyanni – Argyropoulos 2009.

AD.<sup>1561</sup> However, the discovery of Late Roman graves (although of a small number) in the old cemetery of the *demos* prevents us from assuming that the epigraphic “invisibility” of the *demos* after the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD should be interpreted as discontinuity in habitation and activity. The name ‘Merenda’ itself, still used both for the mountain and for the area to its north, derives from the ancient name ‘Myrrhinous’.<sup>1562</sup>

*Paiania*: *Paiania* is known to have been a large and important *demos* in ancient times. Ancient sources inform us that it was separated into Upper (*ὑπένερθεν*) and Lower (*καθύπερθεν*) *Paiania*.<sup>1563</sup> Milchhöfer and Traill locate Upper *Paiania* ca. 1 km to the north of the modern town, on the basis of ancient remains of habitation, succeeded by a medieval settlement.<sup>1564</sup> The location of Lower *Paiania* is not equally firm; Traill proposed that it should be located at the eastern outskirts of Liopesi, near the Early Christian basilica of Agios Athanasios, since two funerary inscriptions, bearing the demotic *Παιανιεύς*, were found embedded in the masonry of the Ottoman church erected on the foundations of the basilica.<sup>1565</sup> Milchhöfer thought Lower *Paiania* to be south of Liopesi and just to the north of the area known as Agios Nikolaos Chalidou.<sup>1566</sup>

The lack of reported Roman remains from *Paiania* is noteworthy. The only exception to this rule is provided by Ross, when he notes that “in one of the ruined chapels in the little olive grove there is a female Herme made of white marble, without a head and of mediocre

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<sup>1561</sup> Vivliodetis 2007, 159-161: “The absence of inscriptions during the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD shows that Myrrhinous ceased to exist as a political unit, although the institution of the ‘prytaneis’ continued to exist until 231 AD, when the latest inscriptions of this category are found.”

<sup>1562</sup> A derivation from the Albanian language, proposed by Lambros (1896, 37 [‘Μύρρεντα’]) is not supported by any evidence and is probably due to ignorance of the existence of the ancient *demos* of Myrrhinous at this exact location. The slight change of the name from ‘Myrrhinous’ to ‘Merenda’ may, nevertheless, have been due to Albanian linguistic influence.

<sup>1563</sup> See Traill 1986, 129, and map at the end of the book.

<sup>1564</sup> Milchhöfer 1883, 32. Traill *ibid*.

<sup>1565</sup> Traill *ibid*. He cites the report of Mastrokostas on the basilica in *AE* 1956, but the inscriptions are actually included in a later contribution of Mastrokostas 1961, 15, nos. 45-46.

<sup>1566</sup> Milchhöfer *ibid*.

work, with an inscription with letters of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD”.<sup>1567</sup> Also a Roman grave was found in the east outskirts of Liopesi, in an Archaic cemetery.<sup>1568</sup> The latest evidence for the use of the ancient name of *Paiania* is attested on an inscription of the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD mentioning the demotic *Παιανιεύς*.<sup>1569</sup>

*Penteli*: The name ‘Penteli’ occurs on a large number of 5<sup>th</sup>-c. BC inscriptions as a place name, but has been rejected by most scholars as a Kleisthenic *demos*. However, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD it appears epigraphically as a *demotic* of the Ptolemais *phyle*, as well as on two other 2<sup>nd</sup>-c. ephebic lists of the same period, in which the *phyle* is not specified. Traill suggests that Penteli was originally a dependent community (i.e., a village belonging to the territory of a *demos*) within the area of the *demos Kolonai*, and that by Middle Roman times it had attained a measure of autonomy as an independent *demos*.<sup>1570</sup> This settlement has been located, although not securely, in the area of the Dormition monastery, close to the marble quarries.<sup>1571</sup> The increase of the significance of this place name, of whatever administrative status, was probably due to its proximity to the marble quarries.

*Pergase (Upper and Lower)*: *Pergase* has been located in the area of western modern Kephisia and further west. Traill locates both Upper and Lower Pergase in the general area near Chelidonou.<sup>1572</sup> According to Platonos-Yota, *Upper (Ὑπερθευ) Pergase* was located in

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<sup>1567</sup> Ross 1855, 216. Ross adds that the name of the deceased, mentioned in the inscription, ‘Αυρηλία’, supports this chronology.

<sup>1568</sup> Themelis 1970.

<sup>1569</sup> Sironen 2008, 147, no. 13627: *Φαῖδρος Ζωῖλον / Παιανιεύς ἐποίη[ι]*. The inscription is connected with the construction of the Horologium of Phaedros close to the Athenian Agora.

<sup>1570</sup> Traill 1975, 92. Wrede (*RE* 19/1, 1937, 533-534) agrees: „*Pentele*: Attischer Demos der Phyle Antiochis (Steph. Byz.), vielleicht erst spät zum Demos erhoben, aber sicher schon im 4. Jahrhundert ein bewohnter Platz.“

<sup>1571</sup> Wrede *RE* 19/1, 1937, 534.

<sup>1572</sup> Traill 1975, 38.

Monomati, while *Lower* (καθύπερθεν) *Pergase* was located in the area of Kato Kephisia, west of Kephisia.<sup>1573</sup> The latter area is crossed by the stream of Chelidonou, which is the branch of Kephissosriver towards Kephisia.<sup>1574</sup>

*Philaidai*: Located in the area of the Brauron sanctuary. The ancient sanctuary of Brauron is widely known from Euripides' *Iphigeneia in the Tauric* and the excavations which revealed and identified it during the 1950s, but no ancient habitation site of historic times has been found in the area.<sup>1575</sup> The centre of the *demos* has been suggested to have lied close to the Frankish tower, or in the area of the Christian basilica located ca. 500 m to the west of the sanctuary. A cemetery consisting of 25 graves of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c., excavated 400 m to the west of the Christian basilica, on the south slopes of the hills 'Kapsala' and 'Leth-Despoti', might provide an indication for the location of the centre of the *demos*.<sup>1576</sup>

*Phlya*: The location of the *demos Phlya* in the area of Chalandri is certain based on epigraphic evidence.<sup>1577</sup> *Phlya*, like *Kephisia*, showed a significant population increase during the Roman period, judging from the number of epigraphically known citizens.<sup>1578</sup>

*Sphendale*: Situated in the area of Malakasa. *Sphendale* is mentioned by Herodotus as one of the points along Mardonios' march from the Megarid to Tanagra via Dekeleia.<sup>1579</sup> In the

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<sup>1573</sup>Platonos-Yota 2005c, 54, 57. Her argumentation for this distinction is based on inscriptions, some of which were found during recent excavations.

<sup>1574</sup>Bires 1971, 118.

<sup>1575</sup>For a full bibliography on research on the site and sanctuary of Brauron see Travlos 1988, 56-57.

<sup>1576</sup>Eustratiou 1989, 76 and pl. 57a. The excavator dated all the vessels to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., but the jugs shown in pl. 57a date to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>1577</sup>Traill 1975, 51.

<sup>1578</sup>Traill 1975, 58, note 15.

<sup>1579</sup>*Herodotus* IX, 15.

Middle Roman period, however, it appears epigraphically as a *demos*<sup>1580</sup>; and Stephanos Byzantios includes it in his list as a *demos* of the Hippothontis phyle.<sup>1581</sup> *Sphendale* therefore belongs to the ancient communities which were ‘upgraded’ to *demoi* in the Middle Roman period.

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<sup>1580</sup> It appears on two inscriptions, on one as the demotic of a Hippothontid ephebe, and on the other as the demotic of two *protengraphoi* who bear the unusual and non-Attic names Sotimianos and Seilianos. See Traill 1975, 91-92.

<sup>1581</sup> *Stephanus Byzantius*, “Σφενδαλή, δῆμος Ἴπποθοωντίδος φυλῆς”.

## Appendix D: Ancient *demoi* and Early Byzantine *choria*

### 1. The administrative role of the Attic *demoi* in the Roman period: an equivalent of *vici* / *komei*?

In the present section I will attempt to describe the evolution of the minor Attic settlements (that is, excluding cities) from the Early and Middle Roman period (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD) to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine period (4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.). Whenever possible, I will also attempt to describe their evolution *within* the LRom/EByz period. I hope that the combination of archaeological remains and historical testimonies might illustrate this question for the case of Attica.

A comparison of the Roman with the Early Byzantine Attic settlements may occur in two self-complementary fields; a historical one and an archaeological one. In the presentation of the archaeological material, I presented main features of the settlements in both of these broad periods. What remains to be done at the moment, is a comparison of their administrative, financial and social role. Do historical sources document similarities between the Roman and the Early Byzantine settlements which allow us compare them to each other? Are they comparable structures, or do they represent completely different structures, which we tend to approach as similar ones because they remind us of the familiar form of an early modern ‘village’? In order to discuss issues of continuity and discontinuity between the Roman and the Early Byzantine Attic settlements, we have to explore the relevant terms *demos*, *kome*, *vicus* and *chorion*.

The Greek word *demos* can refer simply to a township or village, but it has a technical and specific reference in Attica to the political unit associated with the reforms of Kleisthenes (508/7 BC). Attic *demoi* existed as such already before Kleisthenes’ reforms. They were



small, topographically definable communities which existed as sub-entities of the *polis*. After the reform, according to Traill, “in the political or constitutional sense, the *demoi* were in fact defined by a single and non-topographical criterion: the sharing by a group of people (we need not say citizens, for their citizenship depended on it) of a common demotic.”<sup>1582</sup> The total number of Attic *demoi* was 142.<sup>1583</sup> Through the Kleisthenian reform, the *demoi* acquired their own political institutions, their own assembly and a leading official, the *demarchos*. The *demoi* had a defined territory. A part of this territory could belong to the *demos* itself, and the *demos* earned income from leasing it out for rent.<sup>1584</sup>

In the Middle Roman period, a number of nineteen new *demoi* emerge in inscriptions. Traill observes that the majority among them are attested, either from property inscriptions or from references in lexicographers and other authors, formerly as place names. In a number of cases, it is known or suspected that they were located within a regular constitutional *demos*. Where locations are known, they are generally in northern Attica near the Boeotian border, and in particular in the territory of *Aphidna* (eastern Parnes). In all cases, Traill concludes that these communities were originally dependent for political purposes on the legitimate Kleisthenic *demoi*. Their appearance, chiefly in the Middle Roman ephebic rosters, but also on prytany catalogues, on dedications, and on grave monuments of this period, was probably a matter of local pride and their status as constitutional *demoi* never official. It is possible, or even expected, that in these late centuries of the Athenian constitution some communities, which in earlier years would have been assigned to one of the constitutional *demoi*, attained a measure of independent status, either officially or, more likely, unofficially.<sup>1585</sup> For the

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<sup>1582</sup> Traill 1975, 73.

<sup>1583</sup> Traill 1975, 76.

<sup>1584</sup> Whitehead 1986, 152-158. *Der neue Pauly*, Band 3, 2002, 463, ‘Demos’.

<sup>1585</sup> Traill 1975, 95-96. Traill calls them ‘Late Roman demes’, but makes clear that the inscriptions, on which their names appear, date mostly to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries; we, therefore, named them ‘Middle Roman demes’ for reasons of compatibility with the periodisation so far used in our study.

purposes of our present study, evidence about such cases is useful, since it shows that communities existed also within the frame of a *demos* (and not only, or necessarily, in the central settlement of the *demos*), and that in some cases, and during the Middle Roman period, these communities acquired, or attempted to acquire, a distinct administrative identity.

In the ancient Greek world, *kome* designates a small community. A *demos* is the equivalent of a *kome*. According to Aristotle, surrounding villages were called *komai* by the Peloponnesians, whereas they were called *demoi* by the Athenians.<sup>1586</sup> C. Schuler, in his study of rural settlements in Asia Minor in the Hellenistic and Roman period, writes about the *kome*<sup>1587</sup>: “The word can express neutrally a site in the district of a central place, while it also designates settlements in the territory of a *polis*; in the latter case, it acquires a political-judicial tone. (...) The political-judicial inferiority of the *kome* obtains its actual acuteness only when the *kome* is dependent on a *polis* in an evolved settlement hierarchy.” However, Schuler continues, “In the same way as *polis* in the imperial period should not be fully equated with ‘city’, the word *kome* is not to be equated with ‘village’ without exception. In a judicial-constitutional sense, *kome* points out in first line the subordinate status of a settlement, nonetheless states nothing about its character otherwise. (...) We often encounter settlements which were perceived as *komai* due to their independence, and yet did not have a prominently agrarian character; they were developed by special functions, which they undertook for their vicinity. Two categories of such settlements were common: harbour places, which served as centres for distribution of goods for towns further inland; and cult places in the territory of a *polis*, which were not important only thanks to their religious life, but also because they transmitted the radiation of the *polis* further away. Even when the word

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<sup>1586</sup> *Der neue Pauli*, Band 6, 1999, 676, ‘Kome’. Aristotle, *Poetica* 1448a, 36-37: “(οι Δωριεῖς) αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ κώμας τὰς περιοικίδας καλεῖν φασιν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ δῆμους”. The information is repeated by *Stephanus of Byzantium*: “Δῆμος, παρ’ Ἀθηναίους ἡ κώμη καὶ ἡ τοῦ πλήθους συλλογὴ (...)”. “Κώμη (...) Καὶ ὁ δῆμος κώμη.”

<sup>1587</sup> Schuler 1998, 24-26.

*kome* in the judicial-constitutional sense is not confined to settlements formed on the basis of agrarian production, it is nonetheless dominantly connected with such villages. (...) Indirectly, the agrarian aspect belongs to the steady existence of the settlement conception of a *kome*, so long as the latter is connected with the antithetic conception of the *polis*.”

The Roman *vicus* is a far more varied category, as it applies to settlements in Roman regions far distant from each other. According to A. Poulter, “The term *vicus* was usually applied to even the largest of settlements which lacked municipal authority. The term had a strict legal definition in that it was used of dependent communities which, despite limited, local autonomy, owed allegiance to a higher civilian authority, sometimes the tribe, often a neighbouring city. However, the definition of a settlement as a *vicus*, in the absence of literary or epigraphic evidence presents practical difficulties, particularly since the term *vicus* is also applied to townships, tribal capitals, wards of cities and even complexes of buildings used for official tribal religious and political gatherings without, apparently, being centres of population. Nevertheless, there existed villages which can be defined as possessing such a range of administrative and economic functions that, although their legal status may have remained that of a *vicus*, they are clearly important settlements which often merit the description of a ‘small town’ even though the majority never acquired municipal authority. This category of settlement, for which the Greek word generally used in the Eastern Empire was *kome*, occurred most often in those parts of the Empire where there was little or no official promotion of urbanism. In Britain, the Balkans, northern Gaul, inland Asia Minor and above all, Egypt, where cities were few and administered extensive territories, villages assumed particular importance and performed many of the functions elsewhere reserved for chartered settlements.<sup>1588</sup> (...) Given the variety of types of villages, there was inevitably little

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<sup>1588</sup> Poulter 1987, 398.

conformity either in the number of their magistrates and officials or the extent of their responsibilities. Generally, villages possessed two *magistri*, like the auxiliary townships. Within the larger territories assigned to cities, villages could acquire a variety of local officials.<sup>1589</sup> (...) The smaller villages could even be owned by wealthy individuals.<sup>1590</sup> (...) In the eastern provinces, village life already possessed its own traditional institutions before the Roman conquest; although some villages increased their administrative authority or developed new institutions, the village (*kome*) generally remained unaffected by Roman practice and maintained its character as it had evolved during the Hellenistic period.<sup>1591</sup>

*Der neue Pauli* concludes: “*Vici* had their own administration and their own cults. In the Greek territorium they were equivalent to *komai*.”<sup>1592</sup> According to Abbott and Johnson, “In distinguishing between a village and a city, ancient writers imply that the former possessed no political sovereignty, but it is evident that most villages had some form of organization whereby the members could legislate in social, religious and administrative matters, however much their freedom in initiative and performance was restricted. Many communities copied their metropolis by adopting civic institutions, such as the *ecclesia* and *gerousia*. (...) We find frequent records of honorary decrees passed by village assemblies, and of public works undertaken at their expense. They had revenues under their control, some of which came from lands which they owned and could dispose of by sale.”<sup>1593</sup>

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<sup>1589</sup> Poulter 1987, 400.

<sup>1590</sup> Poulter 1987, 401. For such examples from the Dobrogea region see Poulter 2004, 228.

<sup>1591</sup> Poulter 1987, 404.

<sup>1592</sup> *Der neue Pauli*, Band 12.2, 2002, 194, ‘Vicus’.

<sup>1593</sup> Abbott – Johnson 1926, 25. It is problematic that Abbott and Johnson use the term ‘village’ for the Roman period, thus making unclear if they refer specifically to *vici* or other kinds of settlements. Regarding the ownership of land property by *vici*, Poulter (1980, 735) cites supporting epigraphic evidence (*CIL* III 12488; 1477) in Moesia Inferior, but this does not apply as a general characteristic of *vici*.

The descendants of the Attic *demoi* in the Imperial period remind closely<sup>1594</sup> the *komai* of Asia Minor, as described by Schuler<sup>1595</sup>, since both *demoi* and *komai*:

- (a) Depend financially and administratively on the neighbouring *polis*.
- (b) Their political and administrative life is defined through a local constitution.
- (c) They include a main settlement, but also hamlets and farms. In that regard, Attic *demoi* show remarkable variation: they may have a central settlement, or several ‘equal’ settlements, or no (central) settlement but only hamlets, farms and farmsteads.
- (d) They have a defined territory. Part of this territory can belong to the *demos* / *kome* itself, or their territory can be divided between its inhabitants, or can belong, partly or completely, to a great landowner (see [e]).<sup>1596</sup>
- (e) They often lay within private landholdings. *IG* II-III<sup>2</sup> 2776 offers evidence for this phenomenon in 2<sup>nd</sup>-c. Attica<sup>1597</sup>, as well as for cases of land plots which previously belonged to a *demos*, and were later sold to private owners.<sup>1598</sup>

Comparison between the Roman Attic *demoi* and *vici* as a general category is limited, as shown above, by the great variation of features acquired by *vici* across the Roman Empire. As we saw, *komai* are considered as the equivalent of *vici* in the eastern provinces.

Regarding the economic role of the Roman Attic *demoi* – their relations with the city, their dependence on aristocracy, and their integration to patterns of landholding – the

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<sup>1594</sup> See below, discussion of *IG* II-III<sup>2</sup> 2776.

<sup>1595</sup> These features are considered as characteristics of *komai* also in de Ste Croix 1981, 221ff.

<sup>1596</sup> Kosso 2003, 54: “Libanius confirms the notion that Late Roman landholding and tenure patterns were complex. He noted several types of rural habitation and exploitation (*Discourse on Patronages* 4-11). First are large villages (κῶμαι μεγάλαι), which belong to many owners (πολλῶν... δεσποτῶν), each of whom controls a small area. Second are those lands that have only one owner (and a distinguished one at that -- καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν). It is not clear what the residential requirements are in this second case, nor how the lands would be worked, but the largescale landowner could rent out the land or hire cultivators, or own slaves to work the land.”

<sup>1597</sup> Discussion of the relevant evidence offered by this inscription in Day (1942, 231-236).

<sup>1598</sup> Day 1942, 231, n. 300.

inscription *IG II-III*<sup>2</sup> 2776, dating to AD 117-138, provides useful evidence.<sup>1599</sup> The purpose of the inscription is unclear, but it has been argued that it lists contributions for an alimention project by wealthy landowners of Attica, based on their landed properties. The inscription shows that sections of the territories of the *demoi* were owned by private landowners. Estates (‘χωρία’) are normally defined through a name in genitive case, indicating ownership<sup>1600</sup>; often additionally through a specific placename, not known from other sources<sup>1601</sup>. In most cases, the name of the *demos*, in the territory of which they are located, follows. These ways of definition bear interesting implications.

Regarding the (otherwise unknown) specific placenames Kahrstedt believes that they were actually new settlements, the foundation of which took place late, so that it did not influence the scheme of the *demoi* established long before the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. He further argues that the appearance of these names means the relocation of a part of the population from the traditional settlements to new ones. These new settlements would now be populated with tenants.<sup>1602</sup> Kahrstedt’s hypothesis is a reasonable one, but the inscription does not allow us to test if these new placenames actually refer to farms or proper settlements. Nevertheless it is reasonable to assume that they refer to inhabited sections of privately-owned estates.

In the same inscription, a number of individuals are listed as owners of properties in different *demoi*, and often widely separated ones<sup>1603</sup>, a fact which hints to concentration of landed properties in the hands of wealthy owners. A further interesting feature is that most listed estates are located in plains: Mesogeia, basin of Athens, Thriasian plain, the plain of

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<sup>1599</sup> *IG II-III*<sup>2</sup> 2776, edited by Kirchner, and *IG III*<sup>1</sup> 61, edited by Dittenberger. Dittenberger was able to determine the date of the inscription based on prosopographic evidence. For an exhaustive discussion of this inscription see Day 1942, 221-232.

<sup>1600</sup> E.g. χωρ[ίου] Στρατωνιανοῦ Ὠασι.

<sup>1601</sup> E.g. χωρ[ίου] Περσικῶνος Φλυῆσι. Further examples on lines 24, 31, 44f., 46f., 203f.

<sup>1602</sup> Kahrstedt 1954, 61-62.

<sup>1603</sup> For listed examples see Day 1942, 233.

*Acharnai* and Oropos.<sup>1604</sup> What may not have been expected, however, is that these estates included kinds of exploitation of the environment beyond agriculture: pasture land with forests and thickets (*ἔσχατία*, l. 46, 52, 197), woodland (*ὄλη*, l. 201), and treeless land (*ψειλόν*, l. 13).<sup>1605</sup> One would imagine that in Late Antiquity, for which intensive surveys show habitation and activity even in marginal lands, exploitation of such resources would have been even more intense. Southeast Attica, although not entirely missing from the list, appears rather scarcely.<sup>1606</sup> This, if combined with intensive survey results which show a large number of small pens in this region, suggests that most part of SE Attica in Late Antiquity was dedicated to small-scale pastoralism.

Comparison of Early Byzantine Attica with Middle Roman Attica needs to be extremely cautious. However, through this ‘neighbouring’ evidence one is enabled to picture more precisely the economic role of, for example, the small settlement of vine-cultivators excavated in the Airport area (Mesogeia), about which the excavator already expressed the opinion that “it appears to belong rather to a large estate than a farmhouse”.<sup>1607</sup> This settlement could be paralleled with the ‘estate settlements’, or *epoikia*, of the Egyptian papyri<sup>1608</sup>; but also with the ἀμπελοργῶν καὶ συκαμείνου Ἄθιμοβοῖ of *IG II-III<sup>2</sup> 2776* (l. 55).

Based on the above, I aim to prove that Attic rural settlements of the Early Byzantine period, despite their special political and administrative tradition related to the *demoi* system, did not differ substantially from rural formations of other districts of the East Roman empire.

## 2. Early Byzantine ‘κῶμαι’ and ‘χωρία’

<sup>1604</sup> Commented also by Day (1942, 231).

<sup>1605</sup> Interpretation of these terms was based on Day (1942, 230-231).

<sup>1606</sup> *IG II-III<sup>2</sup> 2776*, l. 115-119.

<sup>1607</sup> Steinhauer 1982, 126.

<sup>1608</sup> On the *epoikia* as settlements which formed part of a large private estate see also Banaji 2001, 11-12, 135, 253. Banaji (2001, 12) parallels the *epoikia* with the *vici* of the western provinces. For the occasional use of the word *chorion* (with its meaning as ‘estate’) instead of *epoikion* in the papyri see Banaji 2001, 175.

M. Kaplan's analysis of the use of the word *chorion* in the Early Byzantine period shows, in my opinion, that the evolution of its meaning similarly applies to the descendants of the Attic *demoi*. His study testifies that the Byzantine *χωρία* replaced the Roman *vici* and *komai*, first in the current language, and soon after in imperial legislation.<sup>1609</sup> Initially, the term *chorion* is a diminutive of 'chora' or 'choros', and therefore means a small piece of land, thus a section of land property.<sup>1610</sup> This is the meaning of the word in the legislation of Justinian (6<sup>th</sup> c.), Leo VI (9<sup>th</sup> c.), and partially even of the emperors of the 10<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1611</sup> In the current language, however, the evolution of the word *chorion* is far more rapid. In the *Life of Patriarch Eutyches*, of the 6<sup>th</sup> c., *chorion* initially means a land sector, but later signifies a village with inhabitants who are tenants of land which belongs to a private owner.<sup>1612</sup> With this later sense, *chorion* is equivalent with the *epoikion* of the Egyptian papyri. In another case, attested by the *Life of Nicolas of Sion*, of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. again, *chorion* designates a land division, a place, perhaps a hamlet, which belonged to a *kome* (Plenion). The *chorion* here is a simple hamlet of a *kome*, but can evolve to a village. In the 6<sup>th</sup> c., therefore, the evolution which leads the word *chorion* to replace *kome* to designate a village is already at an advanced stage.<sup>1613</sup>

Michel Kaplan's description of the Early Byzantine *kome* [gradually replaced by the word *chorion*] reminds closely the features pointed out above which characterize the Early Byzantine descendants of the Attic *demoi*:

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<sup>1609</sup> Kaplan 1992, 89-99.

<sup>1610</sup> This is the meaning of the word 'χωρίον' in *IG II-III*<sup>2</sup> 2776.

<sup>1611</sup> Kaplan 1992, 95-96.

<sup>1612</sup> Kaplan 1992, 97-98.

<sup>1613</sup> Kaplan 1992, 97-98.



- (a) The term *kome* in the 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c. applies to settlements of various size, which are not, however, cities. In Syria, *kome* defines all kinds of rural settlement, no matter their size.<sup>1614</sup>
- (b) The *komai* are not fortified.<sup>1615</sup>
- (c) The *komai* are not bishopric sees.<sup>1616</sup> If a city with a bishopric see lost the status of a *civitas*, it would simultaneously lose the status of a bishopric, as well; such is the case of Patara in Lycia.<sup>1617</sup>
- (d) *Komai* could well have economic activities of the secondary and tertiary sector, like artisanship, markets with regional radiation, and harbour activities.<sup>1618</sup> In Attica, this certainly applies to the case of harbour *demoi*, such as *Steiria* – Porto Raphte and Araphen. This is also the case of the former *polis* of Oropos, which can be deduced to have had the status of a *kome* in the Early Byzantine period, since it is not listed among *civitates*.

The above research among possible meanings, and features, of *demoi*, *komai*, *vici* and *choria* shows, in my opinion, that the descendants of the ancient Attic *demoi* can legitimately be seen as formations which conform with settlement patterns which appear elsewhere in the Early Byzantine empire. More specifically, the Attic formations conform precisely with the settlements called *komai*, or later *choria*, in the Early Byzantine sources. Therefore, when discussing the Early Byzantine settlements of the Mesogeia plain, for example, one may think of habitation units with a concentrated or a dispersed form (the archaeological evidence often illustrates which is the case), and with a territory which in some cases may coincide with the

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<sup>1614</sup> Kaplan 1992, 90.

<sup>1615</sup> Kaplan 1992, 94.

<sup>1616</sup> Kaplan 1992, 94.

<sup>1617</sup> Kaplan 1992, 93.

<sup>1618</sup> Kaplan 1992, 94-95.

territory of the ancient *demoi*, since this was often defined through geomorphological borders. Further definition of the size and habitation features of Early Byzantine Attic settlements needs detailed excavation and survey research, since relevant written testimonies are missing.

However, we may illustrate here the evolution described above with some examples from Attica. Skemphthi (Mesogeia), where an Early Byzantine basilica of considerable dimensions, apparently surrounded by a settlement, appears on a site unrelated from any known habitation centre of the ancient *demoi*, is possibly an example which conforms to the scheme described by Kaplan, that “the *chorion* may derive from a simple hamlet of a *kome* [*demoi*, in our case] and become a village of full size.”<sup>1619</sup> In fact, this kind of settlement evolution appears to have started taking place in Attica already in the Middle Roman period, as attested by the emergence of the new *demoi* discussed by Traill (see above, [D.1]).

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<sup>1619</sup> Kaplan 1992, 97.

## Appendix E: Was Marathon a bishopric during the Early Byzantine period?

A major issue of this period, which has caused discussion among scholars in earlier decades, is the possible existence of a bishopric in Marathon. Scholars do not agree on this issue: Honigmann argued that the bishopric encountered in the relevant sources is not the one of Marathon.<sup>1620</sup> A few decades later, Pallas, following an earlier view of Le Quien, supported the view that Marathon was a bishopric in the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c., based mainly on the evidence of hagiological texts and hymns.<sup>1621</sup> Although the evidence is far from being clear, it appears that the older view of Honigmann is the more convincing one; the arguments of both sides will be presented in the following paragraphs.

Three bishops appear in the sources as possibly having had their sees in Marathon: Phlegon, Tryphon and Isaakios. Phlegon appears in the *Synaxaire de Constantinople* as a saint worshipped on April 8<sup>th</sup><sup>1622</sup>, but also as ‘ἐπίσκοπος Μαράθων’.<sup>1623</sup> Elsewhere one comes across the variants ‘Μαραθῶν’<sup>1624</sup>, ‘Μάρθων’<sup>1625</sup>, ‘Παρθῶν’<sup>1626</sup> and ‘Μαραθῶνος’<sup>1627</sup>. Honigmann is convinced that the bishopric meant is Maratha of Osrhoene, which is attested as a bishopric in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. by the *Notitia Antiochena*. He notes that the variants Μαραθῶνος and Παρθῶν clearly tend to explain the city name Μαράθων by equating it with other, more

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<sup>1620</sup> Honigmann 1949, followed in this view by Koder and Hild (*TIB* I, 213); Goette – Weber (2004, 129); Kontogeorgopoulou 2011, 340.

<sup>1621</sup> Le Quien 1740, vol. 2, 203: «Episcopi Marathonis: I. Phlegon. Graeci in Menaeis die 8. Aprilis ex Dorotheo Tyrio, ferunt Marathonis episcopum fuisse *Phlegontem*, quem Paulus cap. 16. Epist. Ad Romanos v. 14 salutare jubet. II. Tryphon. Synodi Sardicensis ad Ecclesias epistolae subscripsit *Tryphon de Achaia de Marathone*.” Pallas 1986, 43-44. Gini-Tsophopoulou (2001, 151) follows this view.

<sup>1622</sup> *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. Delehaye 1902, 591-2, *Synaxaria selecta*.

<sup>1623</sup> *Ibid.*, 786 (June 30<sup>th</sup>). Delehaye (*ibid.*, 1126) transcribes this as “Μαραθῶν: urbs in Graecia” in the index of the book.

<sup>1624</sup> Pseudo-Dorotheus, in *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae*, ed. Th. Schermann 1907, 139, 5.

<sup>1625</sup> Pseudo-Hippolytus, ed. Scherman, *ibid.*, 169, 12.

<sup>1626</sup> Pseudo-Symeon Logothetes, *ibid.*, 181, 21.

<sup>1627</sup> Pseudo-Epiphanius, *ibid.*, 121, 13, and, as a variant: Pseudo-Hippolytus, as above.

commonly known names.<sup>1628</sup> Pallas, however, argues that the cult of Phlegon was popular in the area of Marathon, based on a canon hymn written by Joseph (Ode ζ' 4) in the mid 9<sup>th</sup> c.: «Οι Μαραθῶνος οικισταί / προστάτην σε μέγιστον / και φωστήρα και ποδηγέτην / σχόντες, Φλέγον ένδοξε, / τιμῶσι σε απαύστως».<sup>1629</sup> One would argue, however, that the canon may have made use of the commonly known name Μαραθῶνος in replacement of the original name as well.

Bishop Tryphon appears as a member of the Council of Serdica in 342/3. As in the case of Phlegon, a similarly confusing collection of names of bishoprics is connected with his name: in the *Canones Concilii Sardicensis ex interpretatione Isidori Mercatoris* he appears as 'Tryphon ab Achaja, de Macarce, al. Marathonensis'<sup>1630</sup>; while in the *Synodi Sardicensis Epistola ad Julium urbis Romae episcopum* he appears as 'Trifon ab Achaia de Macroce'.<sup>1631</sup> Although he appears as 'Tryphon de Achaia de Marathone' in Le Quien<sup>1632</sup>, in the work of St. Hilarius of Poitiers he is called 'Trifon ab Acaia de Macarce'.<sup>1633</sup> In a letter of St Athanasius to the clergy of the Mareotide, his name is 'Trypho de Magara'.<sup>1634</sup> Honigmann interprets this either as Megara (Magara) or as the Arcadian Megalopolis.<sup>1635</sup> Marathon does not seem, in any case, to present a strong candidate for the see of bishop Tryphon.

<sup>1628</sup> Honigmann 1949, 289-290.

<sup>1629</sup> Pallas 1986, 61-62, note 2.

<sup>1630</sup> *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, III, ed. I. Mansi 1759, re-edition 1960, 39.

<sup>1631</sup> *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, III, ed. I. Mansi 1759, re-edition 1960, 42.

<sup>1632</sup> Le Quien 1740, vol. 2, 203.

<sup>1633</sup> *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiqua*, ed. Turner, vol. I, fasc. II, pars III (1930), 552-553, no. 30.

<sup>1634</sup> *Codex Veronensis bibl. Capit. LX*, in *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiqua*, ed. Turner, vol. I, fasc. II, pars IV (1939), 661, no. 35.

Mansi (*ibid.*, 49), in his alphabetical catalogue of the Fathers of Sardeis, summarises these contradictory pieces of evidence about Tryphon as follows: "Tryphon ab Achaja de Marciarce: apud Hilarium Vat. 1342 de Macarcens: in Conciliis de Macarce, al. Marathonensis. In subscriptionibus Epistolae Athanasii Trypho de Magara. Inter toto variants corruptas difficile est constituere veram urbem hujus Triphonis, quem Athanasianus etiam catalogus memorat. Megara magis placeret, nisi Alypius ab Achaja de Megara antea recensitus fuisset. »

<sup>1635</sup> Honigmann 1949, 290.

As far as the third bishop is concerned, ‘Ἰσαάκιος της Πενταπόλεως της Ελλάδος’, Honigmann arrives at the conclusion that the bishopric meant here is the Dorian Pentapolis, with a see in Skarpheia.<sup>1636</sup>

Does the surviving archaeological evidence support the historical view for the existence of a bishopric in Marathon, expressed by Pallas and others? The evidence is inconclusive, due to its poor preservation. The intensive building activity which took place in the Marathonian plain during the Middle Roman period looks impressive when compared with the lack of monuments from other parts of Attica, and suggests that Marathon may have experienced a more active economic life during this period than other areas. Moreover, the geographical distribution of so far known bishoprics, the nearest of which were based in Athens and (probably) Chalkis (*Notitia 3: Πορτίου*)<sup>1637</sup>, leaves a spatial gap in east and northeast Attica, for which Marathon offers an ideal location. The archaeological evidence, however, is inadequate to support the theory of a bishopric in Marathon; and the surviving historical evidence appears to point against this view.

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<sup>1636</sup> Honigmann 1949, 290-299.

<sup>1637</sup> Darrouzès 1981, 243.



The letter of Pope Innocent III, by mentioning two medieval place names which etymologically appear as connected with *Persidai/Perridai* and / or *Perseus*, was considered by Grandstrem, Medvedev and Papachryssanthou as a piece of evidence which strengthens the hypothesis that the listing of these *demoi* by Stephanus was actually correct.<sup>1645</sup> Moreover, the *Praktikon of Athens* (11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.) also lists a ‘χωρίον’ called ‘Persai’.<sup>1646</sup>

The editors of the latter document are convinced that ‘Persai’ should be identified either with *Persidai/Perridai*, which they locate in the broader Marathonian area following Leake, or with *Perseus*, for the location (and even the existence) of which there is inadequate evidence, but which, they seem to think, lay in the same area. However, the *Praktikon* clearly attests a ‘χωρίον Πέρσαι’ south of the Kareas monastery, located on Mt Hymettus (see sub-chapter B.2.6).

Moreover, the editors of the *Praktikon* believe that the place name ‘Catraperseta/Catapersica’ of the papal letter derives from ‘Persai’, through the form ‘Κάτω Πέρσικα’ or ‘κατά τα Πέρσικα’. The latter etymology appears as reasonable to me, although the identification of ‘Persai’ and ‘Catraperseta/Catapersica’ is not safe; neither is safe the etymological provenance of both place names from an ancient name which has to do either with the hero Perseus or the Persians. The ancient Greek word ‘περσικόν’, which is obviously an adjective, when not followed by a noun means ‘peach’. ‘Τα περσικά μήλα’ are peaches for the ancient Greeks.<sup>1647</sup> A place known as ‘[Ὁ] περσικόν’, and located at *Phlya* (basin of Athens), appears on the 2<sup>nd</sup>-c. inscription *IG II-III<sup>2</sup> 2776*.<sup>1648</sup> Day thinks that this is a proper

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<sup>1645</sup> Granstrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou 1976, 19-21. Koder (1977, 137) appears to follow the opinion formulated by Granstrem *et al.*, although he does not comment on their arguments. None of these scholars refers to Traill’s conclusion about *Perridai* being not a constitutional *demos*, but a community.

<sup>1646</sup> Granstrem – Medvedev – Papachryssanthou 1976, 10-11, no. 29; also p. 33.

<sup>1647</sup> Stamatakos 1972 (repr. 1999), 786: ‘ο περσικός, ή το περσικόν (ενν. μήλον)· το ροδάκινον’.

<sup>1648</sup> For a more recent edition of the inscription see Miller 1972a, 68-85, esp. 71. The word appears twice, in l. 91 (‘Φλυήσι πρὸς τῷ Περσικῶνι’) and l. 113 (‘χωρ Περσικῶνος Φλυήσι’).

noun, while S. Miller prefers its interpretation as a common noun, that is, a peach orchard.<sup>1649</sup> Therefore, the place names ‘Persikonari’ and ‘Catraperseta/Catapersica’ could mean ‘peach grove area’. It is reasonable to assume that peach groves, if they ever existed in Attica, would have been located in upland areas with mild climate; and for these, the Marathonian area provides an appropriate location, but so do other areas of Attica.

The sequence in which the medieval place names appear in the papal letter indeed suggests that they should be sought in northern Attica: ‘Persikonari’ and ‘Catraperseta / Catapersica’ appear after ‘Cassas’ (Chasia), ‘Menidi’, ‘Ducheleos’ (Dekeleia) and ‘Calixtes’ (prob. Kalesia), and are followed by ‘Clazazundas’<sup>1650</sup>.

Neroutsos suggests a different etymology for ‘Catapersica’: he interprets it as ‘Κάτω Πρέξικα’ and connects it with ‘Vrexiza’, the area of the southern swamp of the Marathonian plain; this locality also appears as ‘Stombrexika’ (= ‘στον Πρέξικα’) in a 19<sup>th</sup>-c. map.<sup>1651</sup>

To sum up, the locations of both ancient and medieval place names, *Persidai/Perridai*, *Perseus*, ‘Persikonari’ and ‘Catraperseta/Catapersica’ still remain unknown, but the Marathonian district, and especially its upland part, offers a good candidate for them. Unfortunately, the existing evidence does not support further this hypothesis. As far as ‘Persai’ is concerned, it can be securely located south of the Kareas monastery, on Mt Hymettus, as attested by the *Praktikon of Athens*.

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<sup>1649</sup> Day 1942, 231, notes 288 and 297. Miller 1972a, 84.

<sup>1650</sup> Note that ‘Clazazoundas’ might be a scribal error of a common kind; the right form could be ‘Clazoundas’.

<sup>1651</sup> *Carte de la Grèce*, feuille No. 9. Koder (1977, 137) is hesitant towards Neroutsos’ identification.



## Appendix G: Megarid

### 1. Geographical description and main roads

#### [Printed map G.a; CD maps G.b-c]

The Megarid is bordered by Mt Kithairon to the north, Mt Pateras and Trikeraton to the east, the Saronic Gulf to the south, Mt Geraneia to the SW, and the Corinthian Gulf to the west.<sup>1652</sup> The fertile Megarian plain, ca. 70 km<sup>2</sup>, opens up to the south.

The Megarid is especially important since it constitutes the bridge of land communication between mainland Greece and the Peloponnese. Armies, traders and travellers had to cross its mountain ridges and small valleys in order to pass from the north of the Greek peninsula to its south, and vice versa. The roads of the Megarid acquired new significance during the Early Roman period, when the eastern coast of the Corinthian Gulf started being used for the unloading of ships' cargoes. Italian products were unloaded in *Creousis*<sup>1653</sup>, and were transported by land to Euripos, a journey of one day, and thence to various cities of Euboea and of northern Greece.<sup>1654</sup> Ships also unloaded their cargoes in the port of *Pagai*, from where the products were transferred to Megara and Thebes. The importance of the terminal points of these routes is shown by the establishment of important

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<sup>1652</sup> The Megarid was not included in the *KvA* and the study of Milchhöfer. It is, however, included in the general 'Übersichtskarte' (scale 1:100) of *KvA*. The Megarid shows geomorphologic variety. Mt Pateras (1132 m), covered in pine forests which were greatly burnt down in recent decades but now have re-grown, slopes rather abruptly towards the Corinthian Gulf to the west, but more gently towards the south and east. In Antiquity, the thick and extended pine forests provided the Megarid with timber which was exported; also a thriving pasturing economy produced wool. On the agricultural produce of ancient Megarid see Sakellariou – Pharaklas 1972, 9-10; Smith 2006. For a concise and accurate description of the geography, irrigation and geology of the Megarid see Smith 2008, 5-10.

<sup>1653</sup> Livy 36.21.5, 42.56.5. Pausanias also approached Creousis from the sea (9.32.1), and then continued to Pagai and Aigosthena.

<sup>1654</sup> Ephorus in Strabo, IX, 400; cf. Ps.-Scymnus in Mueller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, I, 216, Ill. 490-495. Livy, XLIV, i, 4. Cf. Hatzfeld 1919, 70.

colonies of *negotiatores* at *Pagai* and *Thespiiai* in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.<sup>1655</sup> There is general agreement among scholars that the main north-south routes through Kithairon and the Megarid were three (Pl. 52d):

- (a) The western road started from *Creousis*, the port of *Thespieae*, and followed the east coast of the Corinthian Gulf, through *Aigosthena* and *Pagai*. This was a very difficult road, and certainly not for wheeled traffic.<sup>1656</sup>
- (b) The main road (Pl. 53a)<sup>1657</sup> from Boeotia and the Greek mainland to the Peloponnese departed from *Erythrai*/Kriekouki, continued west of the peaks Karoumbalo (867 m) and Malliara (986 m) and then continued south until the church of Agios Vasileios, just north of the peak Megali Koryphe (955 m), where there are the remains of an ancient tower ('Kryo Pegadi' on *MGS*). It then passed between Megale Koryphe and Mt Karydi (= Achladokoryfi, 964 m) with a SW direction. The bottleneck of this route is the section from the Karydi pass to the pass south of Mikro Vathychori.

This makes a walking distance of 7.5 hours from Kriekouki to Megara. Hammond believes that this road was used by carts in antiquity, but very possibly also in the 19<sup>th</sup> c., according to a local testimony.<sup>1658</sup> Lohmann, on the other hand, thinks that this road is too narrow and steep to be used by ox-drawn carts in its whole length, and thinks that it

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<sup>1655</sup> Hatzfeld 1919, 68-70 (*Thespiiai*), 73-74 (*Pagai*). *Pagai* even issued coins from the time of Marcus Aurelius to Septimius Severus: Head 1911, 394.

<sup>1656</sup> This is also the opinion expressed by Hammond (1954, 103-104) and Ober (1985, 123).

<sup>1657</sup> For its description, related evidence, and alternative routes see Hammond 1954. This road appears in the literature as "the road of Mt Karydi", "the Road of Towers", or "Hammond's road". We will use the latter nomination. Later studies showed that, among the towers which Hammond thought to have guarded the road, only two (Towers C and F) had indeed a military function, while the other "towers" (A, B, D, E, G) were agricultural structures of a kind which is rather common in the area and appears also further away from the road; see Ober 1982. Lohmann (2002, 79ff.) agrees with Ober on the agricultural character of these structures.

<sup>1658</sup> A shepherd offered this information to N. Hammond (1954, 105).

would have been used by travellers on foot, mule or horse, or for convoys of pack animals.<sup>1659</sup>

- (c) The eastern road started from the east end of the Koundoura valley, by the modern village Agia Sotera, and continued due south, using the passage of Kandeli (between Mt Trikeraton and Rachi Daskouri, a southern foot of Mt Pateras). The road follows the route of the Koulouriotiko stream, which has been identified with the ancient river Iapis.<sup>1660</sup> This route is known as ‘Koulouriotiko Monopati’, since it leads to the coast by Nea Peramos, from where there was connection by boat to Salamis, also called ‘Koulouri’<sup>1661</sup>. Most observed sites along this road belong to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC and to the Ottoman period, but it is difficult to believe that this road would not have been used during the intermediary periods, as well.<sup>1662</sup>

A further road followed the coast of the Saronic Gulf. West of Megara, this road passed through the Scironian Cliffs. The passage was broadened during the reign of Hadrian, but archaeological and historical evidence shows that this road to the Corinthia was not preferred compared to the inland road over Mt Gernaia, through Chani Derveni.

## **2. Historical evidence for secular and ecclesiastical administration of the Megarid**

During the Roman occupation, *Aigosthena* and *Pagai* were detached from the *civitas* of Megara<sup>1663</sup>, were attributed the status of independent *civitates*, and were colonised by

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<sup>1659</sup> Lohmann 2002, 80. Lohmann also thinks that the ancient towers, remains of which stand by the road, were actually not strategic but agricultural, based on surrounding remains. Detailed study of these remains is clearly needed in order to specify the function of this road.

<sup>1660</sup> Milchhöfer 1895, 20. *Stephanus of Byzantium*, 322, ‘Iapis’.

<sup>1661</sup> The name ‘Koulouri’, due to the circular shape of the island, occurs already in the 12<sup>th</sup> c.: Gautier-Dalché 1995, 145, l. 1171 (‘Colluri’).

<sup>1662</sup> This road was studied by van de Maele (1987). Gell 1819, 12: “This road is generally in excellent repair, as it would otherwise be impassable for the carriages of the Pasha of the Morea.”

<sup>1663</sup> The territory of the ancient city-state of Megara included the urban centres *Aigosthena* and *Pagai*, both on the east coast of the Corinthian Gulf; it also included the settlements *Nisaia* (mod. Pache, harbour on the

Roman merchants.<sup>1664</sup> In the list of the Synekdemios, Megara, Aigosthena and Pagai still appear as *civitates* next to Athens.<sup>1665</sup>

The 3<sup>rd</sup> *Notitia* (9<sup>th</sup> c.) lists Megara, Aigosthena and Pagai (along with Eleusis) as suffragan bishoprics of Athens<sup>1666</sup>, but its evidence needs external confirmation before taken at face value. In the 7<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> *Notitiae*, Athens and its suffragan bishoprics are listed, but the latter have been severely reduced to suffragan bishoprics which are located far away from Athens.<sup>1667</sup> In the 13<sup>th</sup> *Notitia* (ca. 1166), Megara re-appears, along with Moudounitsa (near Thermopylai). In the slightly earlier 14<sup>th</sup> *Notitia* (1142/3), Megara is not included.<sup>1668</sup> The information of the 13<sup>th</sup> *Notitia* is confirmed by the letter of Pope Innocent III (1209), where Megara (and Thermopylai, instead of Moudounitsa) appears.<sup>1669</sup>

### 3. Aigosthena – Porto Germeno

*Aigosthena* had the status of a *civitas* according to Synekdemios<sup>1670</sup>; it is attested as a bishopric in the 3<sup>rd</sup> *Notitia* (Ἐδοσθήνας).<sup>1671</sup> The name ‘Porto Germeno’, of Italian origin, appears in a Greek portulan of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1672</sup>

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Saronic Gulf), adjacent *Minoa*, *Ereneia*, *Aigeiroussa*, *Tripodiskos*, *Kynosoura* and *Panormos/Psatha*; the latter can be considered as a further port. The status of these settlements in the ancient period is not totally clear. Cf. *Strabo* ix,1,10 (C. 394): «Αἰγειρούσσης Νισαίης τε Τριπόδων τε ἃ ἔστι χωρία», and *Stephanus of Byzantium*, «Αἰγειρούσσα, πόλις Μεγαρική». *Tripodiskos* is referred to as a *kome* by Thucydides (4, 70, i), but the *Neue Pauli* (1999, 676) expresses some hesitance to accept this designation.

<sup>1664</sup> Hatzfeld 1919, 68-70 (Thespieae), 73-74 (Pagae).

<sup>1665</sup> *Hierokles Synekdemios*, 17, 645.10-13.

<sup>1666</sup> Darrouzes 1981, 243f.: “ΜΔ’ επαρχία Ελλάδος, α’ Αθήνα μητρόπολις. (...) λη’ ο Εδοσθήνας, λθ’ ο Πάδου, μ’ ο Μεδάρας”. For the transliteration of the letter ‘γ’ to ‘δ’ in this *Notitia* see Kountoura-Galaki 1996, 64. The provenance of information of the 3<sup>rd</sup> *Notitia* from Synekdemios has already been noted; and the cases of Aigosthena and Pagai may belong to this scheme. However, this interpretation is impeded by the forms Ἐδοσθήνας and Πάδου, respectively, which appear in the 3<sup>rd</sup> *Notitia*, and which is significantly different from the forms Αἰγόςθηνα and Παγαί which appear in Synekdemios.

<sup>1667</sup> Darrouzes 1981, 283, 302, 324.

<sup>1668</sup> For the 14<sup>th</sup> *Notitia* see also Herrin 1980.

<sup>1669</sup> Col. 1560C. Koder 1977, 138.

<sup>1670</sup> *Hierokles Synekdemios*, 17, 645.10-13. A dedicatory inscription of the *polis* of Aigosthena to the Roman emperor Flavius Claudius Constantine, son of Constantine I, certifies the civic character of Aigosthena in AD

### The upper citadel

Aigosthena acquired a fortification in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, admirably preserved until today [A] (Pl. 54a-b) (*vidi*).<sup>1673</sup> It consists of an upper citadel which enclosed the acropolis, and a lower citadel which protected the lower town. Medieval repairs of different periods (marked with arrows on the original plan published by the 3<sup>rd</sup> Ephorate of Classical Antiquities) in the masonry of the upper citadel confirm its use during the Early and possibly the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>1674</sup> Although scholars concerned with the ancient citadel have not reported anything about its later uses (apart from Benson), medieval repairs are to be observed in sections of the masonry.

The central section of the south curtain wall has been completely rebuilt with semi-worked stones, small stones and broken tiles set horizontally in the joints, and mortar rich in lime (Pl. 55a). This section may date to the Early or the Middle Byzantine period. The most interesting re-built section (marked on Benson's Plan I) has replaced the southern part of the west curtain wall. There, the ancient dressed blocks have not been re-cut, but have rather been re-used in their original size. Their joints have been filled with a thin layer of mortar, broken tiles and small stones (Pl. 55b-d). This is a typical style of re-use of ancient blocks in

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337-340, and indicates an offer of some kind to the city by the emperor. The inscription was found during the excavation of the Aigosthena basilica, inscribed on a statue basis: Orlandos 1954, 141-142. “Τὸν μέγιστον καὶ θεϊότατον αὐτοκράτορα / Φλάβ(ιον) Κλαύδιο[ν Κωνστ]αντ[εῖ]νον τὸν κύριον / ἡ πόλις Αἰγιοσθενειτῶν”. *SEG* 16 (1959), No. 292.

<sup>1671</sup> Darrouzes 1981, 243f.

<sup>1672</sup> Delatte 1947, 211. According to the same document, Germeno had water of good quality, which was also transported by boat to the nearby harbour of Livadostra.

<sup>1673</sup> For recent concise descriptions of the 4<sup>th</sup>-c. fortifications see Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2008, 53-59; Smith 2008, 45-49, with earlier bibliography.

<sup>1674</sup> These were noted briefly already by Benson (1895, 317f., Plan I: “Late rubble wall”), but have not attracted recent attention.

the Early Byzantine period; see as example the Hexamilion wall at Isthmia.<sup>1675</sup> Finally, the outer face of the north wall has been filled with mortar in the joints (Pl. 54b).

Due to the ruinous condition of the towers, I was not able to investigate their interior. A “medieval” rubble wall has been recorded on a drawing of the SE tower of the upper citadel; it divides its ground floor level in two parts.<sup>1676</sup>

### *The church of Panagia in the lower town*

An Early Byzantine basilica [A] has been excavated in the lower town of Aigosthena, underlying a Middle Byzantine church dedicated to the Virgin (Pl. 56a-d) (*vidi*).<sup>1677</sup> It has five aisles, a phenomenon which is rare for mainland Greece, and unique among the known basilicas of Attica. The dimensions of the basilica are 20x25 m. The basilica was connected with a baptistery to its south. Both buildings were paved with mosaics, which were dated by the excavator to the late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1678</sup> A pitcher found in the baptistery probably dates towards the end of the Early Byzantine period, according to the description of the excavator; this would suggest use of the building until this period.<sup>1679</sup>

A cemetery developed to the west of the basilica, but was not excavated. Graves were opened also in the narthex and even in the main aisle, a custom which occurs from the 7<sup>th</sup> c. onwards. This indicates at least some degree of continuous activity in the area of the Early Byzantine basilica during the Middle Byzantine period.

The small cross-shaped triconch church of Panagia (*vidi*), which was built on the ruins of the east part of the main aisle, was, or later became, the *katholikon* of a monastery. This is

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<sup>1675</sup> Gregory 1993, esp. pl. 11c-d, 13c,

<sup>1676</sup> Shown in Smith 2008, fig. 23. Partition of the ground floor of towers was common in Byzantine architecture; the one part was used as a cistern. See the tower on the peak of Acrocorinth: Carpenter – Bon 1936, 256.

<sup>1677</sup> Orlandos 1954.

<sup>1678</sup> Orlandos 1954, 138.

<sup>1679</sup> Orlandos 1954, 134. The excavator compares this vessel with one found in the baptistery of the Brauron basilica (Stikas 1951, 76, fig. 30), dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> c.

attested by the building remains which were excavated overlying the basilica's stylobates and foundations (Pl. 56b-d). Bronze coins of Constantine IX (1025-1028) and Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180)<sup>1680</sup> attest to use of the church, and possibly the monastery, in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> c.

A lead seal with a cross-shaped monogram and the inscriptions 'τῷ σῷ δούλῳ' on the obverse and '.....ῳ β(ασιλικῷ) σπ(αθαρίῳ) (καί) ΑΡ...ΕΡ' on the reverse was discovered during the excavation of a tomb "near Porto Germeno".<sup>1681</sup> Based on its type and inscription, the lead seal should be dated between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1682</sup>

Aigosthena therefore shows evidence for occupation and activity both in the Early and Middle Byzantine periods, but further excavations are needed to illuminate the history of the site. It also appears to have been an administrative see during both periods.

#### 4. *Pagai* – Alepochori

A dedication by the *polis* of Pagai to Constantius Chlorus, around 300, is the only fragment of evidence known from the Late Roman period.<sup>1683</sup> Although Pagai is catalogued both as a *civitas* (Synekdemos) Koder and Hild doubt that it survived the Slav invasions.<sup>1684</sup> Their reservation sounds reasonable, especially since the city lay on the route which the invaders took on their way to the Peloponnese.

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<sup>1680</sup> Parallels cited by Orlandos (1954, 140) for the coins are to be found in Wroth 1908, table LIX, 7, and LXX, 18-19, respectively.

<sup>1681</sup> Avramea – Galani-Krikou – Touratsoglou 1990, 245, No. 46. Unfortunately no further information is provided about this excavation. The lead seal was delivered to the Numismatic Museum of Athens on 18 November 1953.

<sup>1682</sup> Tsoungarakis 1999, 34-35.

<sup>1683</sup> *IG* vii 196. "Τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἐπι /φανέστατον Καίσαρα Φλ(άβριον) /Ούαλέρ(ιον) /Κωνσταντίον ἡ πόλις". Constantius Chlorus was nominated Caesar in 292.

<sup>1684</sup> *TIB* I, 230.

The city wall extended over a large area (Pl. 56e).<sup>1685</sup> A church of Panagia in the acropolis, of unknown date, stands on foundations of an Archaic sanctuary.<sup>1686</sup> Continuous activity in Pagai is indicated by the finds inside a well, which extend chronologically from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1687</sup> Eight tile-built cist graves of the Early Byzantine period were found near the shore.<sup>1688</sup>

A Byzantine building, possibly a monastery or a military camp, was excavated on the north slope of the Pyrgari hill, which lies between Ano and Kato Alepochori and ca. 1 km inland from the shore (Pl. 57a).<sup>1689</sup>

The monastic church dedicated to the Transfiguration, NE of Alepochori, is a cross-roofed church of Orlandos' A1 type (*vidi*). A painted founding inscription dates it between 1260 and 1280.<sup>1690</sup>

### Doúrakos

Dourakos is a hill 3.5 km SW of Pagai, at the northern edge of the Rachi Pripti ridge, 200 m from the coast. On the hill summit one finds a multitude of ancient sherds, including sherds of the Late Roman period.<sup>1691</sup> Wiseman found traces of rubble walls along the northern edge of the hill summit. The area north of the hill, near the coast, is similarly dotted with

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<sup>1685</sup> Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2000, 91-92. For a full bibliography of research focussed in ancient *Pagai* see Smith 2008, 35.

<sup>1686</sup> Smith 2008, 35.

<sup>1687</sup> Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2000, 92. The well is located 130 m from the NW slopes of the ancient acropolis; its mouth, as well as an adjacent pebble floor, date to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. An image of continuous activity is presented also by Meyer (1942, 2286): "In the circuit wall all kinds of ancient blocks, columns, a Turkish cemetery and a church are traces of medieval occupation of the site."

<sup>1688</sup> Zorides 1980, 55. The graves contained unglazed vessels.

<sup>1689</sup> Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1988, 69-70. Only part of the building was excavated, consisting of two parallel and adjacent rows of rectangular rooms. Each room had its own door and fireplace, thus indicating a communal building. The structure overlay part of the ancient cemetery of Pagai.

<sup>1690</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 334. Mouriki 1978, 10, 55-64. Koder and Hild earlier dated it to the 'Byzantine period': *TIB* I, 230. Orlandos 1935a, 44, No. 27. Smith (2008, 38) suggests that the dedication of the church to the Saviour may indicate cult continuity, since the Persians are recorded by Pausanias (i.44.4) to have been duped by Artemis Soteira, and a site called 'Persian Cliffs' lies near Ano Alepochori (pl. 8c). For the 'Persian Cliffs' see Müller 1982, 405-407.

<sup>1691</sup> Smith 2008, 35.



glazed tiles and sherds, some of which are Late Roman; similar is the picture in the valley just west of Dourakos, which also preserved a built cist grave with Late Roman pottery scattered around it.<sup>1692</sup>

## 5. *Panormos* – *Psatha*

The bay north of *Pagai/Aleporochori* is called *Psatha* (ancient *Panormos*). Today *Psatha* provides a better harbouring location than *Pagai/Aleporochori*, due to the silt which has accumulated at the foreshore of the latter. This is probably the reason why *Pagai* has been substituted by *Psatha* (‘τὴν Ψάθο’) as a port in the published 16<sup>th</sup> c. Greek portulan.<sup>1693</sup> Moreover, the proposal of the Venetial *pronoetes* Corner in 1690 refers to ‘*Psata*’ as the most important settlement of the eastern coast of the Corinthian Gulf.<sup>1694</sup>

Behind the beach of *Psatha* the hills rise to a chapel of *Agios Ioannis* (ca. 500 m inland), next to which there are remains of a Classical tower. In the area there are numerous 4<sup>th</sup> c. sherds, as well as earlier ones. A little north of the tower there are several blocks of stone, and an oil press built into the wall of a ruined house.<sup>1695</sup>

## 6. *Megalo* and *Mikro Vathychori*

The geological basins known as *Vathychoria* lie in the SW part of *Mt Pateras*, at ca. 400 m altitude, amidst mountain peaks which range in altitude between 700 and 1100 m.<sup>1696</sup>

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<sup>1692</sup> Wiseman 1974, 537. Smith 2008, 32.

<sup>1693</sup> Delatte 1947, 211.

<sup>1694</sup> Lambros 1885, 311.

<sup>1695</sup> Smith 2008, 40; Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2008, 48-49.

<sup>1696</sup> All the rainfall in this area runs into these two deep pockets, which were formerly lakes: Hammond (1954, 118-120) argues that they were lakes based on ancient texts. Wiseman (1974, 541), however, stresses that they may have been lakes long before the Classical period. Now their water drains through channels in the limestone (‘*katavothres*’)

Both are arable, and the surrounding hillsides were earlier wooded thickly with pines, as today.<sup>1697</sup> This area has been identified with the site of ancient *Aigeiroussa* or *Aigeiros*.<sup>1698</sup>

The road which starts from Pagai and joins Hammond's Road crosses Megalo Vathychori. At the western edge of Megalo Vathychori, around the Taxiarches church (Pl. 57b), LRom/EByz antiquities have been located. Hammond found a Late Roman capital and a plain monolithic column of greenish marble.<sup>1699</sup> Muller saw two rectilinear gutters, parallel to each other, "which undoubtedly belong to Late Antiquity" (Pl. 57c). Slabs of greenish marble had been re-used to coat parts of this aqueduct. Muller also saw two rectangular cisterns, coated with pink hydraulic mortar, close to the spot where the gutters were interrupted, a monolithic column (Pl. 57d), and a medieval pear-shaped cistern, still in use.<sup>1700</sup> At the bottom of the slope he marked Late Roman sherds (Pl. 57e).<sup>1701</sup> The Taxiarches church itself (*vidi*) is a humble building which does not provide any datable or significant features. Late Roman ceramic remains were also found at Mikro Vathychori (Pl. 57f).<sup>1702</sup> Ober similarly transmits a picture of relatively intensive use in the Late Roman period.<sup>1703</sup>

The ancient towers C and F/G, which stand just north of Vathychoria, preserve traces of re-use in the post-Roman period. Tower C (square) stands just north of Mikro Vathychori (Pl. 58a), west of Hammond's Road. Remarkable is the preservation of mortar in the inner surface of the joints of the ancient masonry of the tower (Pl. 58b); but no datable traces of

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<sup>1697</sup> Hammond 1954, 107-108. On the pine forests see Buchon 1843, 555-558.

<sup>1698</sup> Hammond 1954, 118-120. Smith 2008, 62-63. *Aigeiroussa* is recorded as a 'chorion' by Strabo and as a 'polis' by Stephanus Byzantius; see [G].2, note 9.

<sup>1699</sup> Hammond 1954, 117. Unfortunately high vegetation prevented me from seeing any of these antiquities.

<sup>1700</sup> Muller 1982, 397.

<sup>1701</sup> Muller 1982, 399. The photos show a LRA2 body sherd, a stewpot (or storage jar) rim (for which cf. Slane – Sanders 2005, No. 3-40), and a basin fragment (cf. Robinson 1959, M353, pl. 33); the two latter date to the 6<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>1702</sup> These have been concentrated by run-off water at the bottom slope which borders the basin from E/SE, below Tower A. Muller (1982, 401) recorded "tessons de grandes amphores «gauffrées»" (= LRA2, cf. *ibid.* supra, No. 9), a basin rim (in our pl. 9f; close to Slane 1994, 143, No. 50), and an amphora stand.

<sup>1703</sup> Letter by J. Ober to G. Fowden, February 1888: "There appears to be pretty intensive occupation in the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c. AD, some reoccupied sites, some newly built": see Fowden 1988, 54, note 38.

medieval activity (e.g. pottery) exist in or around the tower. Tillyard saw, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> c., “one or two seemingly medieval store tanks sunk in the ground near by”, still visible.<sup>1704</sup>

Tower F/G (circular) stands north of Megalo Vathychori and near the junction towards Pagai (Pl. 58c) (*vidi*). Re-use of this tower is certain, since the joints of both surfaces of its masonry are filled with mortar (Pl. 58d).<sup>1705</sup> Tillyard noted “a large medieval cistern ca. 20 yards from the tower”. In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> c., Buchon found remains of a medieval wall joining the two towers<sup>1706</sup>; Tillyard, however, was not able to find any remains of this wall.<sup>1707</sup> Hammond reports of a ruined round tower, 4.5 m in diameter, located between Towers C and F/G; it was built of “small stones, ill-cut and rendered in all the joints with hard-set clay”.<sup>1708</sup> I was not able to locate these surrounding remains.

## 7. The valley of Koundoura

The Koundoura valley extends to a length of ca. 8 km, east-west, between Mt Pateras and Makron Oros, a foothill of Pateras to the north. Koundoura is the name of the village, today called Palaiochori, at the eastern entrance of the valley.<sup>1709</sup> It appears to have replaced the village ‘PalaioKoundoura’, which lies 3 km S/SE.

The significance of the Koundoura valley is that it forms a natural corridor which connects the Kandeli – *Oinoe* road, to its east, with Hammond’s Road and the western

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<sup>1704</sup> Tillyard 1905-06, 104. The cisterns are not mentioned by Ober (1985, 165-166); he found only Hellenistic pottery around the tower, as well as bits of coarseware.

<sup>1705</sup> Tillyard 1905-06, 105. Ober (1985, 166-167) does not mention any mortar in the joints; he noted plenty of non-datable coarseware around the tower.

<sup>1706</sup> Buchon 1843, 557.

<sup>1707</sup> Tillyard 1905-06, 105. Similarly, Koder and Hild (*TIB* I, 182-183) were not able to find any of these remains.

<sup>1708</sup> Hammond 1954, 111.

<sup>1709</sup> The cross-shaped church of the Dormition, as well as the church of Agios Georgios, at the western end of the valley, date to the Ottoman period. For the former, see *Churches of Attica*, 285-286; Gell 1819, 12. For the latter see *Churches of Attica*, 286-287. This church was destroyed by an earthquake in the 1980s; the local inhabitants replaced it with a new building. No remains of the old church can be seen today.

Megarid. The name ‘Koundoura’ itself probably derives from ‘κόντουρα’, the designation given to the duck-tailed horses of the Byzantine imperial post (Census/Dromos).<sup>1710</sup> The name suggests that this area belonged to the north-south route used and controlled by the Dromos.

LRom/EByz ceramic finds, have been found (a) on the south side of the entrance to the valley of Koundoura, on hill 592, by the ruins of a circular tower<sup>1711</sup>; (b) on the ‘hill with chapel’ of Palaiokoundoura<sup>1712</sup>; in the ancient fortified settlement, 800 m south of the Agios Georgios church<sup>1713</sup>; (c) ca. 3 km SW of the Agios Georgios fort, on the saddle between the two highest peaks of Mt Pateras, Liondari (1132 m) and Megali Kolosoura (1108 m), known

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<sup>1710</sup> Dunn (1993, 18, note 81) offers a reference for another ‘δρόμος των κουντούρων’, a route on the south side of Mt Pangaion, on the line of the natural route between Constantinople and Thessalonike. For the ‘κόντουρα’ horses see *Michael Psellos*, ed. K. N. Sathas, vol. V, 532-533: “Ἴνα δε ἡ τοιαύτη δημοσία ἵππος γνώριμος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἦ, (...) τὸ δ’ ὅσον ἀκρότατον τῆς οὐρᾶς ἀποταμόντες, ἀριδιλότατον σημεῖον τοῖς εἰδόσι τὸ πρᾶγμα δεδώκασιν.” On functions of the Dromos see briefly Haldon 1999, 329, n. 18; Dunn 1993, 16-20.

Alternative etymologies for ‘Koundoura’: Evliya Celebi attests to the placename ‘Koundouroi’ instead of ‘Koundoura’, a fact which led Bires (1959, 70, n. 128) to suggest an etymology from a family which would have controlled the *dervenochori*, thus implying a provenance of the name from the Ottoman period. Lohmann (1993, Teil I: 302) suggests two different etymologies: from the Albanian *kuntërë* < *kundërë* (= across, opposite); or from the Turkish ‘kundura’ (= boot, or shoemaker). Lohmann prefers the latter etymology, which he assigns to the oblong form of the valley. However, the obvious importance of this route as a north-south axis considers the etymology connected with the Dromos more likely. The crucial character of the site of Koundoura for communication is also shown by the fact that it was a ‘dervenochori’ in the Ottoman period (Gell 1819, 12). On the role of the ‘dervenochoria’ in Ottoman administration of mainland Greece see Giannopoulos 1971, 141-146.

<sup>1711</sup> Van de Maele 1987, 201, 203, fig. 13.6.

<sup>1712</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009, 467, FO 007.

<sup>1713</sup> The fort is located on a hill (670 m altitude) separated by a gully from the north slope of the peak Leontari (1132 m). The fort was initially identified with the ancient Megarian town *Ereneia* (Sarres 1910), but this identification has been seriously questioned: McCredie 1966, 85-87. Hammond (1954, 111) also visited the site, which he calls ‘Pyrgos’, but was unaware of Sarres’ article and argument; he picked up some bits of black-glazed pottery and black-glazed tile. Scholars agree that the fort is certainly Classical / Hellenistic: McCredie 1966, 85-86. Ober 1985, 171-172, notes 111-112. Ober 1987, 223. Both scholars recovered Classical / Hellenistic pottery. Edmonson (1966, 38), however, reported pottery representing all major periods, from the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD, at the settlement north of the fort. I was not able to visit the site; the thick pine forest which has grown after the forest fire of 1989 has rendered access to the fort extremely difficult. A re-use of the site during the Early Byzantine period cannot be excluded. As Ober (1985, 172) notes, “the fortress probably served at least partly as a refuge for the residents of the valley against raiders coming over the hills to the west and south. The fort also, however, stands athwart several secondary routes into the valley from the west, north, and south and guards the main route east along the valley floor. It seems likely that the fort was a minor road control position, perhaps garrisoned only in times of perceived danger.”

as Mylos (898 on *MGS*), by the remains of a Classical tower<sup>1714</sup>; (d) on summit 973 (*MGS*), 225 m W/SW of the Karydi peak, by the remains of an undated rectangular tower<sup>1715</sup>.

Three kilometres east of Agios Georgios, on hill 503, remains of an ancient hamlet with a square tower are preserved. The tower was intervisible with other ancient defence structures. Some wall rebuilding shows that late antique or medieval shepherds used the older remains.<sup>1716</sup>

Across the valley from Mylos, between the peaks Petra Karadima (838 m) and Megali Koryphi (955 m), stands an old, non-datable church of Panagia Mesosporitissa (*vidi*), which functioned as a stop for travellers who ascended from the Koundoura valley towards Aigosthena and the northern part of Hammond's Road. 200 m NW of the Panagia church there is a circular rubble enclosure, roughly 30 m in diameter, with an unusual spiral architectural plan (*non-vidi*). A square projection, perhaps a tower, juts from the east side. Black-glazed roof tiles and a few Late Roman sherds were found on the site. Edmonson thinks that this was originally a fort; Ober interprets it as a temporary military camp; Lohmann argues that it must have been a late antique or medieval pen, and Smith a fort which was re-used as a farm in Late Antiquity.<sup>1717</sup>

On a secondary peak NW of Mt Karydi (itself 967 m, 'Achladokoryphi' on *MGS*) stands an ancient round tower with surrounding walls. Ober thinks that this was a watch

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<sup>1714</sup> Lohmann (1989, 52) interprets the discovery of LRom/EByz oil lamps at the site as a cult expression of pagan shepherds rather than a revival of the site as a strategic point, based on the absence of any signs of architectural refurbishment of the ancient tower. The tower shows two construction techniques: one made of rectangular worked stones, and another of rubble masonry. Van de Maele (1981) initially thought that these may represent two chronologically distinct phases of construction, but Lohmann believes that they rather represent a professional and a non-professional construction mode. The site is also described by Ober (1985, 172) who did not find any datable pottery apart from black-glazed rooftiles.

<sup>1715</sup> Lohmann 1989, 54. He compares the strategic value of this site with the one of Mylos (see above) and Plakoto (Thriasian plain).

<sup>1716</sup> Ober 1985, 173 (tower). Lohmann 1989, 58-59 (hamlet and re-use of structures). Only ancient pottery has been recorded from this site.

<sup>1717</sup> Edmonson 1966, 78-79. Ober 1985, 174. Lohmann 1989, 53. Smith 2008, 51. The location of the structure is problematic: Edmonson (and, following him, Ober and Smith, who did not visit the site) locates it 200 m NW of Panagia, while Lohmann 200 m NE. I was not able to find it during my visit on 15.01.2011; thick underbrush impedes inspection of the ground.

station, intended to look for hostile forces approaching Attica through the Vathychoria.<sup>1718</sup> Lohmann believes it to be a late antique pen, perhaps re-built on an ancient one.<sup>1719</sup> But the unhindered view from the site gives it a strategic role. Even though no medieval finds exist, one should perhaps assume the location of a Byzantine garrison here when invasion was feared from the north into the Peloponnese.

## 8. Sites along the ‘Koulouriotiko Monopati’

A few sites of the medieval period have been observed along the ‘Koulouriotiko Monopati’.<sup>1720</sup> Two watchtowers are located on a craggy hill ca. 1.5 km N/NE of the Kandeli pass, north of the road through the pass. An Early Byzantine lamp fragment was found on a small knoll 30 m SW of the round tower.<sup>1721</sup>

On the road which leads from the Kandeli pass to Mandra, and 500 m east of its junction with the Koulouriotiko Monopati, there is a church of Agios Meletios, known as ‘Meletaki’ (*vidi*).<sup>1722</sup> In a ploughed field south of the church I saw very few ceramic sherds, one of which is a bodysherd of a LR2 amphora.

The church of Agios Ioannes, 1 km east of the Koulouriotiko Monopati and 2 km west of Mandra, lies in an olive grove which is scattered with ceramic sherds of the Ottoman

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<sup>1718</sup> Ober 1985, 164-165. The tower has a diameter of 7 m, and is surrounded by a complex of rubble walls measuring ca. 30 x 27 m. A square building (3 m) is located within the walls, about 15 m NE of the tower. Black-glazed roof tiles, and no later pottery, have been reported from the site.

<sup>1719</sup> Lohmann 1989, 53.

<sup>1720</sup> Baziotopoulou-Valavani (2008, 36) states that this road was used in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c. for the communication of Megara and Eleusis with the Osios Meletios monastery. She does not, however, cite archaeological or literary evidence for this statement.

<sup>1721</sup> Ober 1987, 223.

<sup>1722</sup> This, judging from the name, was probably a *metochion* of the Osios Meletios monastery. The architecture of the church appears to be of Ottoman date. During my site visit, I checked for any architectural evidence which might indicate an earlier, Middle Byzantine construction phase, as well as for ceramic evidence for use of the broader site during this period, but no such evidence was seen.

period (*vidi*). Van de Maele reports “numerous ‘grooved’ sherds of the Roman and Byzantine periods”, but I was not able to find any of them.<sup>1723</sup>

A “recently abandoned” farm site was observed at the location ‘Kounia’, 3 km west of the Koulouriotiko Monopati and 3.5 km SW of the modern Agios Soter village. A great quantity of ceramic sherds, many of which date to the ‘Roman’ period, were seen around the farm.<sup>1724</sup>

## 9. Megara

The urban centre of Megara extends over two neighbouring hills which formed *acropoleis* in the ancient period: Alkathos to the west, Caria to the east.

The earliest mention of the Megarid in historical sources of the Byzantine period is the one by Zosimus, which attests to its plundering by the Goths in 395.<sup>1725</sup> Synekdemosis certifies the continuous, since Roman times, status of Megara as a *civitas* until the 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1726</sup> The mention of Megara in the *Vita* of St. Nikon Metanoieite testifies its further existence in the 10<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1727</sup> Megara appears as a suffragan bishopric in the 3<sup>rd</sup> (9<sup>th</sup> c.) and the 13<sup>th</sup> *Notitia* (ca. 1166), and in the papal letter of 1209.<sup>1728</sup> The area around Megara is attested as an *episkepsis* in the end of the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>1729</sup>

### The city walls

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<sup>1723</sup> Van de Maele 1987, 197. I visited the site on 15.01.2011.

<sup>1724</sup> Van de Maele 1987, 199.

<sup>1725</sup> Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, E.6.3.

<sup>1726</sup> Hierocles *Synekdemos* 645, 12.

<sup>1727</sup> *TIB* I, 215.

<sup>1728</sup> *Acta Innocentii III*, Col. 1560C. Koder 1977, 138.

<sup>1729</sup> Tafel – Thomas 1856-67, 488, 493 (No. 121): “orium Athenarum cum pertinentia Megaron”. *TIB* I, 215. *Episkepsis* means a particular property belonging to the imperial domain; see *ODB* I, 717.

Three LRom/EByz inscriptions have been dedicated by the city to restorers of its city walls. *IG VII 96* venerates a certain Phosphorius, “*πυργώσας πόλιας*”.<sup>1730</sup> *IG VII 93* honours the “*eparch*” Herculus, for the erection, or refurbishment, of city walls and an aqueduct.<sup>1731</sup> Between 472 and 499 Megara thanked the *komes* Diogenes, who offered funds for tower construction and for the refurbishment of a bath.<sup>1732</sup> These inscriptions demonstrate that the imperial fisc did not cover the entire cost of the refurbishment of the city walls, which was therefore paid with private contributions by imperial officials.<sup>1733</sup> They also confirm the restoration of the city walls probably in the later 4<sup>th</sup> (Phosphorius) and certainly twice during the 5<sup>th</sup> c. (Herculus, Diogenes), one century earlier than Justinian’s presumable “restoration of the walls of all Greek cities”, attested by Procopius.

Epigraphic dedications are corroborated by archaeological evidence. What has become clear so far through rescue excavations is the line of the Classical circuit wall, which encircles both hills and makes use of the water streams Exo Vrysi (NE) and Mangaphouri (SW) as defence lines (Pl. 59a). This broader encompassing circuit has been dated to the middle of the

<sup>1730</sup> Phosphorius is thought by Foucart to be L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus, who became prefect of the city in 364; the date of the inscription is ca. 377: see the comments by Dittenberger in *IG VII 93* (p. 42), and by Smith 2008, 192, No. 72.

<sup>1731</sup> “*Ἐρκόλιον τὸν Ἐπαρχὸν ἀνέστησαν Μεγαρή[ες] / παντοίω[ν νή]σων καὶ πόλεων φύλακα / τείχεα δέιμα[τ]ο [κ]αὶ [πό]ρον ἔμπεδον ὠπα[σ]ε Νύμφ[αις] / ἄστεα καὶ βουλάς πλ[ῆ]σ[ε] βροτῶν σοφίη.*”: Smith 2008, 192, No. 70. Herculus may be identified with the praetorian prefect Herculus (408-412) known from Athens, where he appears to have funded the refurbishment of the Library of Hadrian: Sironen 2008, No. 13283. For a historical assessment of the Athenian inscription see Karivieri 1994, 102-105. It is possible that the same Herculus was the official responsible for the construction of the Hexamilion wall: Gregory 1993, 143-144. If the identification of the Herculus of Megara with the praetorian prefect of 408-412 is correct, then the restoration of the Megara city wall after Alaric’s invasion is noteworthy.

<sup>1732</sup> *IG vii 26*. “*Ἔργον καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου κόμητος Διογένους τοῦ παιδός / Ἀρχελάου, ὃς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ὡς τῆς ἰδίας οἰκίας κηδόμενος / παρέσχεν καὶ τῇ Μεγαρέων εἰς μὲν πύργων κατασκευὴν ἑκατὸν χρυσίνους, / πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἑτέρους δισχιλίους τε καὶ διακοσίους / πόδας μαρμάρου εἰς τὴν ἀνανέωσιν τοῦ λουτροῦ, τιμιώτερον / οὐδὲν ἠγοούμενος τοῦ τοῦς Ἑλληνας εὐεργετῆν / ἀνανεοῦν τε τὰς πόλεις.*” For the identification of Diogenes see *ibid.* Smith 2008, 192, No. 23. *SEG 40* (1990), 403.

<sup>1733</sup> Trombley 1989, 227.



5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, with later repairs.<sup>1734</sup> A section of the wall which was rebuilt in the Early LRom/EByz period stands out among the excavated evidence.<sup>1735</sup>

Archaeological evidence also shows that each one of the two acropoleis was fortified. Smith notes: “On the Caria hill, Zorides uncovered some remains of walling, dating probably to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD (Procopius).<sup>1736</sup> On the Alkathoan I saw myself some bits of walling to the SW of the summit dating most probably to the Byzantine period (it is definitely at least Roman since mortar was used in its construction; perhaps Justinianic).”<sup>1737</sup> Laird delivers the witness of local inhabitants, that a medieval fort (“Befestigung”) stood on the summit of Alkathos.<sup>1738</sup> Threpsiades and Travlos mention that a ‘medieval’ tower stood on the summit of Alkathos<sup>1739</sup>, shown also in Fourmont’s drawing.

### Early Byzantine city

The ancient Agora retained its function until at least the 5<sup>th</sup> c. A stoa was erected during this century along the east side of the Agora; one of its columns bears the dedicatory inscription a “κύριον ἡμῶν” and the names of the *epimeletai* who were responsible for its

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<sup>1734</sup> Smith 2008, 18. Among the numerous excavations which revealed part of the circuit wall, see esp. Zorides – Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1983, 32-33.

<sup>1735</sup> Zorides – Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1983, 33: 12-13 Lysiou st. The LRom/EByz phase was constructed in the same way as the underlying Classical one, namely, with two faces of pseudo-isodomic masonry (with LRom/EByz sherds in the joints) and rubble masonry between them. ‘Roman’ restoration works have been located in one section: Alexandri 1968, 102: 48 P. Georgaki st.

<sup>1736</sup> Chronology of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. here relies on Smith’s interpretation of Procopius, and not on the archaeological evidence.

<sup>1737</sup> Smith 2008, 18. Despite meticulous reading of all the reports of Zorides, I was not able to find the relevant one for Caria; Smith does not offer the precise reference. The only ‘late’ section of walls which Zorides reports on Caria is dated by himself to the Late Byzantine or Post-Byzantine period: Zorides 1984, 20 (7 Prophetou Elia st.). Notable are two early photographs, included in Travlos 1988, 266, fig. 328 (from the DAI collection, Inst. Neg. Athen Megara 6) and 329 (Archive J. Travlos), which show sections of the ancient wall on Alkathos, topped by later fillings of rubble masonry (which, of course, cannot be dated with certainty).

<sup>1738</sup> Karo 1934, 149. Karo 1935, 187: “Auf dem Hügel des mittelalterlichen Kastells ergab eine Versuchsgrabung Scherben aller Epochen, vom Frühhelladischen bis zum Byzantinischen, aber durcheinander.”

<sup>1739</sup> Threpsiades – Travlos 1934, 49. According to information from the local inhabitants, the tower was demolished in the 1880s.

erection.<sup>1740</sup> Two Early Byzantine marble statues of officials have been uncovered in Megara, and remind of similar works of art from Corinth<sup>1741</sup>; these probably stood in or near the Agora.

An Early Christian basilica was excavated under the modern Metropolitan church of Megara (Dormition of Virgin).<sup>1742</sup> Two further Early Christian basilicas preceded the erection of the modern churches dedicated to the Six Martyrs, and the Four Martyrs, respectively; a correlated column capital dates to the transitional period (Pl. 59b). Epigraphic evidence proves that the basilica underlying the modern Four Martyrs church was dedicated to them already in the Early Byzantine period (Pl. 59c).<sup>1743</sup> Megara therefore developed a local Christian cult.

Rescue excavations have revealed numerous LRom/EByz houses and workshops. Domestic buildings often show successive construction phases within the LRom/EByz period, and sometimes later. They cover almost the entire area which is protected by the city wall, and have succeeded earlier, Hellenistic and Roman, houses.<sup>1744</sup> Occupation of the city shows therefore continuity, both in its extension and in its dense character. Some of the houses show

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<sup>1740</sup> Zorides 1987, 40. *SEG* 41 (1991), No. 412: ‘Κατὰ κέλευσιν / τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν / ΤΟΥΛΑΜΑΝΘ[?] / ΠΟΥΒΛΑΝΠΕΛΙΟΥ / ἐπιμεληταί ὅλης τῆς κενῆς στοᾶς / Νικοκράτης Καλλιτύχου / Ἐπίκτητος καὶ Θεόδουλος / οἱ Ἐπικτήτου’.

<sup>1741</sup> For the one of the two statues see Johnson 1925, who dates it earlier than the Corinth statues. The second statue was found in the dump soil of an excavation: Zorides 1981, 35, 24 Mavroukaki st. It was similar to the published piece. For the Corinth statues see Johnson 1924; he dates them to the 6<sup>th</sup> (or 7<sup>th</sup>) c.

<sup>1742</sup> Lazarides 1973, 60. Only the western part of the narthex was excavated; the remaining building had already been destroyed during the construction of the modern church.

<sup>1743</sup> Architectural and sculptural members of the Early Christian basilica of the Six Martyrs have been used in the modern church; see Gioles 2002, 89-93. The existence of an Early Christian church underlying the modern church of the Four Martyrs is based on the discovery of architectural remains of the apse, a few mosaic remains, and a thin inscribed marble slab, which formed the cover of the reliquary of the remains of these local saints. The inscription reads: + ΔΙΜΨΑΝ[Α]... / ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩ[Ν]... / ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ... / + Κ(ΑΙ) ΠΛ[ΑΤΩΝΟC].... See Gioles 2002, 94-96. The Ten Martyrs of Megara are local saints, and their cult, which had been obliterated for many centuries, revived in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. The study of Gioles (2002) offers a rare and interesting case for the survival of collective memory and the revival of a long obliterated cult.

<sup>1744</sup> Excavation reports of LRom/EByz houses or walls: Alexandri 1968, 100; Alexandri 1973-4, 170; Alexandri 1975, 43; Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1978, 34, 37, 38; Zorides 1979, 54-57, 59; Zorides 1980, 45, 48, 50, 53; Zorides 1981, 31; Zorides 1982, 33, 37; Zorides 1984, 20, 22; Zorides 1985, 38, 42; Zorides 1987, 37, 39, 40, 43, 48; Zorides 1988, 65; Zorides 1989, 44; Zorides 1992, 47; Zorides 1993, 58; Zorides 1995, 49, 50; Zorides 1996, 61-62.

elite features (large size, triclinium apse, mosaics, marble revetments, baths), and one of them is of public character<sup>1745</sup>. A large bath complex was excavated under Metaxas Sq.<sup>1746</sup>

Most workshops have been excavated in the SE part of the city, but still *intra muros*. Quite remarkable is the fact that most excavated workshops of the LRom/EByz period share the same kind of construction, namely large pithoi or circular cisterns, partly dug in the ground and coated with hydraulic mortar. Zorides thinks that these were dye workshops, and indeed a large amount of murex shells was found dumped in an underground chamber of one of these workshops (Pl. 59d).<sup>1747</sup> Wool production is known to have been a major industry in Megara during the ancient and Roman periods.<sup>1748</sup> Two ceramic workshops have also been excavated.<sup>1749</sup>

The location of the LRom/EByz cemeteries of Megara remains unknown, as no LRom/EByz graves have been reported among the extensive ancient extramural cemeteries. Burial inscriptions of this period, however, have been preserved.<sup>1750</sup>

Recent excavations in Megara therefore fully confirmed Koder's early hypothesis, "In the case of (...) Megara, it is perhaps possible to assume the existence of settlements of a size as would allow us to conclude that they fulfilled substantial functions as central places, i.e. (...) cities".<sup>1751</sup>

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<sup>1745</sup> Threpsiades – Travlos 1934, 39-46. The house was excavated "near the Panagia church which lies close to the Athens-Megara road", within the ancient wall circuit.

<sup>1746</sup> Threpsiades 1936, 43-52: Vyzantos st. According to the excavators, it was erected in the Roman period, but was used until the Early Byzantine period; an Early Byzantine mosaic floor fragment, found to its west, probably belongs to a phase of refurbishment of the bath. Moreover, three human burials were found in an ash layer which was found in the *hypocauston*; 22 bronze coins of Justinian and his successors had been placed near the head of one skeleton.

<sup>1747</sup> For the workshop with the murex shells see Zorides 1995, 52 (Koukouli st., Varela plot). For the other EB workshops with similar circular cisterns see: Zorides 1979, 54 (19 Phaidonos st.); Zorides 1985, 45 (10 Xenophontos st.); Zorides 1991, 55 (26 Koukouli st.); Zorides 1992, 44 (Mykenon st.).

<sup>1748</sup> Smith 2006. Sakellariou – Pharaklas 1972, 10.

<sup>1749</sup> Zorides 1987, 47 (48 Palaiologou st.); Zorides 1989, 44 (Sachtouri st.).

<sup>1750</sup> *JG* vii 169-178.

<sup>1751</sup> Koder 1986, 170.

### Middle Byzantine city and surrounding countryside

Buildings of the later Byzantine period have also been excavated, and show that the city continued its life in the same area as earlier, contrary to earlier assumptions.<sup>1752</sup> These cover the central area of the city.<sup>1753</sup> The *diakonikon* of a Byzantine church, with a triconch apse, was uncovered in an area still known to the inhabitants as ‘Παλαιοπαναγίτσα’.<sup>1754</sup>

A drawing sketched by Fourmont in 1729 shows houses and churches on the Alkathos hill, and only remains of ancient walls on the Caria hill; it is possible that only the former was occupied during this period.<sup>1755</sup>

Middle Byzantine monuments survive outside the city. The *katholikon* of the Agios Ierotheos monastery [A], ca. 2 km west of Megara<sup>1756</sup>, is of small size but an original architectural plan (inscribed cross-shaped domed church, the main nave of which is unified with the cross-roofed narthex).<sup>1757</sup> The dome bears high quality frescoes, which date around 1180 and belong to the Late Comnenian style.<sup>1758</sup> The church of Christ the Saviour, 1 km north of Megara, also preserves 12<sup>th</sup>-c. frescoes.<sup>1759</sup> Recent research has shown that the cross-shaped church of Agios Athanasios, 200 m SE of the church of Christ the Saviour, dates to the late 12<sup>th</sup> or more probably the early 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1760</sup> Stouphe-Poulimenou has expressed the hypothesis that two further churches date to the late 12<sup>th</sup> or the 13<sup>th</sup> c.: Agios Nikolaos, 4 km

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<sup>1752</sup> Gioles 2002, 96-97.

<sup>1753</sup> Zorides 1981, 31 (Ag. Ioannes Choreutaras sq.); Zorides 1984, 22 (31 Pasionos st.; Vyzantos st.); Zorides 1987, 40 (41 Moraite st.), 43 (Mavroukaki st.), 48 (13A Minoas st.) ; Zorides 1988, 64 (48 Mavroukaki st.).

<sup>1754</sup> Zorides 1980, 45, 11 Siphnidon st.

<sup>1755</sup> Fourmont's drawing was re-published in Muller 1980, 88, fig. 4. Muller, in La Genière *et al.* (1983, 626) therefore supports the view that Alkathos retained its occupation from the Middle Ages to the 19<sup>th</sup> c., while Caria was deserted; Alkathos was also historically the first of the two to be occupied.

<sup>1756</sup> Bouras - Boura 2002, 227-229.

<sup>1757</sup> Bouras 2002, 227-229.

<sup>1758</sup> Mourike 1978a.

<sup>1759</sup> The church belongs to the inscribed cross-shaped architectural type. Spolia of the ancient and Roman periods have been used both in its south façade and as column capitals. Bouras - Boura 2002, 230-232. Skawran 1982, 175, figs. 319-335. Stouphe-Poulimenou 2007, 129-159.

<sup>1760</sup> Stouphe-Poulimenou 2005. Stouphe-Poulimenou 2007, 37-69. The monument was believed until recently to date to the Ottoman period (*Churches of Attica*, 293f.). A wall-painting of Agia Kyriaki, which was revealed after the earthquake of 1981, was dated to the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. and stylistically reminds the frescoes of the Agios Nikolaos church in the Daveli cave, on Mt Penteli: Stouphe-Poulimenou 2007, 66-69.

north of Megara (so far dated to the Ottoman period), and Agios Georgios at the location Orkos (1.5 km SW of Agios Athanasios).<sup>1761</sup> Finally, the churches of Agia Barbara (2 km north of Megara) and of Agios Vlasios (on the 37<sup>th</sup> km of the Athens – Corinth highway) are dated to the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1762</sup> The case of Agios Vlasios bears additional interest, since it constitutes a candidate to be identified with ‘Sanctus Vlasius’ of the papal letter of 1209. However, no further evidence corroborates this identification.<sup>1763</sup>

## 10. The harbour of Megara to the Saronic Gulf: *Nisaia* and *Minoa*

*Nisaia* and *Minoa*, the two neighbouring harbour locations, occupied the bay south and SE of Megara<sup>1764</sup>. They continued to be the prime harbouring location of Megara in the Roman period.<sup>1765</sup> The “golfo Magar”, “Maga” or “Megna” is mentioned in Italian portulans of the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>1766</sup>, and was presumably used also in the Byzantine period.

A photo by Travlos shows an impressive medieval fort built on top of a mound, greatly destroyed today [A] (*vidi*); the site was earlier called ‘Palaiokastro’<sup>1767</sup> and is considered as the acropolis of *Nisaia* (Pl. 59e).<sup>1768</sup> Judging from the photo, the fort consists of

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<sup>1761</sup> Stouphe-Poulimenou 2007, 71-128. Her suggestion is based on their morphological comparison with monuments of the same period in the area. In the case of Agios Georgios, it is corroborated by recent research on the scantily preserved painted decoration of the church.

<sup>1762</sup> Stouphe-Poulimenou 2007, 161-191.

<sup>1763</sup> The church of Agios Vlasios is otherwise unknown in the scientific bibliography. Further possible candidates are: Agios Vlasios in Marathon (at a good location, but nothing survives from the church, but a ruin and its name); and Agios Vlasios in Mt Parnes (at a too remote location to provide a good candidate). It is possible, of course, that none of the three is Sanctus Vlasius of the letter, and that this location has been lost to popular memory.

<sup>1764</sup> Much literature has been written on their exact location: Lolling 1880; Bölte – Weicker 1904; Laird 1934; Beattie 1960; a.o.

<sup>1765</sup> *Strabo* ix 1.4, 9. *Pausanias* i 44.3. Beattie 1960, 35.

<sup>1766</sup> Kretschmer 1909 (ed. 1962), portulan Parma-Magliabecchi (first half of 15<sup>th</sup> c.) 320, Sections 144-145; portulan Rizo (16<sup>th</sup> c., on earlier prototype) 511, Section 223. The identification with Megara is safe, since the portolan describes a route between Sounion (“Collonne”) and Aigina.

<sup>1767</sup> The name ‘Palaiokastro’ is to be found in Laird 1934, 90ff.; Beattie 1960.

<sup>1768</sup> Photo: Travlos 1988, 259, 277, fig. 346. Travlos states that this was the Minoa hill; most other scholars, however, argue that the hill was the acropolis of *Nisaia*, not *Minoa*.

a large cylindrical donjon, located at the (eastern?) end of a rectangular circuit, on the remains of an ancient fort.

Scholars mention the medieval fort only in correlation with adjacent ancient finds and with the ancient topography of the area, and provide no information about it.<sup>1769</sup> Lolling is the only scholar who provides a very scanty description, in that the medieval castle had vaulted ceilings “unter der Oberfläche des Hügels”, and that “im Mittelalter befestigte man auch eine kleine, zerklüftete Felsmasse, die durch einen schmalen Felsstreifen mit dem Westfuss des Hügels zusammenhängt, im Altertum aber wohl ohne Befestigung geblieben ist.”<sup>1770</sup> Two sketch maps published by Lolling confirm the location of the medieval castle: it rose on a mound (which Lolling, like Travlos later, thought to be Minoa), very close to the coast, just west of the hill ridge which is topped, at its western end, with an Agios Georgios church (preserved today).

The scant remains which survive today demonstrate that the tower was demolished during the 20<sup>th</sup> c. During my site visit, I saw remains of an enclosure wall of an irregular (partly rectangular) shape, and of solid construction, which occupy the whole flat top of the hill. Ruins of a second, thinner wall on the north slope may indicate the existence of an outer enclosure wall. The main enclosure wall is built of dressed blocks of limestone from the Hellenistic citadel in second use, bonded with lime mortar, with a core of rubble, bonded with

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<sup>1769</sup> I checked Leake 1835, II, 400-404; von Velsen 1853; Conze 1863, 164-165; Burnouf 1875; Lolling 1880; Bölte – Weicker 1904; Laird 1934; Beattie 1960.

<sup>1770</sup> Lolling 1880, 9. Lolling’s information that “die Grundform ein Quadrat war, von dem an den Seiten Thürme vorsprangen”, which he repeats from von Velsen (1853, 381), probably refers to the foundations of the ancient fort, which were visible beneath the medieval walls; this I assume because of the constant and intense interest of both scholars in the ancient fort, and the complete ignorance of the significance of the medieval fort, although syntactically the description of both von Velsen and Lolling could be connected with either castle; also despite the fact that this description of ground plan fits well with other known examples of Early Byzantine forts (e.g. Plataiai) and would combine well with whatever is visible from Travlos’ photo. Other scholars who mention the existence of the medieval fort, but do not describe it, are Laird (1934, 90ff.) and the earlier scholars. It is not clear if the medieval fort existed still in the time of Beattie (1960), who mentions the name ‘Palaiokastros’ repeatedly, but nowhere mentions a medieval fort itself; it may have been destroyed by then. Papachatzis (1974, 509, fig. 313) published a photo with a masonry detail of the medieval construction, covering the ancient wall, but does not inform if the former still existed in his time.

very strong lime mortar which contains rounded pebbles and tile fragments. The wall thickness is not easy to determine, since the inner face of the wall is covered with soil, but it exceeds 1 m. Within the enclosure wall, I was not able to discern any architectural feature apart from a large vaulted roof which rises only slightly over the ground, thus matching the description by Lolling. The fort may have been used during World War II, since three artillery platforms made of cement have been built on the strategically best located spots. A rebuilding of the outer face of the south enclosure wall belongs to the same phase of use.

The architecture of the site, with (presumably) two faces of re-used dressed stones and a rubble core bonded with strong lime mortar, is closely comparable with Early Byzantine defence structures, such as the Hexamilion wall. Ceramics found on the site, especially on its NE slope, belong mostly to the LRom/EByz (LR2 amphora sherds) and the Frankish period.<sup>1771</sup> An Early Byzantine amphora lid was recovered by Wrede “in Nisaia”.<sup>1772</sup> Just east of the mound with the medieval fort, Lolling marks the location of a church dedicated to Agios Nikolaos, which does not exist on modern maps.

Excavation trenches which were opened in the 1930s on the slopes of the mound revealed Byzantine and Roman [possibly Late Roman] pottery, mixed with pottery of earlier periods; two Byzantine walls were found 7 m north of the north side of the fort.<sup>1773</sup> An earlier excavation on the south slope of the mound revealed walls “of poor construction of Byzantine date” and two graves with multiple burials; one contained four, one five deceased, and no objects. Further down, on the south hillfoot, “vorhandene Mauerreste sind aus antiken

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<sup>1771</sup> Diagnostic sherds of the latter period are: a base fragment of a Zeuxippus derivative bowl, a base fragment of an Arcaica Maiolica jug, and small fragments of glazed bowls with bright yellow glaze, common during this period. A Hellenistic (?) amphora toe and a glazed sherd with sgraffito decoration of the early Ottoman period were also found.

<sup>1772</sup> Grigoropoulos 2009a, 445, 466, No. 125.

<sup>1773</sup> Threpsiades – Travlos 1934, 50-51, 57,

Material in später Zeit errichtet”, while inside the castle “ist freilich alles durch die Anlage später Cisternen und Kellergewölbe zerstört.”<sup>1774</sup>

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<sup>1774</sup> Bölte – Weicker 1904, 91.



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### Bibliographic abbreviations

*AA: Archäologischer Anzeiger*

*AAA: Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών*

*ABME: Αρχεῖον των Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος*

*AD: Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίο*

*AE: Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*

*AJA: American Journal of Archaeology*

*AM: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung*

*BCH: Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*

*BMGS: Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*

*BSA: Annual of the British School at Athens*

**Churches of Attica: Bouras Ch. – Kalogeropoulou A. – Andreadi. 1969.** *Εκκλησίες της Αττικής*, Athens. English edition: *Churches of Attica*, Athens 1970.

*DChAE: Δελτίο της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*

**Der neue Pauly: Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike**, Stuttgart – Weimar: J. B. Metzler Verlag.

*DIEE: Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας*

*DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

*EEBS: Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών*

**IG III<sup>1</sup>: Inscriptiones Graecae, vol. III, Pars I. Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis Romanae**, ed. G. Dittenberger, Berlin 1878.

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**IG VII:** *Inscriptiones Graecae, vol. VII. Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Literarum Regiae Borussicae*, ed. G. Dittenberger, Berlin 1892.

**JHS:** *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

**ODB :** *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*

**PAA:** *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών*

**PAE:** *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*

**RE:** *Realenzyklopädie Pauly der klassischen Wissenschaften*

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## Tables

**Table 1:** Ceramic remains dating up to the 12<sup>th</sup> c. from Agios Nikolaos, Kantza (B.3.9).

Catalogue composed by author.

Group	Date	Square	Room	Depth (m.)	Diagnostic sherds
1	10.5.1985	B1	West of Wall 1	From soil surface to -0.60 m	1 bs of amphora Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61
3	10.5.1985	B1	West of Wall 1, along the wall foundation	From -0.60 m to -0.75 m	1 bs, glazed dish, Fine Sgraffito decoration
8	20.5.1985	B1	Cleaning of the building defined by the Walls 1, 2 and 3		1 bs of amphora Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61
14	27.5.1985	Z2		From soil surface to -0.70 m	1 rim of stewpot with vertical rim. <b>Pl. 16a.</b> Rim diam. 15 cm, pres. h. 3.2 cm. 1 rim of large dish. Vertical rim with rounded lip. <b>Pl. 16b.</b>
16	21.5.1985	Z2	Space south of Wall 10	-0.40 m from surface of Wall 10	1 bs of Gaza amphora (LRA 4) 1 bs of amphora Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61 1 rim and bs of glazed dish, Slip Painted decoration.
17	-	E2	Outside (west) of Walls 8 and 5		1 bs of amphora LRA2 2 bs of amphora Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61 1 rim and bs of glazed cup
18	-	T2	Underneath foundation of Wall 10 towards the north	From -0.40 to -0.60 m	3 rims of stewpots 1 base of large glazed dish, Slip Painted decoration. Base diam. 10.6 cm, pres. h. 8.5 cm 1 rim of glazed dish, Slip Painted decoration. Rim diam. 30 cm, pres. h. 5 cm.
19	-	E2	Trench at the interior of Wall 9	-0.60 m from surface of Wall 9	2 bs of amphora Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61



20	-	H3	-		1 handle of LRom/Ebyz jug 2 bs and 2 handle attachments of amphora Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61 1 stewpot rim. <b>Pl. 16d.</b> 1 stewpot rim. <b>Pl. 16e.</b> 11 bs of glazed dishes, Fine Sgraffito decoration. 3 rim and bs of glazed dishes, Slip Painted decoration. 1 base of glazed dish, Slip Painted decoration. <b>Pl. 16h.</b> 1 rim of glazed dish, Slip Painted. <b>Pl. 16f, 16i.</b>
25	-		Outside Wall 9	From soil surface to -0.90 m	1 bs of glazed dish, Green and Brown Painted decoration
26	18.9.1985	E		From soil surface to -0.70 m	1 base of glazed dish, Fine Sgraffito decoration. 1 bs of glazed dish, Green and Brown Painted decoration 1 bs of amphora Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61
30	20.9.1985	-	Outside (east) of Wall 17	-0.60 m from surface of Wall 17	2 bs of amphora Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61 (or a similar amphora type)
31	23.9.1985	-	Outside of Wall 18 (to the north)	From -0.70 m to -1.10 m from surface of Wall 16	1 bs of glazed dish, Slip Painted decoration
32	24.9.1985	E		From -0.40 m to -0.80 m from wall surface	1 bs and base of glazed dish, Green and Brown Painted decoration. <b>Pl. 16g.</b>
34	25.9.1985	E	From SW corner of room	From -0.80 m to ? m from surface of Wall 19	1 neck and handle of jug 1 bs of amphora Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61 3 base frgts (and further non-joining bs frgts) of large glazed dish, Slip Painted decoration. Base diam. 10.1 cm. Pres. h. 3 cm.
36	25.9.1985			From soil	2 bs of glazed dishes, Slip Painted

				surface to - 0.60 m	decoration
37	26.9.1985	E		Ca. -1 m from surface of Wall 1	1 stewpot with spherical body and two strap handles. Rim is missing. Max body diam. 22 cm, pres. h. 17 cm.
40	26.9.1985	E		From -0.50 m to -1.10 m	3 rim and bs of glazed cup, Slip Painted decoration. Profile identical with the one of Drawing 3.
40	26.9.1985	E		Ca. -1.10 m	1 bs of amphora Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61 1 rim and bs of glazed dish, Slip Painted decoration. <b>Pl. 16c.</b>
47	1.10.1985	Tren ch 4		From soil surface to - 0.65 m	7 bs of amphora Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61 2 bs of glazed dish, Green and Brown Painted decoration
50	2.10.1985	Tren ch 2	Extension of trench over wall	Ca. -0.50 m from soil surface	2 bs of glazed dishes, Fine Sgraffito decoration 1 base of glazed dish, Green and Brown Painted 1 bs of amphora Günsenin 3 / Hayes 61

**Table 2:** Ceramic finds of the second phase of use (LRom/EByz) of the farmstead excavated in Bousoula plot (B.5.4). Catalogue composed by author.

Group	Date	Grid coordinates	Trench	Depth (m.)	Diagnostic sherds
11 <sup>a</sup>	7.12.1983	K-N / 6-7	II	0,72 – 0,83	Amphora with ribbed body.
22	11.1.1984		V	0,45 – 0,60	LRA 1, 7 bs.
23	11.1.1984		V	0,60 – 0,68	LRA 1, 3 neck, 6 bs.
33	24.2.1984		IX	0,48 – 0,63	Stewpot with curved rim. Red micaceous fabric. 6th c. <b>Pl. 35a.</b>
34	24.2.1984		VII	0,48 – 0,58	LRA 2, rim 1, bs 1. Argolid fabric. <b>Pl. 35b.</b> LR lamp, disc frgt. Decoration of wavy strokes.
35	24.2.1984		VII	0,58 – 0,68	LRA 1, bs 1 LRA 2, bs 1
36	2.3.1984		XI	0,84 – 1,02	LRA 1, bs 5
37	6.3.1984		XII	0,35 – 0,50	LRA 3, bs 1 LR lamp, handle, disc and body frgt. Decoration of wavy strokes on disc, and of leaf on base. Possibly belongs to the same lamp as the sherd from Group 34. <b>Pl. 35c</b>
39	6.3.1984	I-N / 4-5	VII	0,68 – 0,90	LRA 2, bs 1. Unidentified amphora, rim, neck and handle frgt., body frgt.
40 <sup>a</sup>	6.3.1984	I-K / 4-5	VII	0,95	LR lamp, complete. Length 10 cm, width 6.1 cm, height 4.3 cm. Decoration: cross with wavy strokes on disc; fishbone on shoulder; leaf on base. <b>Pl. 35d</b>
45	12.3.1984			0,60 – 0,70	Stewpot with triangular up-pointed rim. 3 <sup>rd</sup> -4 <sup>th</sup> c. AD (?)
48	16.3.1984	Z-I / 1-5	XII	0,50 – 0,60	LRA 2, bs 1. Argolid fabric.
49	29.3.1984	Z-I / 5-7	Δαχ. II-VII	0,40 – 0,60	LRA 2, bs 1. Argolid fabric. LR lamp, upper body frgt., very corroded.
59 (1)	12.4.1984	Ξ-II / 2-4	XI	0,90 – 1,35	LRA 1, upper part of body and 25 bs. <b>Pl. 35e.</b> Hard-fired fabric, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) on surface, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) on core. Contains common small round inclusions, mostly black in core and white on surfaces.

59 (2)	12.4.1984	X-Π / 2-4	XI	0,90 – 1,35	LRA 1, 1 handle, 6 bs
59 <sup>a</sup>	-	Ξ-O / 3-4	XI	1,15	LR lamp, handle, upper and lower body frgt. Decoration of fishbone on shoulder, of elaborate leaf on base. Pres. length 7 cm, width 6 cm. <b>Pl. 35f</b>
61	13.4.1984	Π-Σ / 3-4		0,83 – 1,10	LRA 3 (micaceous water jar), 1 bs
64	2.5.1984	P-Σ / 4-6	Διαχ. V- XI	0,87 – 1,00	Stewpot with curved, up-pointed rim. <b>Pl. 35g-h.</b> Fabric pinkish beige (5YR 6/6), very micaceous, with abundant tiny to large white inclusions. Ca. 6 <sup>th</sup> c.
67 (1)	4.5.1984			0,65 – 0,76	Stewpot rim frgt. Identical as: Hayes 1992, Deposit 9, no. 8: 400-425 AD. Photo 41-43.
68	14.5.1984			0,73 – 0,94	LR lamp, disc frgt. with rosette decoration. Photo 45-46.
100	30.8.1984	Θ-I / 10- 11	Διαχ. -	0,15 – 0,50	LRA 2 (?), rim 1. Pale beige fabric.
112	4.9.1984	Z-I – 1-5		±1,03	LRA 2, bs 1. Argolid fabric.
119	10.9.1984	Z-H / 1-3		1,03 – 1,17	Pitcher with rounded oblique rim and oval handle with double groove. EB (?)
127 (3)	20.9.1984	I-K / 1-4		0,94 – 1,12	Table amphora with out-turned triangular rim. MR / 3 <sup>rd</sup> – 4 <sup>th</sup> c.
131 <sup>a</sup>	21.9.1984	I-K / 4-5, παρα- βίαση		1,47	LR lamp, Broneer XXVIII. Decoration on shoulder: fishbone. <b>Pl. 35i</b>

**Table 3:** Catalogued ceramics from the farmstead excavated in Sourla plot (B.5.4). Catalogue composed by author.

<p>Two-handled stewpot, preserved in a broken but complete state. <b>Pl. 36a.</b> Thin flat oblique rim; globular body, carinated at widest diameter; curved base; strap handles, attached just below rim and at widest diameter of body. Thin-walled (2-4 mm). Fabric is coarse, hard-fired, dark grey (Munsell 10YR 4/1) on surfaces, light olive brown in core (2.5Y 5/3). Contains few large glossy white, common small white inclusions, and abundant mica concentrated on surface. Rim diam.: 16.7 cm., height: 14.5 cm. Parallel: Grigoropoulos 2005, fig. 134. Chronology: Late Roman</p>
LRC dish, Hayes Form 3. <b>Pl. 36b.</b>

<p>Rim diam.: 30 cm, preserved height: 2.4 cm.  Fabric colour: 5YR 5.5/8.  Parallels: J. Hayes, <i>Late Roman pottery</i>, 1972, 329.  Chronology: 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD.</p>
<p>LRC dish, Hayes Form 3.  Rim diam.: 30 cm, preserved height: 2.7 cm.  Fabric colour: 2.5YR 6/8. Fabric contains small white and black inclusions and common mica.  Roulette decoration on outer rim surface.  Parallels: J. Hayes, <i>Late Roman pottery</i>, 1972, 329.  Chronology: 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD.</p>
<p>One-handled pitcher, almost complete. <b>Pl. 36c.</b>  Short oblique rim; broad cylindrical neck; globular body; ring base, very low; oval-shaped handle, with two vertical grooves on outer face.  Fabric is fine, hard-fired, clean, reddish yellow (5YR 6.5/8). Contains rare very small white inclusions in core. A few large to small white and grey inclusions, and common mica, are visible on outer surface.  Parallel: Gini-Tsophopoulou – Chalkia 2003, fig. 1.  Chronology: End of 6th – beginning of 7th c.</p>
<p>Stewpot with oblique rim. Only part of rim and upper body is preserved. <b>Pl. 36d.</b>  Thick oblique rim, upper body with straight walls. Ridge on base of rim on the interior surface.  Thick-walled (5 mm).  Fabric is coarse, hard-fired, dark grey (2.5Y 4/1-2). Contains common small to large bits of white and brownish grey sand, and abundant mica.  Rim diam.: 19.4 cm. Preserved height: 4.7 cm.  Parallels: Hayes 1992, Deposit 38 (ca. 925-950 AD), no. 14, fig. 61.  Chronology: Early Byzantine or 10<sup>th</sup> c. AD</p>
<p>Stewpot with oblique rim and oval-shaped handle. Only part of rim, upper body and handle are preserved. <b>Pl. 36e.</b>  Thick oblique rim, upper body with straight walls. Ridge on base of rim on the interior surface.  Thin-walled (2-3 mm).  Fabric is coarse, hard-fired, dark grey (2.5Y 4/2). Contains common small to large bits of white and brownish grey sand, and abundant mica.  Rim diam.: 20 cm. Preserved height: 3 cm.  Parallels: Hayes 1992, Deposit 38 (ca. 925-950 AD), no. 14, fig. 61.  Chronology: Early Byzantine or 10<sup>th</sup> c. AD</p>
<p>Stewpot with oblique rim and oval-shaped handle. Only part of rim, upper body and handle are preserved.  Thick oblique rim, upper body with straight walls. Ridge on base of rim on the interior surface.  Thin-walled (3 mm).  Fabric is coarse, hard-fired, dark grey (2.5Y 5/1-2). Contains common small to large bits of white and brownish grey sand, and abundant mica.  Rim diam.: 20 cm. Preserved height: 2.9 cm.  Parallels: Hayes 1992, Deposit 38 (ca. 925-950 AD), no. 14, fig. 61.  Chronology: Early Byzantine or 10<sup>th</sup> c. AD.</p>

**Table 4:** Location of Early Christian basilicas and correlation with settlements.

Location of basilica	Basilica correlated with
Monomati	Settlement not known
Liosia (?)	Settlement not known
Patesia, Agios Loukas	Road ( <i>Acharnian Road</i> or a parallel one). Settlement not known.
Glyphada	Settlement not known
Tavros	Cemetery
Alimos	Rural settlement
Kaisariane, east of <i>katholikon</i>	Mountainous site. Settlement not known.
Pikermi	Rural settlement
Kantza	Rural settlement
Brauron	Ancient sanctuary and rural settlement
Skempthi	Rural settlement
Spata, Yalou (?)	Settlement not known
Paiania, Agios Athanasios and Agia Paraskevi	Rural settlement
Kiapha-Thiti	Hilltop. Strategic position
Markopoulo, Agios Aimilianos	Built on a Late Roman bath. Settlement not known.
Markopoulo, Panagia Merenda	Settlement not known.
Porto-Raphte, <i>Steiria</i>	Urban settlement
<i>Prospalta</i> /Kalyvia, Taxiarches	Rural settlement
<i>Prospalta</i> /Kalyvia, Agios Georgios	Rural settlement
Plasi	Semi-urban settlement
Skala Oropou	Urban settlement
Amygdaleza	Ancient sanctuary, probably common between three <i>demoi</i> (see [A] 4.9.) Settlement not known.
Boyati, Agia Triada	Settlement not known
<i>Eleutherai</i> /Gyphtokastro	Rural settlement adjacent to a fort
Eleusis	Urban settlement
Aigosthena	Semi-urban (?) settlement adjacent to a fort
Megara	Urban settlement
Anavyssos (?)	Rural settlement
Laurion	Urban or semi-urban settlement
Pousi-Pelia, <i>Besa</i>	Road: <i>Astike Odos</i>
Laureotic Olympos	Rural settlement and road: <i>Astike Odos</i>
<i>Atene</i> , TH 16	Hamlet or estate
<i>Atene</i> , TH 34	Hamlet or estate

**Table 5:** Roads used in the Early and Middle Byzantine periods (see Pl. 64)

Road (ancient)	Archaeological evidence for use in the Early – Middle Byzantine period	Relevant Chapters
<b>Iera Odos (Athens – Eleusis)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>Miliaria</i> of 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> c.</li> <li>▪ Eleusis: Coin of Justin II in road layer</li> <li>▪ Daphni monastery (end of 11<sup>th</sup> c.)</li> <li>▪ 500 m west of Aphrodite Sanctuary: 11<sup>th</sup>-c. coin in road layer</li> <li>▪ Aspropyrgos tower</li> </ul>	B.1.19 B.9.1 B.1.19 B.1.19 B.9.3
<b>Astike Odos (Athens – Sounion)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Voula: coins of 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c. in road layers</li> <li>▪ Kamariza (Ag. Konstantinos), well Anania / Pousi Pelia: Early Christian building</li> <li>▪ Laureotic Olympos basilica (use from 6<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> c.)</li> </ul>	B.1.31 B.10.1 B.10.3
<b>Road Athens – Peiraeus (running parallel to South Long Wall)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Moschato: Late Roman cemetery</li> <li>▪ Moschato: Byzantine coins in road layers</li> </ul>	B.1.23 B.1.23
<b>Road Athens – Peiraeus (running parallel to North Long Wall)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Tavros: Excavated road section and graves of the LRom/EByz period</li> </ul>	B.1.24
<b>Road Athens - Menidi</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ 330 Acharnon st.: EByz burial chamber</li> <li>▪ Agios Loukas church (Early Christian phase; 10<sup>th</sup> c. phase)</li> <li>▪ Agios Andreas church (= place of martyrdom of Osia Philothei), built 1592, with numerous LRom/EByz spolia</li> </ul>	B.1.6 B.1.6 B.1.6
<b>Road south of Menidi Square</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Road with seven successive layers which ranged from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC to the 20<sup>th</sup> c., while two layers date to the Roman and Late Roman period.</li> </ul>	B.1.13
<b>Northern passage of Hymettus</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Kynegou Philosophon monastery (12<sup>th</sup> c.)</li> </ul>	B.2.1, B.2.2
<b>Central passage of Hymettus</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Medieval tower (?) and 6<sup>th</sup>-c. lamp on height 726 m.</li> </ul>	B.2.1
<b>Southern passage of Hymettus</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Fortified site: Kastro tou Christou, probably Early Byzantine</li> </ul>	B.2.1, B.3.11
<b>Road Stavros (Pallene) – Spata (Erchia)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Excavated section of road with evidence datable to the LRom/EByz period</li> </ul>	B.3.2
<b>Road from Spata to east coast</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Late Roman farmstead (use up to the 4<sup>th</sup> c.)</li> <li>▪ Road marked on <i>KvA</i> Blatt VII and X. (19<sup>th</sup> c.)</li> </ul>	B.3.7.2
<b>Quarry road on</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Settlement with use in the LRom/EByz and in the</li> </ul>	B.4.2

<b>Kokkinaras, Penteli</b>	Middle Byzantine period, situated just north of the ancient quarry road.	
<b>Road Athens – NE coast (Marathon)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Amygdaleza basilica (ca. 500; graves 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.)</li> <li>▪ Tower on the south slope of the Amygdaleza hill (medieval or Ottoman)</li> <li>▪ “Medieval” remains in the Koukounarti plain</li> </ul>	B.4.9 B.4.9 B.4.9
<b>Road Grammatiko – Sesi (NE coast)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Mauro Vouno: Late antique farmstead, re-used in the 10<sup>th</sup> c.</li> </ul>	Note 1062
<b>Dekeleia road</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Katsimidi fort (re-use in the Early Byzantine period)</li> <li>▪ ‘Palaiochori’</li> <li>▪ Medieval tower</li> </ul>	B.7.3 B.7.3 B.7.3
<b>Phyle road (Athens-Thebes)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Phyle fort (re-use in the Early Byzantine period)</li> </ul>	B.7.10
<b>Oinoe road</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ General Leake, trip from Osios Meletios to Athens</li> </ul>	B.8.1
<b>Kaza pass</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>Eleutherai</i>/Gyphtokastro (re-use in the Early Byzantine period)</li> </ul>	B.8.1, B.8.6
<b>Hammond’s road</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Vilia, Vrysi Tsias: 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup>-c. graves and house remains</li> <li>▪ Megalo Vathychori, Taxiarches church: LRom/EByz antiquities</li> <li>▪ Hammond’s towers C and F/G (re-use in unknown post-Roman period)</li> </ul>	B.8.5 [G].6 [G].6
<b>Koundoura valley / Hammond’s road</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Place-name ‘Koundoura’ (&gt; ‘κόντουρα’, hint of evidence for the imperial <i>Dromos</i>) (Middle Byzantine period)</li> </ul>	[G].7
<b>Kandeli pass (Eleusis – Megara)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>Miliarium</i> with seven texts, from late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. to 397 (original location in Mandra probable but uncertain)</li> </ul>	B.9.5
<b>Metropisi pass (Mesogeia – SE Attica)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Metropisi: LRom/EByz (and possibly later) remains</li> </ul>	B.10.5



**Table 6:** Coin hoards found in Attica

<b>Date range</b>	<b>Emperor(s)</b>	<b>Place of recovery</b>	<b>Metal</b>	<b>Number of coins</b>	<b>Bibliography</b>
Concealed 343-345	Constantine I, Constantine II, Constantius II, Constans I	“In Attica”	Bronze	139	Bellinger 1928.
Concealed ca. 565-578		Eleusis	Bronze	16	Galani-Krikou <i>et al.</i> 2002, 32, No. 15.
Concealed 583/4	Maurice	Eleusis	Bronze	268	Galani-Krikou <i>et al.</i> 2002, 47, No. 26.
Concealed after 584		Eleusis	Gold	8	Galani-Krikou <i>et al.</i> 2002, 54, No. 29.
Concealed after 569/70		Laurion	Bronze	16	Galani-Krikou <i>et al.</i> 2002, 34, No. 17.
Concealed 577/8 or later		Megara	Bronze	20	Galani-Krikou <i>et al.</i> 2002, 36, No. 20.
582-610	Maurice – Phocas	Paiania	Bronze		Galani-Krikou <i>et al.</i> 2002, 62, No. 37. Touratsoglou 1999, 350, note 3.
668-741	Constans IV – Leo III	Unknown (possibly <i>in</i> Athens)	Gold	51	Vryonis 1963.
1078-1081	Nicephoros III	Modern town of Penteli	Bronze	5	Galani-Krikou <i>et al.</i> 2002, 81, No. 59.
Late 11 <sup>th</sup> – 12 <sup>th</sup> c. Concealed 1185-1195, or later		Kastri	Bronze	968	École Française d’Athènes 1953, 194. Galani-Krikou <i>et al.</i> 2002, 96, No. 84.
1118-1143	John II	“In a burial in Attica”	Gold	10	Mosser 1935, 8.
1118-1180	John II, Manuel I	North of Magoula cemetery	Bronze	230	Galani-Krikou <i>et al.</i> 2002, 92-93, No. 77.
1143-1180	Manuel I	Kephisia	Bronze	11	Galani-Krikou <i>et al.</i> , 93, No. 79.
1143-1180	Manuel I	“In Kalentze”	Bronze	83	Galani-Krikou <i>et al.</i> 2002, 88, No. 71.
1143-1180	Manuel I	“At Kalentze, Marathon dam”	Bronze	365	Galani-Krikou <i>et al.</i> 2002, 89, No. 72.
1118-1195	John II, Manuel I,	Markopoulo	Bronze	203	Galani-Krikou <i>et al.</i> 2002, 62, No. 90.

	Alexius II, Isaac II				
1118-1185 Concealed after 1185	John II, Manuel I, Andronicus I, Isaac II	Brauron	Bronze	206	Metcalf 1964.

Note: Gini-Tsophopoulou (1990, 92) reports “three hoards, consisting of 100 bronze coins altogether, which ranged from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. to the reign of Anastasius I (491-518). These were given to the Numismatic Museum of Athens”. Since these were not included in the catalogue of hoards of the Museum (Galani-Krikou *et al.* 2002), I assume that the publishers judged that these were not hoards, and did not include them in this table.