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The Route of the Pythaïs through Athens and Attica

In two volumes. Vol. I, text

Daniele Pirisino

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Department of Archaeology, Durham University

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The Route of the Pythaïs through Athens and Attica

Daniele Pirisino. Doctoral thesis abstract.

This study presents a discussion and hypothetical reconstruction of the spatial context of the Pythaïs, an occasional overland pilgrimage from Athens to Delphi. The main research question addresses the route of the pilgrimage, specifically through Athens and Attica. This work has a broad chronological scope, spanning most of the life of the ritual. It is proposed in this study that the Pythaïs was introduced to Athens in the sixth century BC. After its introduction, the Pythaïs was conducted with irregular frequency until the second half of the first century BC, when the traditional Pythaïdes were taken over by the Dodekaïdes. The work mainly combines textual sources and old archaeological data with new archaeological evidence collected through field walks. The latter focused on one of the routes possibly used by the pilgrimage, which had not been fully archaeologically understood and contextualised: the Phyle road through western Parnes. The Pythaïs followed a properly-named *sacred road*; therefore, a general discussion of Greek sacred roads is provided at the outset to highlight the current issues concerning the study of sacred roads. Subsequently, the work offers a review of the scholarly literature on the Pythaïs to present the diverse hypotheses on the route of the pilgrimage. Discussion of the scholarly literature also shows that a study on the spatial contextualisation of the Pythaïs had never been sufficiently conducted; this thesis aims at filling this gap from a principally archaeological perspective. The Pythaïs staged the Athenian version of the mythical journey of Apollo on his way to Delphi. Therefore, before discussing the topographic matters related to the ceremony, the work offers a discussion of this Athenian myth, with a focus on the mythical geography connected with it. Subsequently, after an in-depth discussion of the religious topography connected with the ceremony and the three main possible routes across Attica, a reconstruction is proposed for the route of the Pythaïs in Athens and its territory in close connection with current knowledge of the ancient road network. A large part of the work is devoted to the presentation and discussion of the field-collected data. All discussions and interpretations are supported by conspicuous visual aids such as digital photographs and maps, most of which are original.

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Introduction

1. Preliminary considerations

This research examines the route followed by the Pythaïs, an Athenian sacred delegation to Delphi in honour of Apollo Pythios.[1] In particular, it focuses on the discussion and hypothetical reconstruction of the first stretches of the pilgrimage road across Athens and Attica. Before discussing the chronological and geographical scope of the thesis, along with the sources and methodology employed, it is necessary to introduce the specifics of the Pythaïs, which will be discussed in more depth throughout this work.

The pilgrimage of the Pythaïs staged the Athenian version of Apollo's mythical journey from his birthplace Delos to Delphi, by way of Athens and Attica, along his overland route. The chronology of the institution of this ceremony in Athens is not completely clear, but the view is here upheld that it was established as early as the second half of the sixth century BC. As discussed below, the ritual was eventually taken over by the Dodekaïs around the time of Augustus. We do not know many details about the events that characterised the Pythaïs, with the exception of the first stage of the ceremony. Strabo recounts that a group of officials called Pythaïstai had to look in the direction of Mount Harma (a site in Attika on Mount Parnes) for a period of three days and nights during three consecutive months, waiting for a lightning flash that propitiated the sending of the pilgrimage. The Pythaïstai held watch from the altar of Zeus Astrapaios, located between the Pythion and the Olympieion.[2] This ritual probably occurred in late spring, possibly starting during or shortly after the

[1] Throughout the work, the terms 'pilgrimage', '*theoria*', 'state delegation' and 'sacred delegation' are all interchangeably used to refer to the Pythaïs, particularly with regard to the extra-urban leg of the journey. The terms '*pompe*', 'procession' and 'cultic parade' are generally used with reference to the Pythaïs across the city. A discussion of the terminology connected with religious travelling is provided in the second chapter. For a thorough analysis of this issue, see ELSNER AND RUTHERFORD 2005 and RUTHERFORD 2013, pp. 4–6; 12–14.

[2] Strabo (9.2.11; Appendix, #Axi). The location of this altar is key to understanding the course of the procession through the city; this issue is discussed in chapter five of this work.

Thargelia (late May).[3] During that time of year, the lightning density is rather sparse in this part of Greece. This consideration, in combination with the limited temporal frame of the observation period, determined the rarity of the sighting.[4] Indeed, such a sighting occurred so infrequently as to become proverbial already in the time of Perikles.[5] Therefore, the complete pilgrimage to Delphi was conducted only at irregular intervals, at least initially. When the full pilgrimage was undertaken, offerings were brought to Delphi by a large crowd that, by the second century BC, featured hundreds of pilgrims; chants and hymns accompanied the journey. Along with the offerings and other rituals, a number of constests were held.[6] A bronze tripod (or possibly more than one) was dedicated at Delphi, while another tripod and the sacred fire were brought back to Athens.[7]

Because the Pythaïs re-enacted Apollo's mythical journey from Delos to Delphi via Athens, most of the scholars concerned with the Pythaïs generally consider the sacred route from Athens to Delphi as the main spatial parameter for

[3] For a recent discussion of the time of year during which the early and the Hellenistic Pythaïdes were sent, see RUTHERFORD 2013, pp. 223–224, nn. 53–56.

[4] A recent study of lightning density across Europe has shown the generally low frequency of lightning flashes in the Mediterranean coastal areas in late Spring; see ANDERSON AND KLUGMANN 2014, p. 821, figs. 2, 8−10.

[5] BOËTHIUS 1918, pp. 1–12, 145–146.

[6] Inscriptions indictate that athletic, equestrian, theatrical, musical, and literary contests took place during the celebrations, see FD III^2 34–50.

[7] The earliest source on some of the objects carried during the Pythaïs is the Athenian sacrificial calendar dating to the fifth/fourth-century BC (LAMBERT 2002, F 1 A col. 3 ll. 26–30; Appendix, #Axiii). This sacrificial calendar bears indication of the participants in the early Pythaïdes (LAMBERT 2002, F 6 A col.1, l.11). Further evidence for the participants in the fourth century BC is SEG 21, 541 c.2 l. 50, c.3 l. 36, c.5 l. 37; IG II/III^3 1, 533; IG II^2 2816; IG II^2 2817; FD III^1 511. Much information on the pilgrims and the pilgrimage dates from the second half of the second century BC (FD III^2 2–70). For the tripod dedication at Delphi, see FD III^1 511. The earliest chant which can be probably associated with a Pythaïs dates to the last quarter of the sixth century BC: a fragmentary paean ascribed to Simonides POxy. 2430 (PMG 519 fr.35; Appendix, #Aii); see RUTHERFORD 1990, pp. 169–171. Another hymn possibly related to a Pythaïs is Aristonoos's fourth-century BC paean to Hestia (FD III^2 192; see FURLEY AND BREMER 2001, p. 118). Later hymns performed during the ceremony are those by Athenaios and Limenios (FD III^2 137–138; Appendix, #Ax). The ritual fetching of the Delphic tripod is recorded in FD III^2 32–33 (Appendix, #Axv–#Axvi); the fetching of the sacred fire is recorded in FD III^2 13, 32 (Appendix, #Axiv–#Axv).

the reconstruction of the ceremony. Indeed, the main pilgrimage route of the Pythaïs is the object of this work as well. However, I propose that the Pythaïs was a particularly complex ritual, which may have spatially transcended the primary pilgrimage route alone. In fact, the Pythaïs might have involved a number of smaller-scale rituals and processions through side routes, incorporating diverse sacred places dedicated to Apollo and other deities. For example, the Pythaïs possibly included the sending of a sacred delegation to Delos as well, which may have involved a procession from Athens to Prasiai, the place from which the Athenian delegations to the island traditionally departed.[8] Similar spatial complexity was likely reflected in the carrying out of the Pythaïs through the city, across the city's territory, and beyond Attica. In short, the reconstruction of the straightforward route of the Pythaïs to Delphi may only constitute a partial view of the whole ritual. As discussed later in chapter two, long journeys to sacred destinations, either by sea or land, were not rare among ancient Greek religious practices. However, the sacred road of the Pythaïs is certainly extraordinary in its geographical scope since, although it was considered a specific Athenian achievement, its route extended far beyond the borders of Attica.[9] As with the ritual and the spatial context of the Pythaïs, the discussion of its chronology also presents a certain complexity.

The earliest Pythaïdes in Attica were probably those of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, which dispatched its own pilgrimages to Delphi distinct from the Athenian ones until the second century BC, when the two ceremonies merged into one.[10] The time of the introduction of the Pythaïs to Athens is a debated issue. In fact, some scholars hypothesise that this ceremony was celebrated in Athens as early as the sixth century BC;[11] whereas others suggest that it was first

[8] FICUCIELLO 2008, p. 32.

[9] The relationship between this sacred road and the Athenians is first found in Aischylos' *Eumenides* (Aesch. *Eum.* 12–14; Appendix, #Aiii), and *scholia.* (Appendix, #Av).

[10] The Pythaïdes of the Tetrapolis were probably dispatched from the Marathonian Oinoe (Philochoros, *FGrH* 328 F 75; Appendix, #Axii); FD III^2 21. On the Marathonian Pythaïs, see MILCHHÖFER 1873, pp. 56–57; TÖPFFER 1888; DAUX 1936, pp. 532–540; BOUSQUET 1942, pp. 127–128. Athenian and Marathonian Pythaïdes merged in 138/137 BC, as attested in FD III^2 7.

[11] Among others, RUTHERFORD 1990.

carried out in the first half of the fifth century BC.[12] The Pythaïs then went on to develop as one of the most important ceremonies of the city in the fourth century BC.[13] Epigraphic evidence indicates that after an extended interruption for the entire third century BC and most of the following century, the Athenian Pythaïs was eventually reintroduced in the second half of the second century BC. Subsequently, the ceremony was known as the Dodekaïs from the time of Augustus, and started to peter out at the end of the first century AD.[14] The chronological scope of this work (discussed in more detail below) takes into account this long temporal frame, but most of the analysis centres on the introduction of the ceremony to Athens and its ritual and spatial context before the renewal of the Pythaïs in the second half of the second century BC.

This study will combine original field-work and a range of available sources, the latter dating from the sixth century BC to the second century AD. At the outset, it must be noted that information on the spatial setting of both the early and the later Pythaïdes is generally very scant; however, the characteristics of the early Athenian Pythaïdes can be hypothetically reconstructed through the analysis of the better-documented Hellenistic Pythaïdes. Indeed, the vast majority of data available concerns the Pythaïdes of the Hellenistic period. Therefore, scholarship has usually focused on the latter, often studying them from a historical and social perspective.[15] Unlike most of the previous scholarly contributions on the Pythaïs, this paper adds to the study of this ceremony with a mainly archaeological approach, aiming to provide a better understanding of its origin and spatial context.

[12] FURLEY AND BREMER 2001, pp. 132–134, with notes.

[13] Most of the data for the early Pythaïdes date to the fourth century BC. The first certainly documented Pythaïs is that of 355 BC, as indicated in a speech of Isaeus (Isae. 7. 27); see BOËTHIUS 1918, pp. 15 ff.; PARKE 1939.

[14] This chronology is discussed in more detail later in this work. Most surviving information on the Pythaïs is contained in inscriptions dating to the second and first centuries BC, from the south wall of the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi (FD III^2 2–70); on the Dodekaïs, see in particular FD III^2 59–67. Athens dispatched regular Dodekaïdes to Delos throughout the first half of the second century AD (IDélos 2535, 2536, 2538); see RUTHERFORD 2013, pp. 311–312.

[15] Scholarly approaches to the Pythaïs are discussed in detail in the second chapter of this paper.

2. Defining the chronological scope

As noted, the conduction of the ceremony spanned, at irregular intervals, a long period of at least six centuries. Over this long time, the Pythaïs underwent changes in its frequency and composition. There are inscriptions documenting these changes and the long life of the ritual. Political and religious factors might have affected the route of the pilgrimage, but the extent of this influence can only be theorised today. Therefore, any hypothetical reconstruction of the ceremony cannot reliably account for any changes over time to its route and to the sacred landmarks related to it. Indeed, the data available do not permit a definite diachronic reconstruction of the ceremony, in particular of the early Pythaïdes; the transition from those of the Hellenistic period to the Dodekaïs being well-documented instead. However, it is possible to suggest that the main characteristics of the ritual and the route of the pilgrimage probably remained unaltered, at least until the regular sending of the Dodekaïs.[16] Indeed, we may suppose that the conduction of the more modest Dodekaïdes under Augustus (most probably as a continuation of the Pythaïs, as observed by Gaston Colin) could have brought about a change of the ritual, or at least an adaptation. In fact, inscriptions show that the Dodekaïdes do not feature the officials called Pythaïstai among their participants, although these officials were integral to the key rituals and the settings of the Pythaïs.[17]

Given the above considerations, the chronological scope of our discussion spans the entire period covered by the proposed duration of the ceremony, with the exclusion of the Dodekaïdes period; that is, from the sixth century BC to roughly the middle of the first century BC. However, the focus of our discussion and reconstruction is mainly oriented to the spatial context of the early Pythaïdes between the sixth century BC and the end of the fourth century BC; this is, in fact, the period in which the Pythaïs probably emerged in Athens and gradually became part of a number of other Athenian rituals. As noted, following a protracted interruption of one and a half centuries, the Athenian Pythaïs was re-

[16] Rutherford raised the question as to whether the Dodekaïs was integral part of the early Pythaïdes rather than a separate offering; see RUTHERFORD 2013, pp. 306–307.

[17] On the Dodekaïs as continuation of the Pythaïs, see COLIN 1909, pp. 62–70, as comment to FD III^2 59–67. The role of the Pythaïstai is described by Strabo (9.2.11; Appendix, #Axi).

introduced in the second half of the second century BC. Evidence shows that these Hellenistic Pythaïdes were a lavish display of the means of the city, in which the Athenian and the Marathonian Pythaïdes first merged together.[18] It is possible that a much larger number of participants took part in these Hellenistic Pythaïdes than in their earlier predecessors. In fact, William Ferguson suggested that the Pythaïs of the Hellenistic period might have included up to five hundred people or more.[19] Although our sources indicate a continuity in the main elements of the ritual, it cannot be easily determined whether the exceptional participation in the Hellenistic Pythaïdes may have had an effect on the route of the procession across the city or the route along its extra-urban stretch. Similarly, we do not know if the Pythaïs of the Roman period, the Dodekaïs, was conducted in different urban and extra-urban settings. For the aforementioned reasons, the latest chronological limit of the discussion covers the later Pythaïdes as well.

3. Research question and spatial limits

This research addresses the following main question: what was the route of the Pythaïs across Athens and Attica, and how did it relate to the topography of the city and the religious landscape of the city's territory? Indeed, a discussion of the route of the pilgrimage is a crucial part of understanding the ritual itself, as well as understanding the religious topography involved in the celebration. The relationship between the rite, the places involved in the pilgrimage, and the myth connected with it was a very close one. Epigraphic record indicates that the Pythaïs followed a sacred road in its own right: a proper *hiera hodos* (sacred road), which was closely related to the founding myth of the pilgrimage.[20] The Pythaïs recreated the Athenian version of Apollo's mythical journey to Delphi across Athens and Attica: an archetypal sacred journey to his main oracular site, which according to local mythical tradition involved the Athenians escorting the god on his way to the sanctuary. The course of the pilgrimage was thus largely

[18] As exemplified by the words of Ian Rutherford: '*At its high point, the Pythaïs was a travelling image of the Athenian state*', see RUTHERFORD 2013, p. 230.

[19] FERGUSON 1911, p. 372.

[20] Agora 19, H 34: Ὅρος ἱερᾶς ὁδῶ δι' ἧς πορεύεται ἡ Πυθαὶς ἐς Δελφός. *Marker of the Sacred Road by which the Pythaïs proceeds to Delphi* (trans. PARSONS 1943, p. 237).

determined by mythical belief, but it was also contingent on ritual and practical reasons, these factors being intertwined with the religious topography involved in the celebration, inside and outside Attica. Therefore, by identifying the areas where the Pythaïs was probably conducted in Athens and Attica, it is hoped that this research can offer a better understanding of the ritual and give a wider depiction of the sacred landscape related to it.

The Athenians claimed exclusive paternity of this pilgrimage road, although it traversed regions outside the city's territory as well.[21] Upon leaving Attica, the course of the Pythaïs stretched across Boiotia and eastern Phokis; therefore the journey can be generally divided up into two main legs, one within the boundaries of Attica, the other stretching across 'international' space.[22] Whereas the route of the Pythaïs outside Attica can be reconstructed with a good degree of probability, as it probably joined the inter-regional sacred road to Delphi (or at least followed its general direction), the course of the pilgrimage across Athens and Attica is less certain and its reconstruction raises specific questions concerning issues of Athenian topography as much as the contextualisation of the Pythaïs within the broader religious landscape of Attica.[23] Therefore, the spatial scope of this study is mainly oriented to the route of the Pythaïs through Athens and Attica. Indeed, the interplay between ritual and ritual space was a very complex one, which still influences our interpretations.

4. Sources and Methodology

In this research, the physical contextualisation of the ceremony is discussed through a truly interdisciplinary approach. Literary, epigraphic and archaeological data are drawn together to understand the introduction of the

[21] *Eumenides* (Aesch. *Eum.* 12–14; Appendix, #Aiii), and *scholia* (Appendix, #Av).

[22] The definition of the sacred road to Delphi as 'international' space is in DAVERIO-ROCCHI 2002, p. 149.

[23] The route of the sacred road to Delphi from Attica across Boiotia was largely determined by geographical constraints, as it most probably stretched between Mount Helicon to the west and Lake Kopais to the east and entered Phokis at Panopeus, as will be discussed in more detail in this work. The discussion of the possible routes of the Pythaïs through Attica can be found in chapters three and five.

ritual to Athens and to contextualise it against the backdrop of the religious landscape within the city and in Attica. Further sources, such as the physical topography itself, maps, and photographs accompany the discussion. A study of the route of the Pythaïs calls for a reassessment of the evidence and a new approach to the spatial reconstruction of this procession, one that also involves first-hand observation of the physical landscape and an in-depth contextualisation of the least known of the possible routes that may have been followed by the pilgrims across Attica. The originality of this research lies in its methodology and approach. Analysis of the evidence is conducted together with targeted field surveys and the collection of original data in a way that has never been done before in the study of the route of the Pythaïs. Previous scholarly attention to this sacred route was limited by an incomplete knowledge of the outbound ancient routes across the mountainous regions of northern Attica. This work fills that gap and, along with the analysis of existing data, presents the results of the surveys of the ancient routes through western Parnes via Phyle. Our understanding of the ancient road network of Athens and Attica has improved enormously in recent times, and several studies have been recently published on the subject.[24] The acquisition of new data regarding the ancient Phyle road adds to our understanding of ancient roads in Attica; this is also relevant for a more comprehensive understanding of the communications network and relationship between Athens and its borderland areas. Therefore, this research places itself among recent scholarly contributions on the broader subject of ancient roads in Greece as well.

Before presenting the evidence in more detail, it is important to remark that I propose a reconstruction of some of the least-known facts about the Athenian Pythaïs: its origin, and most of all, its route, the latter being nevertheless limited to a handful of possibilities. This gap in our knowledge is principally due to the scarcity and fragmented nature of the data available regarding many aspects of the Pythaïs.[25] In fact, only a few documents make

[24] Knowledge of the ancient road network in Athens and Attica has improved mostly following rescue excavations related to the infrastructural development of the modern city and the contributions of works such as COSTAKI 2006; FICUCIELLO 2008; KORRES 2009.

[25] In fact, however important this ceremony was, the Pythaïs seems to have been generally neglected by ancient authors, probably due to the low frequency of the pilgrimage, which would

direct reference to the road, the general route, or the places involved in the ceremony. This information is disseminated in diverse sources, often very distant in time from each other, and from the scarcely-documented early Pythaïdes. Therefore, in order to contextualise the Pythaïs in the space, both at mythical and ritual levels, this research weaves together the sparse threads of available information by drawing from heterogeneous *media* (here, broadly intended as vehicles of communication), differing in terms of both type and chronology. In fact, as noted, I bring into play literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources mostly ranging in time from the sixth century BC to the second century AD; although not all of them explicitly mention the Pythaïs. In short, a wide range of raw data is considered in this work, which is conducive to the spatial contextualisation of the Pythaïs and its sacred route. This appears as the best choice for two reasons: the Pythaïs had a long history, and, given the dearth of data, analysing the spatial setting of the ceremony would be impossible if considering only sources from a narrow chronological window. However, the first remark with regard to the employment of diverse *media* is the following: each *medium* uses a specific language which influences the message, addressed to a specific audience and in a specific cultural and historical context. Since each type of source is a vehicle of a specific message, each one needs to be addressed with specific questions. In fact, the diversity of sources provide different answers.[26] Nevertheless, certain elements such as myth, ritual, and religious topography remain similar, especially when referred to within the same cultural context.[27] What is more likely to vary is the meaning associated with the ritual, which is subject to change and contingent on different historical frames. This is the case with the Hellenistic revival of the Pythaïs, which was most probably connected with, and encouraged by, the recovery of Delos under Roman

not have taken place many times during its long history. These issues are discussed in more depth in this work. The infrequent sending of the Pythaïs was most likely due to the difficulties and dangers of the long overland journey, the financial effort, and the huge organisational endeavour that such a ceremony required.

[26] For more on this aspect, see BEREK 2009, pp. 88–92.

[27] In this respect, most of the data considered in this work fit in an Athenian cultural horizon, with only a few exceptions where needed.

benefaction in 166 BC.[28] In fact, our sources show that in the case of the Pythaïs, the main ritual aspects of the ceremony (or at least the memory of them) long outlived the rituals' early significance.[29] This is the reason why, however very different in terms both of nature and chronology, the sources examined have full legitimacy in this discussion, and the data obtained from them can be reasonably turned into valid information. In the following paragraphs, I propose a discussion of the sources, divided by type, beginning with textual documents.

a. Textual sources

Ancient textual sources provide the majority of available information on the Pythaïs; therefore, they are key to reconstructing the spatial context and the route of the ceremony. One preliminary remark is that, with the exception of only very few places (such as the aforementioned Pythion, the Acropolis and Mount Harma in Attica, and Panopeus in central Greece), not many places are explicitly mentioned by our sources in connection with the Pythaïs. Therefore, much of our spatial reconstruction in based on educated contextualisation of the ritual as we understand it from written evidence. Textual sources are comprised of ancient literary documents and inscriptions; collection of textual sources was primarily oriented towards those texts which are traditionally indicated and discussed by scholarship as relevant for the Pythaïs. These texts are complemented in this study by further literary and epigraphic documents, selected through keyword consultation in the specific repositories commonly available to researchers (both digital data bases and printed collections). I will discuss literary sources first.

The majority of ancient literary sources on the Pythaïs range in time from the last quarter of the sixth century BC to the second century AD. Very different genres were considered. Indeed, when dealing with literary sources it is important to consider their type, as this determined the manner in which the message was transmitted to the audience, and most of all, the message itself.

[28] RUTHERFORD 2013, p. 223.

[29] Some of the rituals connected with the Pythaïs did not change over time; this is the case with the ritual observation of the appearance of lightning conducted before the sending of the pilgrimage; this ritual is documented in the Athenian sacrificial calendar of the late fifth century BC (IG II^2 1357; LAMBERT 2002, F 1 A col. 2–3, ll. 26–30 (Appendix, #Axiii), and recounted by the much later Strabo (9.2.11; Appendix, #Axi).

Some of the literary documents considered in relation to the Athenian Pythaïs are of ritual, poetic and theatrical nature, such as paeans (hymns, especially addressed to Apollo) and tragedies. They were intended to be performed in a social context; their relevance to our knowledge lies in the fact that these sources provide information about the myth connected with the Pythaïs, about general ritual aspects, and also hint at the route of the pilgrimage at a mythical level. In short, these specific sources convey the communal religious significance of the cult of Apollo, and tend to transmit the mythical and religious aspects of the cult. On the other hand, more information on the route and the ritual space comes from historical and geographical sources, some of which, in particular the later ones, show a certain antiquarian interest in Athens and are more often descriptive with regard to the ritual and its setting as opposed to the myth. In short and generalising, in terms of the ritual space, early literary sources tend to be more elusive, whereas later documents shed more light on ritual and practical aspects of the ceremony. However, the question should be raised of the actual relationship between these diverse documents, which were often very distant in time. In the case of similar information contained in both early and later textual sources, the issue is whether the later ones convey religious and mythical customs still observed by the contemporaries, or whether they are reminiscent of a dead practice, devoid of its original religious significance at their time. On the other hand, to what extent is information attested to exclusively in late literary sources valid in understanding and contextualising earlier ritual costumes? As postulated, although the Pythaïs may have adapted itself to the different socio/historical circumstances, our data suggest that its characteristics should not have changed much, at least until the ritual was taken over by the Dodekaïs. Therefore, this combined analysis of different documents provides a rational reconstruction of the ritual and the ritual space. In this respect, an invaluable complement to the information provided or inferred from literary sources is supplied by epigraphy.

As with literary sources, the inscriptions considered in this work cover a wide chronological span, mostly extending from the fifth century BC to the first century AD. They provide two main types of information: topographical information in relation to the find-spot itself of the inscription (especially when *in situ*), and, of course, a wide range of information connected with the text itself.

These epigraphic documents belong to different categories and represent the core of our information about the Pythaïs with regard to ritual aspects, the composition of the ceremony and, to a smaller extent, the places involved in it. As observed, the vast majority of inscriptions referring to the Pythaïs date to the Hellenistic period. In this respect, similar remarks can be made about their validity as sources of information for the earlier Pythaïdes. It seems clear that the different data available can only be understood if analysed complementarily. In a few words, given the overall scarceness of data on the Pythaïs, the spatial contextualisation of the ceremony can only be attempted by reading literary and epigraphic sources together, and comparing them against our archaeological knowledge of the ancient topography involved in the ritual.

b. Archaeological and topographic evidence

A small part of the archaeology considered in this study involves an iconographic analysis of the mythical journey of Apollo, on painted vases and sculpture. However, the vast majority of archaeological evidence in this work is discussed primarily to provide physical settings to otherwise abstract rituals referred to in the textual sources. Most of the archaeological data considered herein can be divided into two types: old data, discussed and reassessed in the framework of the Pythaïs, and new data collected in the field. The discussion of old and new archaeological data is complemented with the use of cartographic and photographic material. With regard to Athens, modern archaeological maps and nineteenth-century city maps are used for the contextualisation of the Pythion, along with black and white archive photographs of the Ilissos area. As will later be discussed in more detail, legacy and modern cartography, together with digital photographs and other digital souces, have been extensively used for the discussion of the extra-urban route of the ceremony and the analysis of the field-surveyed data. Presentation of the evidence is also accompanied by original maps prepared by the author, particularly concerning the areas surveyed.

As with textual sources, the collection and analysis of old archaeological evidence for this study followed the data and the issues discussed in the specific scholarly literature, which spans from archaeological reports to more comprehensive publications. Most of the old archaeological evidence in this study is used for discussing the topography of single shrines (for example, the

discussion of the evidence for the location of the aformentioned Pythion and the Prytaneion in Athens) and for the understanding of the ancient road network, possibly in relation to the itinerary of the Athenian Pythaïs. In this respect, the analysis of old data is to a great extent centred on the urban setting of the ceremony. In fact, the Pythaïs can be securely anchored to specific areas of the city, which are archaeologically well-documented. Moreover, recent studies on the ancient urban road network allow for a reconstruction of the processional route across the city, more precisely than in the entire extra-urban leg of the ceremony.[30] As with the ancient roads within Athens, our understanding of the extra-urban road network of Attica has improved enormously in the last decade, and several studies have been recently published on the subject, which provide an invaluable source of information.[31]

The collection and analysis of new archaeological data concerns the extra-urban stretch of the pilgrimage road. I decided to field survey one of the routes indicated by previous scholars as plausible for the Pythaïs.[32] This route crossing the mountainous region of western Parnes had not yet been fully archaeologically documented and understood. Before presenting the characteristics of original archaeological evidence, the relevance of physical (or natural) topography will be discussed as a source in its own right for the reconstruction of ancient routes.[33] Physical topography has been extensively taken into account in this study for the understanding of the Phyle road, and the planning of the field walks.[34] In fact, the roughness and characteristics of the landscape determined the course of ancient roads, as much as they still affect the laying out and construction of the modern ones. In short, the physical topography

[30] In particular, consider the contributions of COSTAKI 2006; FICUCIELLO 2008; KORRES 2009.

[31] Knowledge of the ancient road network in Athens and Attica has improved mostly following rescue excavations related to the infrastructural development of the modern city, and the contributions of works such as KORRES 2009.

[32] See for example PARSONS 1943, pp. 237–238.

[33] Natural topography is discussed as an independent source for ancient road reconstruction in COSTAKI 2006, pp. 7–9.

[34] A preliminary assessment of the terrain also responds to the practical need to properly plan the field walks; in fact, the survey of a mountainous region such as Parnes may prove time and resource intensive, and physically very demanding (if not dangerous at certain places) unless accurately prepared.

itself in many cases dictated the course of ancient ways, especially in mountainous regions such as Parnes. The mountains limited the tracing of comfortable paths; passes and saddles were almost obligatory routes between otherwise impassable ridges; still, certain ascents were so steep as to be almost impracticable to travellers. The course of roads and paths had to follow the easiest routes, that is along the valleys whenever possible, sometimes taking advantage of streambeds themselves. Where no better alternatives were available, the paths gradually climbed the flanks of a hill or mountain, keeping their courses as horizontal and parallel to the contour of the slope as possible. In particularly difficult scenarios, the paths had to be carefully engineered with curves and switchbacks to minimise the effort needed to climb. Specific elements, such as retaining walls along the downhill side of the road were necessary features at certain places, especially along particularly steep stretches.

In this research, the examination of the physical topography is carried out with the use of detailed topographic maps, computer-generated spatial analyses with a GIS (geographic information system) software, and of course, first-hand observations. The above aspects related to surveying methodology, strategy, and GIS analyses are discussed in more depth in the sixth chapter of this work, but some remarks can be useful here. The maps were principally used to track the web of old and modern paths across the region; GIS analyses were used to highlight certain characteristics of the terrain and create predictive models to help understand the possible course of ancient routes through the landscape.[35] As complement to the above techniques, I made also use of aerial imagery for detecting possible stretches of the ancient road and other features on the ground. However, photointerpretation of forested areas such as Parnes where the visibility is limited, does not always yield the results desired. As for GIS analyses, they certainly enable a better reading of the physical landscape by providing symbolic digital representation of it according to specific demands. Nonetheless, first-hand observation in the field remains the only means of assessing the landscape and the evidence, verifying the interpretative models proposed.

[35] Only the bare minimum of these models is shown here with the rest of the illustrations, most of the models having been used as tools to plan our surveys.

The survey campaign was conducted over a twelve/thirteen month period. The bulk of the data collected is comprehensively analysed and discussed in chapter six of this study; therefore, the main characteristics of the archaeological evidence will only be briefly presented here. Ancient roads usually yield very few diagnostic elements for determining their chronology; ancient pottery is rare to come across along the path of an unexcavated road; when potsherds are found, they have to be treated as superficial finds, generally indicative of the ancient usage of a road rather than of the chronology of its first construction. The attention of the survey was primarily centred on the identification of human actions in the landscape, specifically on the detection of elements characterising the road. The first element to consider is certainly the *track* of the paths themselves. If in use until recently, the trace of certain paths can still be made out on the ground; however, this element alone does not give any specific chronological information, other than the direction of the path itself. The existence of an engineered path or road across the mountains is mainly indicated by *retaining walls* and *kerbs* bordering the road along its downhill-side. These features are dry masonry works, usually made of rough stone. They tend to be built in the same way throughout the centuries; for this reason determining the chronology of a road from its retaining wall is very arduous, if not impossible in the absence of other data. Further elements need to be considered, which are usually more indicative of ancient roads: these are *carved elements* and *built structures*. Carving and cutting of rocks was made for levelling the road surface, enlarging its width by shaving the rock on the uphill side, building roadside *water channels*, and tracing *wheel ruts*. More than any other finds the latter elements are characteristics of ancient Greek roads. However, other elements can be used for determining the route and the chronology of a road. As with urban roads, country roads may have been flanked by other structures, such as roadside *shrines* and *funerary monuments*, or even other elements functional to fulfil the primary needs of the travellers and the animals, such as for example *wells*, and *built springs.* All of these elements were found in our surveys and properly recorded.

All field data were recorded with state-of-the-art GPS devices for accurate location of each single piece of evidence and the track of the paths that we walked. Evidence was of course properly photographed and measured.

Accurate positioning of the evidence was key to preparing the original maps that accompany the discussion of the different areas surveyed (herein referred to as 'Sections'). In fact, after collecting the data it appeared necessary to create detailed maps so as to make the evidence readily understandable. The maps showing the data collected in this work are entirely prepared by the author. Maps background is constituted of contour lines extracted from a 30m resolution digital elevation model (DEM) to convey a primal sense of the topography and the elevations. The reconstructed ancient paths and the single bits of evidence are drawn on the basis of the GPS coordinates. Other features, such as nineteenth-century and modern paths, streams, and elevations were digitised using maps that have been georeferenced accordingly and overlaid to serve as background reference. Certain modern features such as the modern Phyle road and some buildings have been drawn onto satellite imagery.

5. Structure of the work

Including the above introductory notes, this work is organised into seven chapters. Before analysing the route of the pilgrimage in more detail, a discussion of Greek sacred roads is provided in the second chapter, as the road of the Pythaïs should certainly be contextualised within the general debate on this topic. In fact, a study on the course of the Pythaïs, however specific, adds to the larger debate on religious travel and, more specifically, on the relevance of religious itineraries and Greek sacred roads. One of the characteristics that underlines this research, as with any research on religious routes, is the basic complexity of defining a 'sacred road'. This complexity is reflected in the current scholarly debate, that in recent years has seen renewed attention to the definitions of phenomena closely connected with religious travelling such as pilgrimages and sacred roads themselves.[36] The question arises of whether a paradigm can be defined for a 'sacred road' as a broad concept. The third chapter will present a scholarly literature review of the key issues related to the route of the Pythaïs, identifying the common trends in the study of this route. In the fourth chapter, the development of an Athenian version of the mythical journey of Apollo across

[36] For more on religious travelling, see for example, DILLON 1997; ELSNER AND RUTHERFORD 2005; RUTHERFORD 2013.

Athens and Attica on his way to Delphi is analysed and an attempt is made to identify the religious topography possibly related to this mythical tradition. Chapter five focuses on a reconstruction of the urban and extra-urban courses of the procession. The analysis of the urban processional route largely relies on information on the actual ritual aspects related to the ceremony in their relationship with Athenian religious topography. The urban segment of the route is also discussed in relation to the course of the pilgrimage across Attica and a thorough discussion of the routes possibly followed by the pilgrimage in its extra-urban stretch is presented as well. In the sixth chapter the data resulting from our surveys of the ancient Phyle road are analysed and discussed. The concluding chapter recapitulates some of the points discussed throughout the work and underlines the outcomes of the research. This work also aims to demonstrate that the understanding of a phenomenon as complex as that of sacred roads calls for a multi-disciplinary approach, encompassing a historical/philological methodology in combination with the analysis of archaeological evidence; this is the only way to follow the thread between myth, ritual and ritual space.

Abbreviations of ancient authors and works in this thesis follow the convention of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary: fourth edition* (pp. xxvi–liii); except for very few not listed therein. In this regard, please refer to the list provided in the *Note on the abbreviations* which precedes the reference list for this work. This doctoral thesis includes many names romanised from Greek; transliteration generally follows British Library conventions as indicated in *Archaeological Reports*, 46 (2000).[37] The Greek form has been generally preferred for people and place names, with few exceptions. Latin and anglicised forms of toponyms and people's names are limited to certain cases where an English form is most commonly accepted, or in the case of certain terms regularly recurring throughout the thesis (e.g. Athens, Apollo). Translated and transliterated words are italicised, except for a few frequently used words.

[37] Source available online at: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0570608400004117

II
Greek Sacred Roads: an approach to the study

Our discussion of the route of the Pythaïs will begin by considering the scholarly debates surrounding the definition and functions of Greek Sacred Roads. Firstly, analysing modern and antique nomenclature will help to minimise the risk of an overly open and deductive approach, as well as the risk of the constraints of strictly materialistic analysis. In fact, it is difficult to find an unequivocal correspondence between the ancient use of the expression *hiera hodos* (sacred road) and its material form. Ancient sources reflect a certain degree of difference in their references to processional routes; these differences may be of a merely terminological nature or may pertain to different physical settings. However, this discussion does not eschew the rational need to label things in order to understand them; but it wishes to acknowledge the difficulties inherent in applying today's monolithic categories to ancient socio-religious factors. In a nutshell, dealing with Greek sacred roads implies acknowledging their existence as a broad phenomenon, and also requires the examination of the many local variables to which they are subject.

The study of sacred roads in the ancient Greek world calls for the consideration of the socio-religious practices that entailed sacred traversing of space. From an archaeological perspective, the study of processional roads brings about the analysis of the physical remains that constituted the scenery against which sacred mobility was enacted, and the recognition of the marks that ritual cultic actions may have left on sacred space. Any ceremonial procedure is typically carried out in established areas which are strictly related to the rite. These rituals could develop across urban public spaces and sanctuary areas as well extend to long journeys, through the countryside and even by sea, to sacred destinations. Religious landmarks such as altars and shrines, as well as natural features such as sacred meadows, water streams and groves, could be part of the scenery of the ritual, as the festival processions made stops along the route for the performing of hymns, chants and the enactment of local myths in addition to

offerings and sacrifices.[1] Cultic processions occurred frequently, as they were an integral part of major religious festivals which attracted a number of participants both on a local and panhellenic scale. Religious parades typically ended near the sacrificial altar, and a considerable number of inscriptions record the canonical sequence of procession, sacrifice and contests.[2]

Greek religion had no sacred doctrine, nor was it bound to a shared immutable cultic orthodoxy; thus, worship of a common divinity was subject to local connotations and several versions of the god were often present. These regional variables were also reflected in the sacred topography, which was a fundamental aspect in the conduction of processions.

Thus, the complexity of a general approach to these sacred roads justifies the employment of a functional explanation of the dynamics between ritual and space, as well as the need for a more comprehensive definition. The use of a general name such as 'sacred road' may not suffice in providing a well-rounded depiction of the many archaeological cases. However, although the use of loose definitions may prove ineffective in representing the characteristics of local rituals and sacred space, scholars generally employ them in order to make a pattern of ritual habits and their tangible results understandable. As a matter of fact, archaeological literature tends to resort to the term 'sacred road' (and 'processional road') as describing a ubiquitous phenomenon, which in fact has a broad and varied distribution over different geographical and historical frames of the Greek world.

1. Modern and ancient notions of *sacred*

At the outset, it is crucial to recall the dangers concealed in the study of such a subject, which is necessarily immersed in an ancient perception of the relation between the *religious* and the *secular*.

The category of 'sacred' calls for an explanation and the linguistic contextualisation of both the present and the antique conception of this idea. In fact, a certain caution needs to be employed when viewing ancient religious

[1] See as an example the Molpoi decree (Milet I 3 133, ll. 25–30) and PEDLEY 2005, p. 118.

[2] *Pompe, thysia, agones*. e.g., IG XII 7, 22 ll. 13–14; IG XIIs. 250 l. 7; SEG 15, 104 l. 130; SEG 16, 65 l. 13; IG II 2, 1008 l. 76.

practices through the lens of the modern conception of *sacred*, which is today generally rationalised in an absolute dichotomy with the idea of *profane*.[3]

The expressions *sacred* and *profane* have come to us through the Roman classical authors and the fathers of the early Christian church. Indeed, the words for these two concepts only became available from Greek once the early humanists had rediscovered the Greek classics through Latin sources. The modern use of the expression 'sacred' is indebted to the Latin *sacrum* (sacred), as it refers to the activities and objects being in relation to specific locations where rituals are performed. The term originally had a spatial connotation, which is made even clearer when compared to its contrasting expression *profanum* (*pro+fanum*, literally meaning the area in front of the temple precinct). The two Latin words can be considered opposites. This opposition is primarily linguistic, but can transcend language as well. When considering the living socio-religious context of this dichotomy, a number of objects and activities, including human behaviours, may conceptually fall under the sphere of the sacred without being characterised by a specific cultic vocabulary.[4] This applies to ritualised actions and encompasses the elements relating to them, including the space in which the rite is celebrated. Moreover, whilst the modern view of the sacred is, generally, integral to religion, the Latin conceives of *sacer* in a different way from *religiosus*. Something that is consecrated and, therefore, belongs to the sphere of divinity is *sacrum*, whether we would consider it morally 'good' or not; something that elicits a sense of scruple and moral obligation to the divine could be considered *religiosus*.[5] Ultimately, as thorough as the study of both linguistic and physical *testimonia* can be, it can never prove so comprehensive as to give a complete understanding of an individual's inner intentions. For this reason, the study of ancient religious material can often prove especially problematic.

Ancient Greek culture distinguished between sacred and profane both on linguistic and conceptual grounds, and the degree to which this distinction was clear and relevant to Greek society is still a major issue among scholars.[6] In

[3] The clear-cut opposition between sacred and profane is a modern assumption of today's perception of religion, see BRUIT-ZAIDMAN AND SCHMITT-PANTEL 1994, p. 8.

[4] See COLPE 1987, pp. 7964, 7966–7967.

[5] ERNOUT AND MEILLET 1939, *s.v. religio*; *sacrum*.

[6] SCULLION 2005, pp. 112–119.

discussing the sacred/profane debate, Scott Scullion correctly highlights the topography of the Greek sanctuary, whose inner sacred part, which contained the temple and the altars, is physically cut off from the exterior by the sanctuary walls (or by a simple imaginary line running between natural or artificial boundaries). This spatial distinction is generally reflected by the linguistic opposition treadable/untreadable (*bebelon/abaton*), which implies an inclusive/exclusive spatial dichotomy.[7] The idea of sacred, in the sense in which it might refer to processional roads, is generally expressed by the adjective *hieros* (*hosios* being its opposite), with a stress on its capacity to describe earthly things, which are consecrated and were considered to fall under divine agency.

As far as processions are concerned, the influence of the sacred can be transferred to public spaces, where the '*relationship between religion and politics is (...) manifest*'.[8] The *agora* of the Greek cities is the space where this relationship is particularly noticeable.[9] Through the performance of ritual actions, the religious procession reclaims the public space for the sphere of the sacred; as an example, in the case of the Milesian procession to the oracle of Didyma, this sacralisation of space is made even stronger by the temporary positioning of two movable sacred stones (*gylloi*) at the beginning and at the end of the processional route, functioning as sacred boundaries.[10]

2. 'Sacred roads' and modern literature

Ancient Greek had a rich vocabulary referring to roads, but the most recurrent word was *hodos* and its modifying adjectives.[11] In some cases, the Greeks referred to roads crossed by processions and visits to sanctuaries using the adjective 'sacred' (*hieros*). Subsequently, the term *hiera hodos* (ἱερὰ ὁδός),

[7] SCULLION 2005, p. 115.

[8] HERDA 2011, p. 70.

[9] CAMP 1986, pp. 14–15, 48–51.

[10] Milet I 3 133, ll. 25–27: καὶ γυλλοὶ φέρονται δύο, καὶ τίθεται παρ' Ἑκάτην τὴν πρόσθεν / πυλέων ἐστεμμένος καὶ ἀκρήτω κατασπένδετε, ὁ δ' ἕτερος ἐς Δίδυμα ἐπὶ / θύρας τίθεται. *Two gylloi (sacred stones) are brought, (one of which) is placed next to (the sanctuary of) Hekate before the Gates (of Miletos); wreathed and poured with unmixed (wine). The other is placed at the doors of Didyma* (trans. HERDA 2011, p. 85).

[11] LOLOS 2003.

and its modern equivalent 'sacred road', came to be extensively employed by students of different disciplines as a defining term for routes of religious relevance.

The chronological distance between the ancient expression *hiera hodos* and the modern use of 'sacred road' (Lat. *via sacra*) is somewhat bridged by the ancient sources. In fact, as early as the first century BC, Greek authors concerned with Roman history used the term *hiera hodos* to describe the most important sacred road in the Roman world the *Via Sacra* in Rome. Moreover, the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* from the bilingual *Monumentum Ancyranum* draws an even more direct parallel between the Latin and the Greek terms, which are coupled in the same epigraphic context.[12]

Therefore the diffusion of the term *hiera hodos* among scholars is not the result of a retrospective Greek translation of a modern expression; rather, it can be ascribed to the literary contexts of the term's occurrences in connection with some important sacred roads related to Greek sanctuaries and religious practices, which enjoyed the specific attention of ancient literary tradition and whose centrality was accordingly reflected in modern studies.

Together with other historical and religious Athenian events, the Eleusinian mysteries and the procession that unwound from the city to the sanctuary of Demeter, received the particular attention of many sources. The highway along which that religious parade was conducted was called, and then frequently referred to by scholars as, *hiera hodos*, and today's Athenian *Hiera Hodos* is still a feature of the modern city, indicating a specific road in Athens.[13] Thus, the scholarly use of the label 'sacred way' is likely to have developed on the grounds of the Eleusinian analogy, and was probably strengthened through the studies of the most prestigious of all Greek sanctuaries and its 'sacred way', that of Delphi. Thereafter, the route and the rituals conducted on the way to Eleusis have become the paradigm for understanding the dynamics of extra-

[12] Aug. *Anc.* 19.10.

[13] The term *hiera hodos*, when uncapitalised, refers to any sacred road. *Hiera Hodos* refers specifically to that one from Athens to Eleusis, to the road of the Pythaïs, and to the "international" route of the sacred road to Delphi (whether mentioned in relation to the Pythaïs or not). Later in this chapter, the plural form *Hierai Hodoi* is capitalised when it indicates a specific place-name (Hdt. 4.52.14).

urban processions – along with the example of Delphi, which also went on to be an important reference for the studies on sacred space and its development.

3. *Hiera hodos* in the literary contexts

Cultural factors which may allow us a specific insight into the phenomenon prove to be particularly relevant. Language is certainly foremost among these factors, as it exemplifies a primary means in the articulation and definition of experiences in a determined cultural framework.[14] Consideration of the extant textual occurrences provides us with a more comprehensive account of the expression's usage. Hence, a diachronic exposition of the ancient literary sources which make use of the expression *hiera hodos* (whatever the order of the words) is here presented to illustrate a depiction of the phenomenon in its primary linguistic form. Texts indicate several uses and meanings.

In all probabilities, the first known occurrence of the term *hiera hodos* in Greek literature can be credited to the sixth/fifth-century BC comedian Cratinus, and it refers to the already mentioned Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis. His use of the expression is acknowledged by the grammarian Harpokration about seven centuries later (Harp. s.v. Ἱερὰ ὁδός). Since then – with the exception of the references to the *Via Sacra* at Rome – the majority of Greek sources handed down to us which contain the specific term *hiera hodos* refer to the road leading from Athens to the Eleusinian sanctuary.[15] Indeed, a lost work entirely dedicated to the subject was ascribed to the second-century BC traveller and geographer Polemon.[16]

The second highest number of references relates to the road to Delphi; thereafter, further literary occurrences in connection with other roads are incredibly rare.

In general, the literary testimonies for the use of the expression *hiera hodos* and its quotations, occur as early as the sixth/fifth century BC through the

[14] KAVOULAKI 2011, p. 137.

[15] Dicaearch. Hist. fr. 21.3 Wehrli; Callisthenes of Olynthus, *FGrH* 124 F 45.2; [Plut.] *X orat.* 832b–852e; Harp. *s.v.* Ἱερὰ ὁδός; Paus. 1.36.3; Ath. 13.67.12; Hsch. *s.v.* ἱερά; Phot. *s.v.* Βόθυνος; Suda *s.v.* Βόθυνο, Ἱερὰ ὁδός; *Etym. Magn. s.v.* Ἱερὰ ὁδός; Zonar. *s.v.* Βόθυνος. For recent contributions on the the sacred way to Eleusis, see DRAKOTOU 2009; PAPANGELI 2009.

[16] Harp. *s.v.* Ἱερὰ ὁδός.

fifteenth century AD. However, despite its long-lasting presence in ancient literature, the recurrence of the specific phrase is surprisingly scarce; its use is very limited and restricted to only a handful of roads. The analysis of the following excerpts is presented with the exception of the most quoted sacred road to Eleusis, which has been previously examined.

Herodotos' account of Scythia provides us with the earliest mention of a geographic area christened *Hierai Hodoi* 'Sacred Roads' (Hdt. 4.52.14).[17] The term is here employed as the Greek phrase for a local toponymy defining an important landmark, namely, a water spring and the land which it flows through. Indeed, the adjective is frequently used in antiquity for geographical names, and this could be the case. The authors' description relates to a borderland area between the populations of the Scythians and the remote Alazones, in a region identifiable with the southwestern territory of Vinnytsia, now part of the Ukraine. The text makes no direct reference to a proper road (nor to any religious activity related to the area), but to the waterway itself. Nevertheless, it has been argued that the denomination might refer to a cross-way, or to a nodal point of commercial relevance.[18]

The earliest literary use of the term 'sacred road' in the context of mainland Greece is also credited to Herodotos.[19] This is a straightforward reference to the route departing from the oracle at Delphi and heading towards

[17] Hdt. 4.52.14: ἔστι δὲ ἡ κρήνη αὕτη ἐν οὔροισι χώρης τῆς τε ἀροτήρων Σκυθέων καὶ Ἀλαζόνων· οὔνομα δὲ τῇ κρήνῃ καὶ ὅθεν ῥέει τῷ χώρῳ σκυθιστὶ μὲν Ἐξαμπαῖος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Ἱραὶ ὁδοί. *This spring is on the borderland between the farming Scythians and the Alazones; the name of it and of the place whence it flows is in Scythian Exampaeus, in the Greek tongue Sacred Ways* (trans. GODLEY 1921, p. 253). See POWELL 1938, p. 173 *s.v.* ἱρός.

[18] MACAN 1895, p. 36 *ad Hdt. 4.52.11*. For a discussion of the Exampeus and its location, see PRITCHETT 1982, pp. 242–245. The precise whereabouts of this place are still controversial; see CORCELLA 1993, pp. 274–275 *ad Hdt. 4.52.11*.

[19] Hdt. 6.34.7: Ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἀνεῖλε οἰκιστὴν ἐπάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην τοῦτον ὃς ἂν σφέας ἀπιόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ πρῶτος ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέσῃ. Ἰόντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογκοι τὴν Ἱρὴν Ὁδὸν διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἤισαν· καί σφεας ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐκάλεε, ἐκτρέπονται ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων. *And the priestess in her reply bade them bring him in to found their state who should first offer them hospitality when they departed from the temple. Then the Dolonci followed the Sacred Way and journeyed through Phokis and Boiotia; and when none invited them in turned aside towards Athens* (trans. GODLEY 1922, p. 179, 181).

the southeast through the territories of Phokis and Boiotia.[20] It is probable that the Dolonkoi of Herodotos' account might have followed the path of the inter-regional sacred road, the course of which (having left Delphi) probably extended through Daulis, Panopeus, Chaironeia, and then southeast towards Thebes through Koroneia, Haliartos and Onchestos.[21] At best guess the road diverted near Thebes towards Athens, which could be reached from at least two routes across Kithairon and western Parnes respectively. One of these two routes was that used by the Pythaïs. However, the international sacred road across Boiotia proceeded eastward towards Tanagra and probably meandered more to the east. The course of this sacred road across Boiotia and Phokis was Apollo's sacred road by definition, and as such it was used by different communities to reach Delphi. As also observed in the conclusive chapter of this work, the inter-regional stretch of this road was probably the route along which the Athenians sent the major *pompe* at the time of the *Pythaïs,* and which the Athenian women, known as *Thyiades,* went through to reach the Parnassos.[22]

Another fifth-century BC account, attributed to the Hippocratic *Epidemics*, refers to the urban course of a processional road, in the Thracian city of Abdera.[23] Unfortunately, it is not possible to draw any precise conclusion about the identification of the path; however, it is possible that the sacred way mentioned in the text was located in the city itself, in a place called Derainos. The same evidence is supported by a fragment of a paean of Pindar.[24] This route probably extended across the Agora from the Heroön of Abderos, the eponymous hero of the city, to the nearby shrines of Apollo and Aphrodite.[25]

About half a millennium later, at the turn of the Christian era, the geographic horizon for a processional route – defined by the words *hiera hodos* –

[20] MACAN 1895, p. 295 *ad Hdt. 6.34.10*; MCQUEEN 2000, p. 111 *ad Hdt. 6.34.10*. See the latter for an argument about the mentioned Sacred Road be identified as the one to Eleusis.

[21] GODLEY 1922, pp. 180–181.

[22] MCINERNEY 1999, pp. 106–107.

[23] Hippoc. *Epid*. 3.7: Ἐν Ἀβδήροισι τὴν παρθένον, ἣ κατέκειτο ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερῆς ὁδοῦ, πυρατὸς καυσώδης ἔλαβεν. *In Abdera the maiden who lay sick by the sacred way was seized with a fever of the ardent type* (trans. JONES 1923, p. 269.).

[24] Pind. fr. D2 Rutherford.

[25] RUTHERFORD 2001, p. 267.

changes again. Strabo mentions the Mylasian Sacred Road, whose route connects the Carian city of Mylasa with the shrine of Zeus at Labraunda.[26]

The latest literary sources making explicit use of the term *hiera hodos* in Greek contexts belong to the cultural milieu of the second century AD and again relate to Delphi and the Eleusis. From the third century AD the term began to take on a metaphorical dimension among Neoplatonic thinkers;[27] this use of the phrase was later resumed and strengthened by later Christian authors[28] prior to becoming linguistic material for late lexicographers.[29]

Although limited to the choice of a specific expression, the cases shown above provide an indication of the broad regional span of attested uses of *hierai hodoi* in literature, and indicate the degree of heterogeneity of the routes possibly defined as sacred. With the exclusion of Herodotos' first use of the phrase, which is the most obscure, the other examples predictably reflect the correlation of sacred roads with both urban and non-urban sacred destinations.

Of course, literary and epigraphic evidence makes reference to other religious paths within the Greek cultural milieu. There are various references; these range from the simple use of the word of 'road' (often accompanied by a specific adjective defining the sacredness of the road or specifying its function), to the specific identification of the particular festival celebrated, or the intended destination.[30] Clearly, the study and classification of sacred or processional

[26] Str. 14.2.23: τιμᾶται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κύκλῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Μυλασέων, ὁδός τε ἔστρωται σχεδόν τι καὶ ἑξήκοντα σταδίων μέχρι τῆς πόλεως, ἱερὰ καλουμένη, δι' ἧς πομποστολεῖται τὰ ἱερά. *It is honoured by the people all about and by the Mylasians; and there is a paved road of almost sixty stadia from the shrine to Mylasa, called the Sacred Way, on which their sacred processions are conducted* (trans. JONES 1929, p. 293). BARAN 2011 gives an archaeological insight into some of the features which characterize this road.

[27] Porph. *De Phil.* 3.302: σήμερον οὐκ ἐπέοικε λέγειν ἄστρων ὁδὸν ἱρήν, ἕδρανα μαντοσύνης γὰρ ἐν ἄστρασι νῦν πεπέδηται.

[28] Meth. Ol. *Symp.* 12.1.46: Ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ γὰρ ἐκτραπεῖσαι πρὸς βίου πόρους, κτήσασθ' ἔλαιον ἠμέλησαν ἄθλιαι πλέον.

[29] See for example, *Etym. Magn. s.v.* Ἱερὰ ὁδός; Zonar. *s.v.* Βόθυνος.

[30] Ael. *VH* 3.1 calls *Pythias* (unexpressed *hodos*), the road from the region of Tempe to Delphi; A very eloquent example among the many, in IG II^2 380 ll. 19–21: ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς ἀγορανόμους τῶν ὁ/δῶν τῶν πλατειῶ[ν], ᾗι ἡ πομπὴ πορεύεται/τῶι Διὶ τῶι Σωτῆ[ρι κα]ὶ τῶι Διονύσωι.

Greek roads seems to transcend mere matters of terminology and is still a much debated issue among scholars today.

4. Defining a 'Sacred Road': functions, characteristics and ideology

In modern literature, both the term 'sacred way' and the term 'processional way' are at times employed to refer to remains of ancient pathways that may have served cultic purposes, where more specific onomastic indications are unavailable. In this regards, Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen has recently expressed his scepticism towards an excessively broad usage of the term 'sacred roads'. The scholar suggests modern research should use the expression exclusively as a toponym proper of a limited number of roads, and only when these are explicitly referred to as *hierai hodoi* in ancient textual documents.[31]

In order to discuss the evidence, it is essential to clearly define what characterises a Greek 'sacred road', from both a functional and a physical point of view. Secondly, it should be possible to formulate an all-encompassing definition that might stand for the entire category of 'sacred roads'.[32] Although the ways they were referred to in antiquity vary, they are conceptually linked by very similar religious functions and arrangements of parts.

a. Function

From a strictly functional perspective, a 'sacred road' can be defined as the surface on which mobility characterised by cultic purposes and ritual perambulatory activities are performed.[33] These activities can be mainly understood as 'pilgrimages' and 'processions'.[34]

[31] BEKKER-NIELSEN 2009, p. 15.

[32] In effect, what makes a sacred way is more a matter of function than of terminology. The term to define these roads should transcend the specificity of epigraphic and literary sources; in fact, although the word by which they were referred to in antiquity might vary, they are conceptually linked by very similar religious functions and arrangement of parts.

[33] For a comprehensive insight into Greek sacred travelling see DILLON 1997; ELSNER AND RUTHERFORD 2005; RUTHERFORD 2013.

[34] KAVOULAKI 2011, p. 13 gives a definition of religious processions as '*ritual movements through space with a clear destination and a ritual purpose'*. In times of a prescribed religious

Scholarly literature has recently given renewed attention to pilgrimages and processions in the ancient world, and particular consideration has been devoted to Greece. As often occurs when studying ancient religious practices, a major debate arose over the legitimacy of categorising the past using modern terminology.[35] Given the absence of strictly semantic and conceptual adherence between the ancient *theoria* and its discussed modern counterpart 'pilgrimage,' the Greek term was investigated and approached from different angles that demonstrated the difficulty of defining it unambiguously.[36] As observed, the same difficulty is experienced when an attempt is made to define a sacred road rigorously. Principally, *theoriai* were state delegations to oracles and festival games, and the term indicated the office of *theoros* as well. In a less specific sense, the word can be used to indicate the journey for visiting sanctuaries, and, as far as religious routes are concerned, it is worth noting the words of Hesychios on the road followed by the *theoroi* for the sacrifices, which he refers to as *hodos theorida*.[37] Furthermore, the verb *theorein* is frequently understood to have the more general meaning of being a spectator or beholding, and in philosophical thought also indicates the contemplative activity of the mind.[38] It then implies a first-hand experience and observation, which need not necessarily be religious. The attempt to rigidly ascribe the Greek *theoria* to either the sphere of the sacred or to the secular is seemingly unfruitful, given the blurry nature of the boundaries between Greek religion and secular activities.[39]

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festival, Greek sacrificial practices were public ceremonies, of which the procession was an integral part. The rite was concerned with the practice of taking sacred images, cult objects and sacrificial animals to a sacred destination, where they could be offered to the divinity. Processions were ordered in accordance with rigorous procedures and conducted on designated routes that made their way through the city or countryside; specific ritual acts were performed along the way at specified stops. For descriptions of the various stops and the rituals involving the Eleusinian procession, see Paus. 1.36.3, 38.7; see also the *lex sacra* IG II^2 1078 (ca. 220 AD).

[35] ELSNER AND RUTHERFORD 2005, pp. 1–9. RUTHERFORD 2013, pp. 12–14.

[36] A good analysis of the etymology and semantics of the term *theoria* can be found in KER 2000, pp. 308–311; RUTHERFORD 2013, pp. 4–6.

[37] Hsch. *s.v.* θεωροί.

[38] See NIGHTINGALE 2005.

[39] See PARKER 2005; HERDA 2011.

The surge of interest in ancient pilgrimages is matched by the rekindled attention to processional practices.[40] These were commonly referred to as *pompe* and *prosodos*.[41] The archaeological contextualisation of Greek processions is no less complicated than the analysis of *theoria*. *Theoriai* and *pompai* were generally conducted in accordance with events on the religious calendar; but, while pilgrimages and visits to sanctuaries could also be carried out within the private sphere, Greek cultic processions were public ceremonies, whose dramatic sequence of ritual dynamics were usually enacted in the presence of onlookers.[42]

Recent scholarly approaches to processions in ancient Greece highlight the staged aspect of rituals.[43] The prayers, the singing, the dancing and the cadenced progression itself were a spectacle to the observers, who were caught up in collective participation.[44] Specific areas were devoted to these performative rituals (e.g. theatre-like structures, dancing floors), whereas other structures could be regarded as purely processional only on occasion (e.g. roofed colonnades, temporary grandstands for spectators).[45] As already pointed out, these areas were functional parts of the processional rite, along with the structures for the preparation of the procession and the number of the more strictly religious elements (such as altars, shrines, or votives). Not surprisingly, the variety of these devotional mechanisms is matched by the variety of the physical contexts characterising the space traversed. As a consequence, similar problems of categorising and drawing clear-cut distinctions are experienced

[40] A recent exposition of the politics of religion and procession can be found in HERDA 2011. Early studies such as NILSSON 1916 and BÖMER 1952 made a rich classification of Greek processions and are still influential to modern scholars.

[41] For a recent discussion on the etymology of *pompe* and *prosodos*, see KAVOULAKI 2011, pp. 135–147.

[42] The procession followed established rules and regulations with regard not only to the route, but also to the participants' clothing and attributes; of particular relevance was the order and arrangement of the different groups of people taking part in the cultic parade; see PILZ 2011.

[43] On performative rituals and a historical development of 'performance theory', see PILZ 2011, pp. 151–156.

[44] In certain occasions the participants advanced with a particularly stylised manner of walking, Polyaenus *Strat.* 5.5.2: αὐτοὶ (οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς) νόμῳ πομπῆς βαδίζοντες.

[45] NIELSEN 2002; MELFI 2010, p. 317; CAMP 1986, pp. 45–46.

when moving from the history of religion to the archaeology of religion – in this case, from the ritual of the procession to the ritual space of the processional road.

b. Characteristics

The procession was staged along established routes, the paths of which at times can be recognised in the arrangement of the physical aspects of ritual space. The relevance of the physical elements which identify a sacred road revolves around factors which depend on the form of the ritual as well as on practical requirements.

In addition to the track of the road itself and the space reserved for the final sacrifice, it is possible to enumerate other features that served an important function within the procession, and which, then, have to be considered part of the processional road. For example, there were places where the parade was prepared and from where it started, there were offerings and votives set along the route, there were altars and shrines, places considered to be important by cultural tradition, spaces for ritual performances, areas for the onlookers who came to observe the procession and the contests related to the festival. Of course, those travelling a long way to a remote sacred destination needed water supplies and lodgings as well. All these can be seen as integral to the set of the experiences of the direct participants, and may be considered with good reason as pertaining to the sacred route.

c. Ideology and cultural context

The physical scenery through which the procession was led was not just a mute backcloth of isolated monuments; rather it symbolised the spatial framework of the collective traditional memories of a community.

The route to a sacred destination may represent a physical as well as a cultural bond between a social group and a place of particular religious concern; therefore, it fully reveals its ideological significance only in relation to the community, or the communities, for which it is significant.

The route of the Pythais provides a very good paradigm for understanding the relationship between myth and ritual space. Its sections stretching across Athens and Attica will be thoroughly discussed throughout this work, along with the mythical tradition that developed in connection to the ritual it supported.

However, a preliminary indication of the Pythaïs' mythical and religious frame is here briefly laid out to allow for a first understanding of its complexity and significance to the Athenians. The traditions pertaining to this road justify its importance and the sense of pride that Athenians felt in claiming their rights of ownership over it. In the opening lines of the *Eumenides*, Aischylos refers to the '*road-building sons of Hephaistos*', and to their role in escorting the god Apollo on his way to Delphi.[46] The ancient commentator on the text informs the reader that this is a reference to the Athenians. He also vindicates this interpretation in evoking the mythical account that Theseus had cleared the road of brigands, and every time the Athenians sent a state delegation (*theoria*) to Delphi, a group of men had to precede it to remove the overgrown vegetation. This same story of Theseus ridding the road to Delphi of robbers is mentioned by a scholiast on Aelius Aristides; this latter indicated the road as an *ergon* (an achievement) of the city.[47]

A fragment of the historian Ephoros (*FGrH* 70 F31b), cited by Strabo, contains another origin myth for the Sacred Way. This version has Apollo establish civic order by slaying the giant Tityos in Panopeus, and bringing down the earth-dragon Python in Delphi. The Phokian Panopeus, in its borderland position with Boiotia, was an important nodal point along the route to the sanctuary of Apollo. According to the myth, Theseus stopped in Panopeus during the accomplishment of his deeds, and the place is also indicated as the home town of one of the consorts of the Athenian hero. The traveller and geographer Pausanias refers to Panopeus (10.4.3) as one of the places along the Sacred Way where the Athenian women, known as *Thyiades*, stopped to hold dances on their way to Parnassos, towards which they headed to celebrate orgies in honour of Dionysos. There is very little doubt that the town was also one of the stops of the Pythaïs, the occasional major procession that followed the Sacred Way to Delphi.

In the light of the tradition, the route traversed by the procession followed Apollo's path in his journey from Delos to Delphi by way of Athens, undertaken for the purposes of taming the uncivilised world. It is possible that, among other religious purposes, the Pythaïstic procession might be seen as evocative of

[46] Aesch. *Eum.* 12–14 (Appendix, #Aiii).

[47] Aristid. *Panath*. 363 (Appendix, #Avii).

Apollo's journey in celebrating the prevailing of civic values over lawlessness, as it is symbolised by the previously mentioned myths related to Apollo and Theseus.[48] The tie between Athens and Delphi is strengthened by the mythical traditions associated with the sacred roads, and the procession led along the route enlivens this enduring bond.

Having considered the function and the principal characteristics, it is now possible to propose a more comprehensive definition of 'sacred road', which makes allowances for the regional cultural contexts to which it belongs.

In resuming and completing the functional definition already given, I would say that a 'sacred road' is primarily perceived as such by the community/ies to which it signifies a link between the community itself and a determined sacred/traditional topography. The cultic procession and the set of rituals enacted along its route give significance to the topography of collective memories in the framework of a determined religious celebration, of which the sacrifice and the place of destination are the climax.

5. Preliminary considerations in the examination of 'processional roads'

Pilgrimages, visits to sanctuaries, and processions are an expression of the cultural behaviour of a society. Whilst empirical social sciences enable scholars to directly experience the phenomena in which they are interested, classical archaeologists have to rely mostly on physical remains (including iconography) and written sources.

In some early cases the relation between iconography and processional spaces has proved extremely interconnected. In Crete, some of the earliest examples of constructed processional routes can be discerned in the raised pathways adjoining the theatrical structures of the Middle Minoan palaces of Phaistos and Knossos.[49] In addition to structural remains, an indication of public processional rituals at Knossos is attested in the 'Grandstand' and the 'Sacred

[48] See CAMP, et al.1997, p. 266; MCINERNEY 1999, pp. 107–108.

[49] NIELSEN 2002, pp. 69–70. The processional road that connected the palace of Knossos with the 'little palace' was named the 'Royal Road' in modern times by the excavators, see NIELSEN 2002, pp. 70–72; ALEXIOU 2004.

grove' frescoes, the latter depicting the celebrations as the parades were carried out along the preserved processional route.[50] In Mycenaean Greece, evidence for cultic processions is provided by the scenes painted in the palace-temples at Thebes, Tiryns, Pylos and Mycenae. These frescoes, similarly to the Minoan ones, were seemingly painted to reflect the actual processions that took place in specific spaces of the palaces.[51] Indeed, it is in the area of the shrines within the citadel of Mycenae that strong evidence for a proper processional way can be found, along with an iconographic rendition of a processional scene painted on one of the walls of the sanctuary itself.[52]

Certainly, rituals may well transcend the architectural development and the organisation of the space wherein the celebration takes place. Indeed, many early sacred places during the Dark Age were constituted merely of natural features, with simple shelters for the cult statue along with altars, identifiable as areas of burned dirt and sacrificial ashes. Indeed, some 'natural shrines', such as sacred groves, caves, and open-air sanctuaries, never went through any particular process of architectural development, and in any case it is not always necessary for human activities to be carried out in particular settings or produce tangible effects. Therefore, the subsequent limitation of evidence is the primary hurdle in the study of ritual space. As the archaeological recognition of Greek processional routes is heavily dependent on physical indications, their traceability, for the period that preceded the urbanisation and the 'will' to monumentalise the sacred, is, in the majority of the cases, only conjecturable.

The complexity of a general, 'from outside' approach to Greek sacred roads as a whole is mirrored by the absence of a complete and extensive study on the subject.[53] Thus, whilst religious mobility has received much attention from modern scholarship, a comprehensive examination of sacred roads as a more general archaeological genre has been rather neglected.

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[50] NIELSEN 2002, pp. 70–72.

[51] CASTLEDEN 2005, p. 133.

[52] CASTLEDEN 2005, pp. 146–149.

[53] For a criticism of a 'from outside' approach to performance rituals (such as processions), see KAVOULAKI 1999, pp. 293–294. The author puts an emphasis on rituals, but the same criticism might be extended to the study of sacred space involved in the rituals.

Three important aspects should be borne in mind when considering Greek 'Sacred roads'. The first point is that, in the majority of cases, these routes were not exclusively dedicated to religious activities, but traversed by regular traffic as well. Second, the same 'sacred' course can be entirely or partially traversed by different and distinct processions being conducted during different ritual occurrences. In this regard, I would like to turn again to Athens and to the Pythaïstic route. It has been suggested by Arthur W. Parsons that the procession may have followed the path of the Panathenaic Street across the Agora, and this was most probably the case at least up to the northern edge of the square.[54] In this respect, Parsons proposed that the already mentioned fourth-century BC road marker (Agora 19, H 34) referring to the Pythaistic procession and to a sacred road to Delphi, and discovered in proximity to the street of the *Panathenaïa* though not *in situ*, may stake a formal claim to a share in the same processional road.[55]

Thirdly, it is difficult – if not methodologically wrong – to 'extrapolate' a 'processional road' from the context of the civic or religious space to which it belongs. This is because roads are strictly interwoven with the urban landscape and the countryside scenery and, in some instances, structures identified as processional might hold a multifunctional nature. These reasons are probably responsible for the substantial lack in the focus on 'sacred roads' that usually occurs in the broader archaeological context of urban and sanctuaries excavations, some of the studies on extra-urban processional courses being an exception. Ulrich Sinn's recent contribution on the subject appropriately sets out to explore the regional inflections of some processional routes, as an analytical listing seems the most rational approach on descriptive grounds.[56]

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[54] PARSONS 1943, p. 238; WYCHERLEY 1963.

[55] Agora 19, H 34: Ὅρος ἱερᾶς ὁδῦ δι' ἧς πορεύεται ἡ Πυθαὶς ἐς Δελφός '*Marker of the Sacred Road by which the Pythaïs proceeds to Delphi*' (trans. PARSONS 1943, p. 237). See also SHEAR 1939, p. 212.

[56] SINN 2005. On sacred roads and some of the problems related to this topic, see also MOHR 2013. The debate on religious travelling in the Mediterranean has recently seen a renewed scholarly interest. In this regard, I thought I would mention the research project *The Emergence of Sacred Travel* carried out by the University of Aarhus, http://projects.au.dk/sacredtravel/. The general study and theorisation of roads and routes under different aspects (including religious

6. Proposals for study development

The importance of considering the cultic and spatial contextualisation of a sacred road when attempting to understand its components has already been mentioned. Accordingly, it is possible to identify a few guidelines for the study of sacred roads which should be considered complementary rather than alternative.

The first might take into particular account the religious frame of reference in which the rite is carried out, paying special attention to the occasion and the typology of the festival celebrated, to the divinity worshiped and to the modalities in which the procession is conducted. Such an approach could develop in accordance with the complex classifications of processions proposed in the past.[57]

A second avenue of research could lie in the examination of spatial assumptions. It is possible to categorise the processional roads by considering the route's starting and ending points, in terms of both distance and the direction of the parade. In this instance, François De Polignac's theoretical model and its further elaborations, such as that of Fritz Graf, would be relevant.[58] Graf theorises a simple polarity between 'centripetal' and 'centrifugal' directions with regard to whether the procession heads from the civic centre towards an external destination or whether it is enacted within the civic centre itself.[59]

A third approach might be primarily materialistic and be based on the relevance of the archaeological remains only. Looking at the extant evidence, we

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roads) and in different chronological periods has recently proven very lively, especially among scholars concerned with Anatolian studies. To this effect, one should mention the conference entitled *Pathways of Communication,* organised by the British Institute at Ankara (held 20–22 March 2014). This also includes work conducted at the Swedish Research Institute at Istanbul with the lecture series *Trade Pilgrimage and Colonisation: The Imperial Roads of the Middle East.* Still in the context of Anatolian studies, current work on roads (even religious), landscape and networks is conducted at the Koç University Research Centre for Anatolian Civilisations of Istanbul.

[57] NILSSON 1916; BÖMER 1952.

[58] DE POLIGNAC 1984, 1994; GRAF 1996. Graf's thesis draws on the theoretical frame proposed by De Polignac of urban, sub-urban and extra urban sanctuaries.

[59] GRAF 1996.

have only a handful of monumentalised sacred ways, all of which differ from each other. Thus, taking into account only the neatly recognisable paths would lead to the exclusion of cases which are less well documented or lacking extensive archaeological indication, although illustrious by tradition (such as the sacred road of the Pythaïs from Athens to Delphi and the one from Elis to Olympia).

7. The political dynamics of ritual practice and ritual space

What should certainly not be omitted are the politics underlying the dynamics between ritual and space. The idea that the collocation of a sanctuary within the city (or the cities) under whose cultural and religious sphere it belongs responds to the ideological and practical needs to assert the city's political control on its territory is now commonly accepted. Thus, the road leading to the sanctuary physically expresses this ideology, and the procession, along with all rituals in relation to it, re-enacts these cultural and political ties in the presence of the civic body.

In this regard, the politics revealed in the relation between ritual practices and ritual spaces can also be seen in the broader context of the cultural ties occurring between mother cities and their settlements (*apoikiai*). As an illustration, the Ionian city of Miletos expressed its civic identity and the relation with its territory by means of the annual procession along the sacred road, which was assembled and ordered in the Agora and which linked the city sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios with the extra-urban oracular sanctuary of Apollo Didymaios.[60] The distribution of the Milesian cults of Apollo Delphinios and Apollo Didymaios, in areas where the direct intervention of Miletos (or the oracle of Didyma) is attested by written evidence, may help underline the breadth of the archaic overseas interests of the Ionian city.

In this respect, the city of Olbia Polis, a Milesian colony on the Black Sea, shows its closeness to the metropolis in its institutions and in the

[60] For the procession and the sacred road from Miletos to Didyma, see HERDA 2006.

arrangement of ritual and political space.[61] In this settlement, the dichotomy of Apollo's cult is attested by the presence of qualities of both Delphinios and Didymaios, and it is also plausible that the major religious festivals, such as the yearly celebrations to Apollo, were conducted according to the pattern of Milesian practices.[62]

In the context of ancient Greek settlements, the adherence of socio-religious practices to the forms and characteristics of the mother city's cultic habits may be of great relevance in understanding the extent to which the founders actually partook in the identity and cultural development of the new foundations; it may also be indicative, along with the study of material culture, of the regional origin of the single groups participating in the life of mixed communities, through the analysis of the spatial arrangement in areas of ritual action.

This is particularly true of places whose status as *emporia* (settlements for trading purposes) favoured the involvement of several Greek cities in their development. This is, for example, the case of the archaic *emporion* of Naukratis, on the Canopic branch of the Nile. According to Herodotos, a total of twelve *poleis* had a share in the foundation of sanctuaries in Naukratis.[63] In particular, Aegina, Samos and Miletos built their own temples, which have been clearly identified with the exception of the sanctuary of Aeginetan Zeus. The other nine cities participated in the building of the Hellenion, the most important sanctuary in archaic Naukratis, where the collective Greek gods could be honoured and whose extension has not been entirely investigated.[64] Unfortunately, the waterlogged nature of the site has heavily affected past research as well as today's surveys of the site, and most of the observations have to rely on

[61] Besides the cults of Apollo Delphinios, the two cities had the same cult association (the Molpoi), which formed also the ruling body in both cities, and provided the eponymous magistrate (the *aisymnetes-stephanephoros*). Just as in Miletos, the *prytaneion*, the political and religious centre of the *polis*, was in close proximity to the Delphinion, in the northern end of the agora.

[62] HERDA 2011, pp. 78–81.

[63] Hdt. 2.178. The following cities are remembered by Herodotos to have established sanctuaries in Naukratis: the Ionian Chios, Teos, Phocea, Clazomenae, Samos and Miletos. The Dorian Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis, Aegina, and the Aeolian Mytilene.

[64] MÖLLER 2000, pp. 94–104; 105–108.

excavation maps. Yet the identification of the Milesian sanctuary of Apollo and the epigraphic evidence for the cult of Apollo Didymaios may leave room for ascribing these cults in the pattern of Milesian cults transfer, as seen, for example, in the case of Olbia Polis colony.[65]

As far as the Pythaïs is concerned, it is clear that the Athenian idea of a 'special connection' with Delphi through the Pythaïs and the pilgrimage road itself underlined a strong political significance, one that was strengthened by the Athenian claim of ownership of the Sacred Road.[66] Clearly, this affirmation of Athenian paternity over the sacred road to Delphi was in stark contrast with the 'international' nature of this road. In fact, at least in its segments through Boiotia and Phokis, this sacred road was certainly not used only by Athenians; but it was commonly followed by all travellers of different communities journeying to Delphi through Boiotia and Phokis.[67] Moreover, the affirmation of a Delphic-Athenian connection by means of the ritual pilgrimage and its road may not only have stood as an act of Athens towards the other Greeks; it may also have had political implications within the city itself, mostly with regard to the struggle between its most powerful aristocratic families. In fact, the possibility will be advanced in this work for the Athenian Pythaïs being a Peisistratidai initiative. This would probably have tightened the already close ties between Phokis and Athens, ties which traditionally predated the sixth century BC, and which seem to have been maintained especially by the Peisitratidai's rival family the Alkmaionidai.[68]

The examination of the connections between ritual practices and sacred/civic space is a highly important means of studying sacred roads, as it reveals these links to the highest degree. Starting with the analysis of primary evidence and placing it under the light of the cultural context to which it belongs

[65] HERDA 2011, pp. 78–79.

[66] This assertion can be first attested in Aischylos' *Eumenides* where the Athenians who escorted the god on his journey to Delphi are referred to as 'road-builders' (Aesch. *Eum.* 12–14; Appendix, #Aiii). The most recent document is Aelius Aristeides' Panathenaic oration, in which the road is defined as an *ergon* of the city (Aristid. *Panath*. 363; Appendix, #Avii).

[67] On the 'international' nature of the *Hiera Hodos* to Delphi, see DAVERIO-ROCCHI 2002, p. 149.

[68] On the mythical, traditional, and historical relationships between Athens and Phokis, see CAMP 1994, pp. 7–8.

will give sense to the local significance of the interaction of ritual and space, and will allow for its application in an external inter-regional context.

III
The processional route of the Pythaïs in the academic literature

As already observed, the Pythaïs was an Athenian overland pilgrimage to Delphi, conducted in honour of Apollo Pythios; it staged the Athenian version of the god's mythical journey across Attica and central Greece, from his birthplace (the island of Delos) to Delphi. On the whole, sacred delegations and processions heading for sanctuaries used well-established routes and generally travelled during specific periods of the year, according to a predetermined sequence of sacrifices and the celebration of religious festivals. Their regularity and sequence were encoded in sacred laws and calendars,[1] often along with the price of items necessary for carrying out public rituals, as this was also a matter of financial administration for the city. However, the ritual of the Athenian Pythaïs, as the ancient sources describe it, seems to occupy a fairly problematic place in this scenario, at least in its early phases.[2] In fact, although the procession was required to follow a determined road, whose path was closely related to the

[1] A good synthesis of the questions surrounding the early Athenian religious calendar is PARKER 1996, pp. 43–55.

[2] This irregularity is probably reflected in the fifth/fourth-century BC Athenian sacrificial calendar: LAMBERT 2002, F 1 A col. 2 ll. 26–27 (Appendix, #Axiii):

[. .] σημαίν [. . . .] κατὰ τὴν / [. .] η [.]ιν [. . . . . Ἄ]ρματος;

col. 3 ll. 26–30:

[. . . Ἀπό]λλωνι / τάδε ἔπ[ε]σθαι τῶι καν[ῶι] / τρίποδα, ἐπιτοξίδα, / στέμμα, προγόνιο[ν] / [. . .]ίσκον, σφαῖρα[ν]

The calendar entry referring to the ceremony does not yield information on when the ceremony was due to be conducted. Moreover, the relationship of the Pythaïs to the other sacrifices is unclear, as the insertion of the ceremony in the calendar (which is engraved using a lettering slightly different from the other records) is carved below a line that separates its entry from all the preceding text. For a recent discussion of the Pythaïs in the Athenian sacrificial calendar see LAMBERT 2002, pp. 370–371, 381. For new insights into the cult of Apollo and its religious topography in the calendar of sacrifices see GAWLINSKI 2007, pp. 43–47.

mythical origin of the ceremony, the Pythaïstic pilgrimage would have occurred at irregular and rather unpredictable intervals.[3]

Strabo gives the best description of the ritual that preceded the actual sending of the procession, and clarifies the irregularity and fortuity of the conditions necessary for propitiating the Pythaïs. The occurrence of these conditions was so rare as to become proverbial in antiquity.[4] An observation period of three days and three nights in three consecutive months was the prerequisite for the Pythaïs to be sent to Delphi, providing that during this time a lightning flash was seen from the direction of a place, that sources refer to as Harma (a site in Attica on Mount Parnes, close to Phyle, see fig. 1).[5] If lightning appeared to the Pythaïstai, then the procession could commence. The number of participants could total up to several hundred (at least for the revived ceremony of the second and first centuries BC). This multitude of Athenian citizens, along with carts and mounted knights, would have crossed the heart of the city and the

[3] In the Athenian version of the mythical journey of Apollo to Delphi, the Athenians escorted the god on his way from Attica (Aesch. *Eum.* 9–14; Appendix, #Aiii). The Athenian version of this myth is discussed in chapter four of this work.

[4] BOËTHIUS 1918, pp. 1–2, 145–146.

[5] The most eloquent description of the rituals preceding the procession itself is provided by Strabo (9.2.11; Appendix, #Axi): ἑτέρα οὖσα τοῦ Ἅρματος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ὅ ἐστι περὶ Φυλήν, δῆμον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὅμορον τῇ Τανάγρᾳ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ παροιμία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἡ λέγουσα ‘ὁπόταν δι᾽ Ἅρματος ἀστράψῃ,’ ἀστραπήν τινα σημειουμένων κατὰ χρησμὸν τῶν λεγομένων Πυθαϊστῶν, βλεπόντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἅρμα καὶ τότε πεμπόντων τὴν θυσίαν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὅταν ἀστράψαντα ἴδωσιν: ἐτήρουν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τρεῖς μῆνας, καθ᾽ ἕκαστον μῆνα ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας τοῦ ἀστραπαίου Διός: ἔστι δ᾽ αὕτη ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. *... and is a different place from the Harma in Attica, which is near Phylë, a deme of Attica bordering on Tanagra. Here originated the proverb, ‘when the lightning flashes through Harma’; for those who are called the Pythaistae look in the general direction of Harma, in accordance with an oracle, and note any flash of lightning in that direction, and then, when they see the lightning flash, take the offering to Delphi. They would keep watch for three months, for three days and nights each month, from the altar of Zeus Astrapaeus; this altar is within the walls between the Pythium and the Olympium* (trans. JONES 1927, pp. 293, 295). A short yet useful discussion on the identification of the modern location of Harma is in DAUX 1936, pp. 526–527, nn. 1–2.

region of Attica all the way to its borders with Boiotia.[6] The crowd would then have traversed the sacred road across Boiotia and headed in a northwest direction to enter Phokis near Panopeus, whence the procession proceeded to Delphi (fig. 1).[7]

From a combined analysis of the available literary and archaeological sources it is possible to assume that the ritual was introduced to Athens during the sixth century BC and, after occurring at irregular intervals throughout the centuries (and more regularly by the end of the second century BC), it was definitely abandoned at the end of the first century AD. The Pythaïs had changed over this long period, as socio-political circumstances affected the frequency with which this religious practice could be made, as well as participation by citizens and the richness of the *apparatus*. Furthermore, the extra-territorial nature of this Athenian procession and the extent of its journey certainly enhanced the influence that external and political factors exerted on the observance of the ceremony and the route of the pilgrimage, mostly during times of war and political instability.[8] Given the intertwined dynamics of the origin, development and characteristics of the pilgrimage, it is clear that the study of a complex matter such as the route of the processional road of the Pythaïs cannot be successfully undertaken without providing an account of the various scholarly approaches to the subject. This chapter will provide a description of the role played by the Pythaïs and, in particular, its processional route in the academic literature.

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[6] Carts were employed in the Pythaïs for the carrying of sacred objects (in this case a tripod and the sacred fire), as attested in FD III^2 32–33 (Appendix, #Axv–#Axvi).

[7] Panopeus was almost certainly one of the stops of the Athenian Pythaïs. The mythical, religious and political ties between Athens and Panopeus are described in CAMP, et al.1997.

[8] Certain exceptional circumstances might have had an influence on processional routes and ritual travelling. Among these factors, the sense of insecurity in times of war played a substantial role. As an example, consider the temporary disruption of the overland procession from Athens to Eleusis. During the Peloponnesian War, in fact, the enemy's military presence on Attic soil drove the Athenians to conduct the annual procession for the Eleusinian Mysteries by sea (Xen. *Hell*. 1.4.20; Plut. *Alc*. 34.4). Plutarch specifically associates the Athenian suspension of the traditional overland Eleusinian celebration with the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia, in 413 BC. See also DILLON 1997, pp. 41–42.

There are very few studies strictly dedicated to the ceremony, *Die Pythaïs* published by Axel Boëthius in 1918 being the most comprehensive monograph. For this reason, a list of the specific works on the subject *stricto sensu* would be incredibly short. However, in order to really be aware of the *status quæstionis*, it is necessary to trace the development of the gradual academic interest in the Pythaïs, as the breadth of this scientific process, both in terms of chronological focus and thematic conceptualisations**,** is considerable.

From whichever perspective one looks at the Pythaïs, it is almost impossible to consider every one of its facets in complete isolation from the others. In fact, this ritual practice unravels in an inter-contextual scenario, where the range of the underlying religious, historical, topographical and (in the broader sense) socio-cultural elements have played complementary roles in defining the ceremony. As a consequence, a history of the study concerning the path of the procession exclusively would be neither practicable nor intelligible. An overall review of significant works on the subject under discussion supports this remark. Indeed, past research on aspects related to the Athenian procession to Delphi encompasses a great number of references to diverse themes, as it has taken a decades-long process for the history of research to recognise the Pythaïs as a subject of study in its own right. Furthermore, in both ancient and modern literature (even recently), textual mentions of this ceremony are often misinterpreted and, at best, mistaken for the Athenian delegations sent to behold the Pythian games, which had little or nothing in common with the Pythaïs.

In order to contextualise the discussion of the processional route of the Pythaïs, it is crucial to consider step by step all the different approaches made by the research until the publications of detailed works dedicated specifically to the subject. In this perspective, the current state of knowledge on the road of the Pythaïs can be properly understood by shifting the attention from the all-encompassing monographs of the early twentieth century to the subsequent development of specific archaeological themes related to the ceremony and its forms.

The traces left by the processional route from Athens to Delphi are rather elusive in the early history of research, as the course of the Athenian pilgrimage was not central to many scientific contributions on the Pythaïs. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that, as is often the case in the study of antiquities, the majority

of scholars concerned with this procession have progressively succeeded only in identifying and discussing the pertinent issues, rather than coming up with indisputable solutions to problems, which are, to a certain extent, still open. Hence, a summary survey of past research on the Pythaïs, which covers a period of nearly two centuries, must focus on its most relevant points and adhere to a sequential exposition rather than be ordered under any specific class or typology. Nevertheless, it is still possible to identify scholarly tendencies, which allow a thematic grouping of fundamental research trends. The following discussion intends to identify the theme of the Athenian sacred road to Delphi latent in the history of studies, up to its development as a specific subject of research.

1. Modern and pre-modern travellers' accounts

Certain major Greek land routes were always in use throughout antiquity, and were also employed by travellers until the end of the nineteenth century.[9] In many instances, today's thoroughfares across Greece are laid along roughly the same east-west and north-south orientations as the ancient roads. Among these routes were the roads that, leaving Attica, made their way to Delphi after crossing Boiotian and Phokian territories. The Pythaïstai took one of these roads in conducting their pilgrimage to Delphi. It is understandable, then, to be inclined to look at the accounts of early and pre-contemporary voyagers to address issues of ancient topography, whenever these dwell on the description of routes identifiable as sections of the sacred road and on its antiquities. To a certain extent, this broadly applies to the study of the topographical knots, which dot the many possible roads leading from Athens to Delphi.[10] Travel literature stands as an invaluable source of information concerning the spatial contextualisation of ancient roads and sites, and it is still brought into play by scholars for its documentary importance. Nonetheless, as detailed and insightful as these travel

[9] For a recent publication on travellers and travellers' routes in central Greece from the twelfth century to the nineteenth century, see FELSCH-KLOTZ 2009.

[10] As an example, the road extending eastwards from Delphi to Lebadeia, which passes through ancient Panopeus (whose ruins lay by the village of Agio Blasio), and is commonly referred to as belonging to the Sacred Road to Delphi, was in all probability part of the course of the Athenian Pythaïs. This was a much used route followed and described by many travellers. See e.g. DODWELL 1819, p. 195 ff.; FELSCH-KLOTZ 2009, p. 11.

writings may be, it would be misleading to look for the origins of scientific study of a subject as defined as the Pythaïs within the context of such a diverse literature. In fact, the majority of information on the Pythaïs derives from ancient literary sources and epigraphic texts, which, along with the results of other archaeological investigations, contributed in different proportions and at different stages to the advancement of Pythaïstic studies.[11] Therefore, to fully comprehend the research tradition, we have to look at the slow genesis of the works, which focused with a great deal of precision on understanding the dynamics between these primary and secondary sources on the ceremony and its spatial contextualisation. Indeed, it is possible to identify the early phases of the research and follow the thread of its development, which gives evidence of a gradual and ever-increasing attention to the Pythaïs on the part of scholars from different disciplines. As far as the route of the Pythaïs is concerned, this scientific momentum developed around the first decades of the nineteenth century.

2. The centrality of Attica in the early studies

The first scientific contributions establishing a relation between the Athenian overland pilgrimage to Delphi and the available textual and archaeological evidence focused on the countryside rather than the city of Athens. In 1824, Karl Ottfried Müller concisely described the entire extent of the overland route to Delphi, and proposed to look at Oinoe Hippothoöntis as an intermediate station along the journey of the Pythian pilgrimage.[12] The work, whose approach is principally historical, considers textual sources and interprets them in the light of some of the mythical-religious traditions, which would have become a recurrent reference in subsequent studies on the Pythaïs. In Müller's view, the Sacred Road to Eleusis and the road leading thence into Boiotia through Eleutherai on Mount Kithairon was the most likely route for the journey

[11] The most complete analysis of the sources for the study of the Pythaïs is BOËTHIUS 1918. As far as the epigraphic documents from Delphi are concerned, see COLIN 1905; COLIN 1906 and COLIN 1909, which remains the most comprehensive reference. DAUX 1936, p. 521, n. 1 refers to the aforementioned as the main reference for all texts on the Pythaïs.

[12] MÜLLER 1824, p. 239–240. For sake of clarity, this is the Oinoe situated near the fortress of Eleutherai on the northwest border with Boiotia (LEAKE 1829, p. 276; TRAILL 1975, p. 52).

of the *theoria* (sacred mission) to Delphi across Attica (fig. 1). Shortly after this in 1829, it is again in the context of Attic topography that William Martin Leake, discussing the identification of Harma in a study on the demes and the respective tribes, seems implicitly to point to the course of the procession, but, this time, places it across the heights of Mount Parnes, along the road to Boiotia through Phyle.[13] In doing so, he not only takes the ritual practices related to the Athenian Pythaïs into account, but is also among the first to establish a close relation between this ceremonial procession and its extra-urban setting from a perspective that is principally topographic. These early contributions bear witness to the transition that gradually directed the Pythaïs and its aspects from the domain of philology and history of religion into the sphere of archaeology. Furthermore, a tendency was already emerging that became common in much of the later research: to set up a dichotomy between the alternative hypotheses about the first extra-urban stretch of the Athenian processional way to Delphi as being either a route across western or across central Attica. Such a binary approach should not surprise us; on the one hand, modern scholars are prone to regard the course of the well-documented Sacred Way to Eleusis as a primary candidate for a processional road of the Pythaïs as well. On the other hand, the documentary references to the Pythaïs, although scanty, also make it possible for researchers to build hypotheses on alternative itineraries. In this respect, Müller's and Leake's contributions, during this early phase of research, show the inclination towards the binary approach of the scientific contributions to the study of the processional path.[14] Thus, it became clearer and clearer that the ancient topography of Attica

[13] LEAKE 1829, p. 206. The same view is shared, among others, by MILCHHÖFER 1895, p. 14. As far as travellers' accounts are concerned, it is worth noting that shortly before Leake's cited work, DODWELL 1819, p. 506 had described the hypothetical location of Harma without making any mention of the Pythaïs, although referring to the same source as Leake (Str. 9.2.11; Appendix, #Axi). Other contributions having a more prosopographical centre of attention added to the understanding of the Pythaïs and its characteristics (e.g. BOSSLER 1833, p. 46).

[14] This approach is exemplified a few years later by Ernst Curtius. He indicates two possibilities for the route of the Pythaïs, either through the Eleusinian Sacred Road and Kithairon, or through the Marathonian Tetrapolis; the latter being Curtius' preferred hypothesis; see CURTIUS 1855, p. 27. In spite of the acknowledged importance of the Tetrapolis area (Marathon, Oinoe, Probalinthus, Tricorythus) for the origin and development of the cult of Apollo in Attica, the hypothesis that the route of the Pithaïs could have followed an eastern path into Boiotia through

would have held a key position in the discourse about the sacred road, as its religious landscape attracted more attention than the spatial location of the Boiotian and Phokian stretches of the sacred road to Delphi, at this time. The explanation of this tendency is straightforward: places referred to by our principal literary sources, which are essential for a current understanding of the rituals related to the Pythaïs, are located predominantly in Attica.[15] Indeed, the study of the ceremony in the light of the literary sources not only attempted to comprehend the cultural aspects related to it, but also moved towards identifying spaces concerned with the ritual itself. Thus, the problem of the actual path of the procession soon became a central issue. This point is of the greatest importance, as the topographic contextualisation of the course of the Attic sections of the sacred road to Delphi is currently being scrutinised by scholars concerned with the pilgrimage, and it is still one of today's most challenging issues in the study of the Pythaïs.

This question was addressed in the middle of the nineteenth century by Hermann Sauppe, who raised the issue straightforwardly: '*Now the question is, what was the sacred road to Delphi?*'.[16] Once more, this matter came up in discussing the historical landscape of Attica, and clarification of the problem was accompanied by an argument on the interpretation of the sources against the backdrop of the ritual space. In fact, interest in the route of the Pythaïs had definitely emerged as early as the middle of the nineteenth century, and it came to take its place in works with a more archaeological approach as well. The first of these is *Zur Geschichte des Wegebaus bei den Griechen*, in which Ernst Curtius (1855) resumes the discussion of the course of the Athenian processional road to Delphi. In this source, the argument unfolds in the wider context of sacred ways and as an important complement to Curtius's comprehensive study of Greek roads, where technical and structural aspects of processional roads are discussed along with their religious and decorative elements.[17]

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the region of the Tetrapolis is rarely taken into account by scholars; see RUTHERFORD 2013, p. 185.

[15] I refer here to Strabo (9.2.11; Appendix, #Axi) and Philochoros (*FGrH* 328 F 75; Appendix, #Axii).

[16] SAUPPE 1845, p. 237: '*Es fragt sich nun, welches war die heilige Strasse nach Delphi*?'.

[17] CURTIUS 1855.

This fruitful period also began to see the invaluable influx of epigraphy into the body of knowledge about the Pythaïs. It was in 1852 that Greek excavations uncovered near the City Eleusinion the majority of the fragments which make up the list of the officials contributing annual *aparchai* (literally: primal offerings, firstlings) to the Pythaïs, in the years 103/2 to 97/6 BC inclusive.[18] The quantity of crucial information, which derives from epigraphic documents, occupied an increasingly relevant position in the study of the dynamics of the Athenian pilgrimage to Delphi. The weight of epigraphic studies of the ceremony would have increased enormously with the discovery and examination of the Pythaïs inscriptions from the *thesauros* (treasury building) of the Athenians at Delphi. These influenced subsequent research by providing the scientific debate with a quantity of detailed information on the occurrence and composition of the pilgrimage.

The study of the correlation between myth and ancient sacred topography had characterised early scientific debate on the road of the Pythaïs, and had found in Arthur Milchhöfer (1873) one of its best advocates. His influential work on the cult of Apollo and the sites of his veneration in Attica covers both the places related to the course of the Pythaïs within the city and the extent of the processional road through the countryside.[19] In discussing this extra-urban way, Milchhöfer makes a relevant contribution to the discourse on the sacred road of the Pythaïs. He suggests that the route of the Athenian procession included the deme of Acharnai, and that this was also the place where the procession of the Tetrapolis merged with the road of the Athenian Pythaïs on its way to Delphi across Mount Parnes.[20]

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[18] IG II^2 2336. For discussion of the Pythaïs referred to in IG II^2 2336 being a Delian procession see DOW 1940. According to TRACY 1982, this iscription referred to a Delphi Pythaïs. Among the different editions, EUSTRATIADIS 1855, p. 35 is of particular relevance for an early discussion of the terminology regarding the Pythaïstic ceremonial. A comprehensive edition and commentary is TRACY 1982. See TRACY 1982, pp. 16–19 for a review of editions preceding his.

[19] MILCHHÖFER 1873, pp. 43–57.

[20] The cities of the Tetrapolis had their own sacred delegations to Delphi and Delos. The understanding of the relationship between these pilgrimages and the Athenian ones is fundamental to the study of the sacred road of the Pythaïs. MILCHHÖFER 1873, pp. 56–57.

3. First monographic studies

Thus, between the end of the nineteenth century and the very beginning of the twentieth century, the Pythaïs had found a firm place in the study of Greek antiquities as a subject in its own right among the number of the other Athenian processions.[21] In fact, it is in the background of this particularly receptive period that a *de facto* tradition of study on the Pythaïs emerges.

The relevant material, which had built up hitherto, required a general reassessment in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This was insightfully carried out in the work of Johannes Töpffer (1888), whose *Die Attischen Pythaisten und Deliasten* is regarded by some as the first coherent study focusing on the Pythaïs: it stands as the closest precursor to the more comprehensive publications of the twentieth century. Töpffer's contribution to the question draws attention to central points, which in the majority of cases had been raised separately until then, and which were further developed in the works of the early twentieth century. His most important remarks concerned the role of the Pythaïstai in the context of the Pythaïstic rituals, and on the actual designation of the procession.[22] Moreover, he contributed to the never-ending debate over the association of the Pythion referred to by Philochoros (*FGrH* 328 F 75) with the Marathonian Oinoe, and to the forms of the cult of the Delphic/Delian god in Attica. In a way analogous to his predecessors, Töpffer's observations on the relationship between ritual space and the literary sources referring to it is a

[21] PFUHL 1900, pp. 103–106 devoted to the Delphic processions a concise part of his *De Atheniensium Pompis Sacris*. He maintains that Athens and the Attic Tetrapolis had always sent a joint Pythaïs to Delphi (PFHUL 1900, p. 105). On the ritual independence of the Tetrapolis from Athens see TÖPFFER 1888 and VON SCHOEFFER 1889. Also, CURTIUS 1855, pp. 20, 27 emphasises the coexistence of the two main centres of the cult of Apollo in Attica, but acknowledges the anteriority of the Tetrapolis over Athens in the introduction of the cult. This dichotomy is solved by proposing that the course of the Athenian Pythaïs (which Curtius always refers to as Pythia) merged with the ancestral sacred road of the Tetrapolis (p. 27). Furthermore, he believes in the perfect analogy between the celestial signs, which propitiated the sending of the Pythaïs both for Athens and for the cities of the Tetrapolis (CURTIUS 1865, p. 8, 12). As for the uncertain status of the Pythaïs in the studies of the same period, it is worth noting that important works, such as MOMMSEN 1898, fail to pay specific attention to the Pythaïs.

[22] See TÖPFFER 1888, pp. 321–325. On the terms Pythiás and Pythaïs see Ibidem, p. 322, n. 3, for the documents available at his time.

function of his views about the course of the processional road of the Athenian Pythaïs. Among these different themes, Töpffer insightfully resumed the discourse on the relevance of the cult of Apollo in the Attic Tetrapolis, and the process leading to the later reception of the god in Athens, as well as the synthesis of Delian and Pythian Apollo into the cult of Apollo Patroös. Generally, in the studies preceding Töpffer's, the Pythaïstic procession was discussed in much shorter passages, often presented almost as an incidental topic in the examination of more general themes.[23]

As previously anticipated, the period encompassing the last years of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth saw remarkable advances in knowledge about the Pythaïs. Until then, the ceremony could not have played a major role among scholars, because of the dearth of coherent information, and if it had not been for the advancement of archaeological investigations, knowledge of the Pythaïs would have most likely come to a dead end.

Indeed, the turning point occurred in the period following the French excavations in 1893–4 at Delphi, with the discovery of the inscriptions from the treasury of the Athenians.[24] The majority of the texts, which were carved on marble blocks from the southern wall of the monument, refer to the Pythaïstic missions of the second and first centuries BC.[25] These were first studied and brought to public attention in three different instances.[26] In fact, the earliest

[23] E.g. the case of VON SCHÖFFER 1889, pp. 11, 201. I would like to mention here the important work of MOMMSEN 1878, whose contribution to the study of the Pythaïs in the context of the Delphic religious calendar is also acknowledged by BOËTHIUS 1918, pp. iii–iv. The limited state of knowledge on the Pythaïs in the period just before the publication of the Pythaïstic inscriptions from Delphi can be exemplified by the words of COLIN 1905, p. 15: '*... en 1888, douze pages suffisaient à M.Töpffer pur exposer et discuter tout ce qu'on savait alors sur le sujet*'.

[24] The meagre amount of information available on the Pythaïs in the period preceding the acquisition of the Delphic inscriptions is stressed in *JHS* 44 (2), 1924, pp. 300–301 (anonymous review of BOËTHIUS 1918).

[25] These inscriptions refer to four processions in the years 138/37, 128/27, 106/5, 98/7 BC respectively.

[26] COLIN 1905; COLIN 1906; COLIN 1909. The discovery was first reported in HOMOLLE 1893, p. 613; HOMOLLE 1894, p. 183. A few inscriptions, which make direct or indirect reference to the Pythaïs were published by NIKITSKY 1893; COUVE 1894 (pp. 87–90, 90–96), and HOMOLLE 1896,

proper monograph on the Pythaïs was the work of Gaston Colin.[27] The publication of *Le culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes* in 1905 marked major progress in Pythaïstic research, presenting scrupulous examination of the epigraphic documents on the Athenian delegations. As more information on the ceremony and its participants came to light, discourse on the Pythaïs shifted from relatively general study of the ritual and its characteristics into the more specific domains of history and prosopography.[28] These approaches paved the way for the development of research principally oriented towards historical analysis of the state of the relations between Athens and Delphi, of which the Pythaïs was regarded as testimony. In addition to the above-mentioned Colin, studies on the Pythaïs at the very beginning of the twentieth century benefited in particular from the works of scholars such as William Scott Ferguson and Joannes Pomtow. Ferguson (1909; 1911) had reviewed in detail the information on Athenian delegations to Delphi, in the second and first centuries BC, and contextualised them in the historical framework of Hellenistic Athens. Pomtow had presented and re-examined some documents concerning the Pythaïs (among others), which were newly published and commented upon in the third edition of the *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*,[29] and whose first and second volumes were issued shortly before the publication of *Die Pythaïs* (BOËTHIUS 1918).

This brief period saw knowledge of the Pythaïs growing in such a rapid way that, by the end of the first two decades of the twentieth century, academic understanding of the ceremony already required reconsideration. This would have been as timely as the contribution made by Töpffer, but on a much larger scale. Thus, in 1918, Axel Boëthius charged himself with pulling together all relevant literary sources and re-evaluating them in the light of the recently

p. 709, 715 n. 5. Colin himself did a preliminary analysis of and commentary on the epigraphic material (COLIN 1896, pp. 639–641).

[27] COLIN 1905.

[28] For a recent historical and prosopographical study of the Pythaïs, see KARILA-COHEN 2005a, 2007.

[29] POMTOW 1917: *Syll.*[3] 696–699 (Pythaïs of 138/7 BC, 128/7 BC); 711 (Pythaïs of 106/5 BC, 711 *L*$_5$ τὰν Πυθαΐδα δι' ἐννεετηρίδος); 728 (Pythaïs of 97/6 BC). According to DAUX 1936, pp. 557–558, 561, this was most likely an ἐννεετηρίς. This contrasts with COLIN 1909, p. 59, who thinks of the introduction of an annual Pythaïs); 773 (τὴν δωδεκῆδα).

published epigraphic documents from Delphi; he carried out his study in a manner both discursive and extremely analytical. Boëthius's contribution is the most comprehensive study on the Pythaïs (and certainly one of the most cited, along with COLIN 1905) of the studies that exist.[30] When Boëthius's doctoral thesis was published in 1918, scholarly interest in the Athenian *thysia* (offering, sacrifice) to Delphi was at its peak, and, as we have seen, much study had already been done. In the introductory lines of *Die Pythaïs*, as well as throughout the text, the author draws a vivid sketch of the state of research of his time. The scholars, whose publications are acknowledged in Boëthius's work (*vide infra*), were authoritative references, and, except for very few cases and revisions, still constitute the backbone of our current knowledge of the Pythaïs.[31] Today's research on the course of the *theoria* has to consider Boëthius's thorough analysis and interpretation of the textual sources, which is the most detailed in the history of study of the Pythaïs. Indeed, his analysis of the ceremony with the systematic discussion of its political, religious and ritual aspects constitutes a rational complement to the mythical traditions surrounding the sacred road to Delphi, to which Boëthius dedicated a full chapter of his work.[32]

In 1936, the important contribution of Georges Daux followed the same wave of scholarly enthusiasm, which had characterised the first quarter of the century.[33] By virtue of the conclusions drawn by his predecessors, his study contributed to the debate of his time with a conclusive tone on several issues, and

[30] His research is still regarded as some of the most complete. In particular, current scholarship (e.g. DAVIES 2007, p. 59, n. 9) considers Boëthius's work as the best study on the Pythaïs during the epochs that preceded the renewal of the pilgrimage of the second century BC. Generally, important contemporary studies concerned with matters of ancient Greek processions paid little attention to the Pythaïs. For example, NILSSON 1916, p. 310 devoted just a few lines to the Pythaïstic ritual without explicitly mentioning the name of the procession.

[31] See DAVIES 2007, p. 66, n. 9. Revision of the available sources, or, in the best of cases, the acquisition of new documents, has rarely led to a radical reconsideration of our understanding of the Pythaïs.

[32] BOËTHIUS 1918, pp. 34–51.

[33] See also DAUX 1940, for a discussion on the Pythaïs in the context of Athenian and Delphic relationship.

in some ways it set the high watermark of the fervour of the first decades of the century.[34]

In the period spanning the appearance of early studies on subjects closely or distantly related to the Pythaïs to the end of the 1930s, the quantity of information obtained using a combined analysis of literary and epigraphic texts led to a reconstruction of the Pythaïstic ceremony, accounting for the practice from its beginning through its transformation to the conclusion of the ritual, between the end of the Hellenistic period and the close of the first century AD.[35] As already observed, the subject of the route followed by the procession had been rarely studied up to this point and was profoundly intertwined with analyses of wider interests. Nonetheless, the parallel progress of the archaeological investigations at Athens supplied complementary information for an integrated recovery of the course of the procession; and research was increasingly focused on the road of the Pythaïs.

4. Focus on Athens

A new phase in the acquisition of knowledge about the itinerary of the Pythaïstic ceremonial developed in the first half on the twentieth century. This was closely related to the advancement of archaeological investigations at Athens. Back in the 1870s, the identification of the assumed location of the Pythion by the right bank of the Ilissos River, most likely in the area southwest of the Olympieion, had already offered the opportunity to position the discussion on the procession in the context of Athenian topography.[36] However, a few years later, the spatial contextualisation of the ceremony received even further attention following excavations of the sanctuary caves on the west end of the

[34] Of particular interest, Daux provided elucidation of the linguistic definition of the ceremony among a number of similar terms about the celebrations to Apollo (DAUX 1936, pp. 525–526), and the insight about the occurrence of the procession in the first century BC, DAUX 1936, pp. 558–559. The terms ‘right bank’ and ‘left bank’ in this work are in relation to an observer looking downstream, as conventianlly accepted.

[35] As noted in the introductory chapter, under Augustus, the Athenian *theoria* to Delphi resumed and was defined by the term Dodekaïs (COLIN 1909, pp. 62–70).

[36] MILCHHÖFER 1873, pp. 43–53; CURTIUS 1877.

north slope of the Acropolis.[37] Indeed, the identification of the sanctuary of Apollo Hypo Makrais considerably expanded discussion on the original location of the Pythion at Athens and breathed new life into the assumptions concerning the urban stretch of the sacred way.[38] Moreover, the opportunity to link the increasing understanding of the Pythaïs to the archaeological evidence received a boost in the 1930s, with the systematic excavations of the Agora.

In this respect, and continuing the exposition of relevant events according to time of occurrence, it was in 1938 that the American excavation of the Athenian Agora uncovered the fourth-century BC boundary stone of the sacred way followed by the Pythaïs.[39] Although the road marker was not found in its original position, it was nevertheless regarded as a document of the greatest importance, as this, to our knowledge, is the only archaeological evidence

[37] KAVVADIAS 1897. He hypothesised that the sanctuary cave of Apollo had to be seen as a Pythion.

[38] Since the early excavations of the cave (KAVVADIAS 1897), scholarship raised the question as to whether this cave should be identified as a religious place sacred to Apollo Pythios – a second Pythion in duplication of the Pythion on the Ilissos. This debate has lasted for more than a century and is still ongoing. One of the earliest contributions to uphold the identification of Apollo's cave with the primal Pythion mentioned by Thucydides (2.15.4; Appendix, #Axvii) and to support the theory of the duplication of certain sanctuaries was that of Jane E. Harrison (HARRISON 1906, pp. 66–83, 143–144). However, epigraphic record from the Athenian Agora (I 7577) indicates that the cave was certainly dedicated to Apollo Hypo Makrais as early as the fifth century BC, see GAWLINSKY 2007. In fact, a further inscription reused in the building of the wall of the Klepsydra spring house (SEG 54, 75) shows that the cave was sacred to Apollo already in the years surrounding 470 BC, possibly even earlier. For a recent discussion on the topographic issues and the identification of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythion and the cave of Apollo Hypo Makrais, see NULTON 2003, in particular, pp. 15–23. Epigraphic evidence shows that Apollo was worshiped in the cave as Hypoakraios, at least in the first century AD; for more on this, see NULTON 2003.

[39] For more on this discovery, see SHEAR 1939, pp. 212–213. Agora 19, H 34: Ὅρος ἱερᾶς ὁδῶ δι' ἧς πορεύεται ἡ Πυθαὶς ἐς Δελφός. '*Marker of the Sacred Road by which the Pythaïs proceeds to Delphi*' (trans. PARSONS 1943, p. 237). As already seen, the studies on the Pythaïs had started to follow several avenues of research ever since the increasing amount of available information explained the characteristics of the ceremony by historicising it. For instance, PARKE 1939 is a good example of an analysis of the dynamics of the procession to Delphi in a specific historical framework.

bearing witness to a Pythaïstic sacred way in its own right.[40] In point of fact, before this finding, assumptions about the urban course of the Pythaïs were a matter of inference on the grounds of limited textual sources.

The possibility that the cave of Apollo Hypo Makrais could be identified as a Pythion was explored again in 1943 by Arthur W. Parsons.[41] He proposed to locate the starting point of the Pythaïs in the area by the sanctuary caves, and suggested that the so-called Paved Court below the caves was a sort of *pompeion*, that is to say a structure or space intended for the preparation of the procession.[42] His important remarks encompassed the urban route of the Pythaïs as well as briefly illustrating the possible path followed by the *theoria* through Attica. Parsons's conclusions, far from being commonly agreed with, actually showed the difficulty of identifying the course of the procession within the city, as was also amply acknowledged by both contemporary and subsequent scholarship. The complexity of the discussion surrounding the location of the shrines potentially involved in the Pythaïstic rituals was effectively reconsidered by Richard E. Wycherley, whose reassessment of the problem provided an invaluable review of the lively debate on the location of the Olympieion and Pythion since 1895.[43]

It is clear that any inference about the course of the procession through Athens strongly depends on two puzzling archaeological issues: the location of the altar of Zeus Astrapaios, and the relationship of the road marker of the

[40] This drove SHEAR 1939, p. 213 to hypothesise the existence of a route for the Pythaïs that was distinct from the sacred way to Eleusis.

[41] PARSONS 1943. The connections between the archaeology of the Agora properly speaking and the manner of Pythian worship had also been brought forward by THOMPSON 1937, pp. 110–114 with his report on the American School's excavation of the temple of Apollo Patroös in the west side of the Agora.

[42] PARSONS 1943, pp. 233–237. More simplistically, SHEAR 1938, p. 334 hypothesises that this paved area could pertain to a water basin, probably relating to the nearby Klepsydra spring. This is also the interpretation of GOMME 1956, p. 58, n. 2.

[43] WYCHERLEY 1959, pp. 68–72. For an early argument in favour of locating the *eschara* (altar) of Zeus Astrapaios on the Pelargikon, see DÖRPFELD 1895, p. 200. Consider also WYCHERLEY 1963 for further discussion of the problem. See WYCHERLEY 1963, p. 76 for bibliography. The centrality of the problem concerning the various forms of the cult of Apollo at Athens and its transposition in the sacred topography of the city is thoroughly examined by HEDRICK 1988.

Pythaïs with the Panathenaïc street.[44] The first was described by the sources as being close to the Pythion (Str. 9.2.11), whereas the road marker is difficult to associate unequivocally with a specific road, either spatially or conceptually. These topographic issues will be discussed in greater depth in the fifth chapter of this work, and hypotheses will be proposed concerning the location of the altar of Zeus Astrapaois and the relationship between the road marker and the urban layout of Athens.

Throughout this lengthy process, a number of different studies were carried out, which consequently increased knowledge concerning the Pythaïs and the recognition of related archaeological problems. The mythical and religious elements underlying the origin and procedures of the ceremony had been partly situated in a historical and topographical context, which, although still uncertain, became less and less obscure as the archaeological explorations progressed. Thus, contemporary scholarship was increasingly provided with the resources for concentrating attention on specific aspects of the Pythaïstic *theoria*. This was particularly true of aspects relating to the sacred road and more generally the course of the procession to Delphi (both along its urban and extra-urban journey).

5. Recent contributions and research on the processional road

Current Pythaïstic scholarship has become particularly concerned with the relation between rituality and sacral space. In this regard, the exceptional extent of the Athenian sacred road to Delphi and its singularly inter-regional qualities offer an incredible variety of themes spanning from the history of religion through matters of historical landscape. A recent contribution by Giovanna Daverio Rocchi (2002) was entirely devoted to the *hiera hodos* of the Pythaïs, against the backdrop of its multi-regional character. This work, which to my knowledge is the only one to focus exclusively on the sacred road to Delphi, concisely covers the manifold issues pertaining to the singularity of a path that originated in Athens and was considered Athenian by local tradition, but which

[44] For a description of the Panathenaïc way see CAMP 1986, pp. 45–46.

also took on inter-regional implications in its passage through Boiotia and Phokis. Contemporary research turned again to the urban extent of the processional path, as a result of a reconsideration of Athenian sacred topography. In 2003, a study on the aforementioned sanctuary cave of Apollo Hypo Makrais gave Peter E. Nulton the opportunity to re-evaluate part of the textual and physical evidence for the cult of Apollo at Athens. It is in this context that the above-mentioned boundary stone of the sacred road of the Pythaïs is discussed once more in relation to the unfolding of the procession, which, Nulton argued, could have proceeded or stopped by the temple of Apollo Patroös.[45]

Throughout the period examined here, the route of the Pythaïs, and more specifically the sacred road, appears to have been a rather elusive subject among those who have researched it. The few publications in which the problem is discussed are either very dated or do not present a comprehensive analysis of the topic. For this reason, in the light of past studies and in consideration of the advancement of topographic knowledge, it is time for a thorough study and reassessment of the subject. Thus, my research aims to analyse the rituality of the Pythaïs in combination with the space across which it unfolded, in order to re-evaluate the route of the procession in both its urban and extra-urban settings. It is a fact that among a number of the issues surrounding the ceremony, the actual course of the Athenian Pythaïs to Delphi is still uncertain. The present study will now address this particular question with a few preliminary remarks. The first is that past research has generally offered isolated hypotheses on the course of the pilgrimage. Furthermore, these contributions tended to focus on different segments of the route, in accordance with the specific interests of the research. It should also be observed that the rare instances in which the sacred road to Delphi is extensively discussed do not provide a comprehensive topographical analysis and do not take into full account all the archaeological evidence as it relates to the pilgrimage.

Building on these premises, the following work intends to fill the gap in research by conducting a modern study from an archaeological perspective that is specifically oriented towards the examination of the Athenian sacred road to Delphi. This assignment is not isolated from the current research interest; on the

[45] Agora 19, H 34. NULTON 2003, pp. 20–21.

contrary, it seeks to contribute to scholarly interest in problems of ancient topography, within the city and its surrounding territory. This interest has been recently reflected by research into the ancient city's road system, in particular in the works of Leda Costaki (2006) and Laura Ficuciello (2008). This latter, in particular, dedicates a few sections of *Le strade di Atene* to the road of the Pythaïs.[46] Within the discourse, it is possible to observe once more that current archaeology is still evaluating different approaches to and hypotheses about the question. The aforementioned studies of Costaki and Ficuciello, converging towards specific examination of Athenian thoroughfares, represent the circumstances in which the latest archaeological discussion of the problem has taken place; and they now make it possible for further research to address more specific issues of sacred mobility within the frame of the Athenian road network and its extra-urban projections. At the same time, current scholarship fully acknowledges the topographic problem constituted by the reconstruction of the Pythaïs road. Very recently, the debate about the possible routes of the sacred road of the Pythaïs in Attica has been summarized briefly by Ian Rutherford in his much broader study of *theoriai*.[47]

In conclusion, it is now necessary to review the main points presented in this chapter.[48] It needs to be reiterated that a primarily archaeological approach to the route of the Pythaïs is largely absent from the scholarly literature. Scholarship began to make direct reference to the route as early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century, with Müller's contribution (1824) being one of the first. In the rare, early comments on this sacred route, reference was mostly made to the extra-urban leg of the journey (especially in Attica). Discussion usually relied on textual sources, with minimal investigation in the field and with little familiarity with the actual routes and roads. Indeed, the nineteenth-century works mentioned in this literature review touched on the course of the Pythaïs only occasionally. In the best cases, its route was hastily discussed in the context of more general historical or topographical studies. This is the case with the contributions of Müller and, shortly after him, Leake (1829), Sauppe (1845), and

[46] FICUCIELLO 2008, pp. 24–33.

[47] RUTHERFORD 2013, pp. 184–185, n. 63.

[48] In this paragraph I limit myself to mentioning once again some of the scholarly contributions that engage with the Pythaïs route.

Curtius (1855). It is in this period that the debate emerged surrounding the general extra-urban direction of the Pythaïs through Attica. Scholars started to engage more specifically with the route of the Pythaïs as of the early 1870s, following the discovery of the approximate location of the Pythion in Athens. This period saw the beginning of actual discussion of the spatial context and path of the Pythaïs through the city, in addition to the countryside, as seen in the contributions of Milchhöfer (1873, 1895) and Curtius (1877). Shortly after, the first coherent study on the Pythaïs appeared, that of Töpffer (1888), though its focus was not the sacred route. Interest in the ceremony and its route received an additional boost at the end of the nineteenth century with the discovery of the Pythaïs inscriptions at Delphi. This find advanced the works of Colin (1905), Pomtow (1917) and Boëthius (1918). Boëthius in particular devoted an entire chapter of his work to the path of the pilgrimage; his book is generally considered the most important reference among all studies on the Pythaïs. During this phase of re-consideration of the data on the ceremony, the contribution of Daux (1936) found its place. From the late 1930s, the advancement of archaeological investigation in the Agora and on the northwestern slope of the Acropolis re-ignited discussion of the urban course of the Pythaïs. The concise contribution of Shear (1939), and then Parsons (1943) resulted from this period of archaeological discoveries. As far as the urban route of the procession is concerned, the debate centred on the departure point of the Pythaïs and the relationship of its sacred road with the Panathenaic way. In this respect, the discussion of the location of shrines potentially involved with the Pythaïs was reconsidered by Wycherley (1959, 1963). Recent scholarship on the Pythaïs starts in the early 2000s with the work of Daverio Rocchi (2002), whose contribution is among the few that specifically address the sacred road of the Pythaïs. As with the late 1800s and the first half of the 1900s, some discussions of the pilgrimage route relate to or are incorporated in works on the topography of Athens, such as the contribution of Nulton (2003) and Ficuciello (2008), the latter devoting much attention to the route. Other works, not necessarily concerned with the Pythaïs such as the contributions of Costaki (2006) and Korres (2009), should be mentioned as well, as they help clarify the ancient road network through which the pilgrimage may have been conducted. Interest in the

route of the Pythaïs has continued, with the most recent work being that of Rutherford (2013).[49]

In this chapter, I showed the extent to which the lack of coherent information on the pilgrimage route has affected the development of a comprehensive study specifically focused on the route of the Pythaïs, under a spatial and archaeological perspective. My study had benefitted greatly from the previous work of the scholars mentioned above. However, as discussed in the introductory chapter, my thesis expands earlier scholarship by bringing together new theoretical approaches to sacred roads and landscape archaeology methods, as well as extensive fieldwork, in order to revisit the lingering question of the route of the Pythaïs. The next chapter discusses the development of the Athenian version of the mythical journey of Apollo and aims at identifying the geography potentially involved in the myth. Without proposing a correspondence between mythical space and ritual space, an attempt is made to reconstruct the geography of the myth in order to at least highlight certain landmarks possibly involved in the actual ceremony within and outside Athens.

[49] For recent works on sacred roads, see p. 51, n. 56.

IV
The journey of the god to Delphi

The oracle of Apollo at Delphi gradually became the most sought after of Greek oracles following its establishment at the end of the ninth century BC. Seekers of oracular responses and pilgrims travelling from different places came to the sanctuary by both sea and land, often from far away. Thus, it is not surprising that some of these routes, already used for ritual purposes such as processions and official pilgrimages, took on religious significance and were associated with the mythical accounts accompanying the processional practices themselves.[1]

Literary and epigraphic sources make us understand that the Pythaïs recreated Apollo's overland journey through Attica to Delphi. Thus, in order to geographically contextualize the route of the pilgrimage from Athens, it is advantageous to begin by reviewing the mythical accounts of Apollo's quest for his major oracular shrine.[2] In this section, I will leave these accounts (as much as it is possible) distinct from sources which mention the ceremony; an examination of the rituals, and specifically the pilgrimage, will be conducted in the next chapter of the thesis so to avoid generating confusion between mythical and ritual topography. In fact, the purpose of such an analysis is not to find a perfect correspondence between the pilgrimage route and the myth, but rather to bring these myths into play as background references for a preliminary, hypothetical reconstruction of what was described as the Athenian *Hiera Hodos* to Delphi.[3]

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[1] E.g. the *Pythian Way* from Tempe (Ael. *VH* 3.1) used for the celebration of the *Septerion*; the 'international' *Hiera Hodos* through Boiotia and eastern Phokis (Hdt. 6.34.10), and the road of the Pythaïs from Athens. Joseph Fontenrose's definition of myth as '*a traditional story that accompanies rituals*' is appropriate to the accounts associated with the Pythaïs; see FONTENROSE 1959, p. 3.

[2] A recent analysis of the myths surrounding the Pythaïs and their interpretation (mostly in the context of Hellenistic Athens) can be found in KARILA-COHEN 2005.

[3] In the fourth century BC the route was certainly known as '*the sacred road by which the Pythaïs proceeds to Delphi*' (Agora 19, H 34). For the definition of Sacred Road and the ancient use of the term refer to chapter two.

1. The journey of Apollo to Delphi in the Archaic and Classical periods

Various traditions have handed down several versions of Apollo's wanderings.[4] The oldest complete description of the god's journey is illustrated in the third Homeric Hymn.[5] The route described in the hymn crosses the territories of Thessaly, Euboea and Boiotia, and completely bypasses Attica on its way to Phokis (fig. 2).

This chant was possibly the best known of the hymns to Apollo in antiquity; in fact, various literary sources ranging from the fifth century BC to the third century AD directly quote or mention this particular hymn.[6] Recent scholarship has suggested that the composition of the poem, in its surviving form, may have occurred in the 580s, namely in the phases which followed the first Sacred War (traditionally 594–584 BC). Indeed, the territories traversed by Apollo in the Homeric hymn would closely correspond to the northern states of the Amphictionic League (without making mention of Athens and some Peloponnesian states).[7]

Nevertheless, the local Athenian form of Apollo's journey to Delphi sets the myth, or at least part of it, in a different part of Greece: the territories of Attica. Early traces of this version first appear some generations after the composition of the third Homeric Hymn.[8] It is not possible to determine with certainty when this local tradition developed. Certainly, the journey of the god was a subject for Athenian vase-painters and sculptors as early as the second half of the sixth century BC, when a literary local tradition was probably already

[4] I follow Fontenrose's usage of the term *version* as distinguished from *variant* (FONTENROSE 1959, pp. 5–6).

[5] *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 179–299 (Appendix, #Ai). See RICHARDSON 2010, pp. 13–15 for a recent discussion on the chronology and the authorship of the hymn to Apollo.

[6] RICHARDSON 2010, p. 13 lists the following: Thuc. 3.104; Ar. *Av.* 575; Ath. 22.B. A further reference is Paus. 10.37.

[7] RICHARDSON 2010, pp. 14–15.

[8] RICHARDSON 2010, p. 15 suggests that the composition of the hymn to Apollo was related to events of the first quarters of the sixth century BC (probably in the aftermath of the first Sacred War).

developing.[9] Unmistakably, the Athenian involvement in Apollo's quest found a place in fifth-century BC tragedy.[10] I shall begin by considering the treatment of Apollo's mythical journey in visual art in order to determine what iconography of the story was recurrent.

The journey of the god, and in particular his arrival at Delphi, is portrayed in the east pediment of the Alkmaionidai temple of Apollo at Delphi (fig. 3). Completed by the end of the sixth century BC, the scene represents an adult Apollo mounted on a *quadriga*. The cart is flanked by female and male figures, three on each side. At both corners lions are depicted attacking a bull and a deer.[11] This pediment possibly represents the arrival of the god in Delphi, according to a scheme that finds an almost perfect parallel in Aischylos' *Eumenides* (1–14), and which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. According to José Dörig, the composition should be read from left to right, and the standing figures which occupy the central part of the pediment are interpreted as follows: Gaia, Themis and Phoebe, Apollo's predecessors in the oracular seat; the god himself in the middle of the pediment; Delphos, lord of the lands at the feet of Parnassos;[12] and the Athenians who escorted the god on his way to Delphi. Following the *testimonia* of Aischylos, the animal compositions on both sides would evoke the wild nature, disciplined by the civilising action of the 'road-builders sons of Ephaistos', namely the Athenian who accompanied the Pythian god.[13]

Should such an interpretation be correct, the pediment would show a unique visual representation of the mythical journey of the god according to the

[9] A fragmentary paean ascribed to Simonides (PMG 519 fr.35) suggests that an Athenian tradition concerning the journey of the god might have developed in the last quarter of the sixth century BC. See RUTHERFORD 1990, pp. 169–171.

[10] Aesch. *Eum*. 1–14 (Appendix, #Aiii).

[11] According to some reconstructions of the scene, Apollo would be accompanied on the cart by two female figures, namely his mother Leto and his sister Artemis. However, these two figures rather belong with the treasury building of the Knidians (DÖRIG 1967, p. 108, n. 31). See DÖRIG 1967 for the reconstruction and interpretation of the pediment sculptures. See also MARCADÉ AND CROISSANT 1991**,** p. 56 for further bibliography. An alternative, later iconography of the arrival and establishment of Apollo at Delphi is in *LIMC* II, *s.v.* 'Apollon', 1008* (W. Lambrinudakis).

[12] Delphos is a Delphian figure and finds no space in Aischylos' form of the myth.

[13] Aesch. *Eum*. 14: κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου (Appendix, #Aiii).

Athenian version of the myth, corresponding to the tradition later accounted for in the *Eumenides*. In short, not only would this prove that Aischylos' account was a well-known form of the myth, but also indicate that a local Delphian-Athenian version of the mythical tale was already established in the sixth century BC.[14] This is the only direct iconographic reference to the archetypical processional journey of Apollo from Athens to Delphi. The following representations on vases are certainly vaguer, yet help us understand the iconography of Apollos's journey in the sixth and fifth centuries BC.

The depiction of Apollo *Hyperpontios* (over the sea) on a neck-amphora dating to the third quarter of the sixth century BC provides an early illustration of the theme of the journey of Apollo from Delos to Delphi (fig. 4).[15] The scene represents the god as a child, playing a kithara and sitting on a large tripod, from which a bow and a quiver hang. The tripod is depicted as flying or floating above the sea, the presence of which is indicated by two leaping dolphins. Two adult female figures stand on both sides of the tripod; these in all probability represent Leto and Artemis. It has been hypothesised that this depiction might allude to the above-mentioned Hymn to Apollo, as the main elements of the poem are exemplified in the scene.[16] Since no preserved literary source describes Apollo as travelling on a flying tripod, the peculiar treatment of the subject could be due to the painter's imagination, as he had to represent the god's journey to Delphi in a symbolic way on the limited surface of the vase.

This image of Apollo flying on a tripod occurs again, roughly two generations later, on a hydria (water-pot) by the Berlin Painter, who added wings

[14] DÖRIG 1967, p. 108 hypothesises that this sacred composition was suggested to the Athenian sculptor Antenor by the priest of Apollo at Delphi. He also stresses the role that the Alkmaionidai must have had in the sculptures theme-choice, given their involvement in the reconstruction of the temple and particularly in the pediments (Hdt. 5.62).

[15] SHAPIRO 1989, pp. 58–59. See also, *LIMC* II, *s.v.* 'Apollon', 381* (W. Lambrinudakis); Beazley, *ABV* 685, 8: Ready-Maler.

[16] According to SHAPIRO 1989, pp. 58–59, the elements of the myth as reported in the Homeric Hymn (Appendix, #Ai) would be symbolised in the following way: the god's birthplace (Delos) is alluded to in the figures of Leto and Artemis; Delphi is represented by the tripod; the fight against Python is symbolized by the bow and quiver; and the encounter of the god with the Cretan sailors is suggested by the dolphins.

to the tripod to convey the idea of movement (fig. 5).[17] In these instances it is unclear where Apollo is going; neither is it clear which version of the myth these vases might illustrate. In fact, apart from repeating the same motif, it is hard to tell whether the two painters allude to a specific version of the myth. They may be referencing the story told in the Homeric Hymn or they may be referring to a local adaptation of the same story. If we accept this scene as a representation of the Delian section of the Homeric Hymn, then we must note that the choice to focus on the journey of the god over the sea is a particular one, as it does not find a real correspondence in the Hymn. Similarly, the poem makes no mention of Leto and Artemis accompanying Apollo on a sea voyage, yet both vases illustrate this. In a nutshell, there are two possible solutions: either the composition is a painter's clever invention, which alludes by means of symbolic representation to places and episodes described in the third Homeric Hymn; or this iconography simply draws from another version of the myth, which we cannot necessarily associate with Athens. All that is certain is that the theme of Apollo's journey had found its place in the Athenian painted pottery tradition as a subject in its own right as early as the Tyrants' time.[18]

Legends sometimes have the god come to Delphi alone; others describe him as an infant carried in his mother's arms, with or without his older twin Artemis. However, representation of the journey in any form is not a frequent subject among craftsmen, and some conclusions can be drawn by considering other episodes of Apollo's myth. Most versions of the god's arrival in Delphi revolve around an often retold event in the god's biography: the slaying of the dragon Python.[19] The tale of the encounter with the monstrous creature developed over the centuries into several variant accounts, and the story of Python was also related to the myth of the coming of Apollo to Delphi as a child.

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[17] BEAZLEY 1964, p. 10, pl. 6. See also, *LIMC* II, *s.v.* 'Apollon', 382* (W. Lambrinudakis); Beazley, *ARV*[2], 209, 166: Berliner-Maler.

[18] SHAPIRO 1989, p. 59.

[19] The first mention of the fight of Apollo with the dragon is described in the third Homeric Hymn, in which the creature is simply referred to as *drakaina* a she-dragon (*Hom. Hymn Ap*. 300; Appendix, #Ai). The dragon is first considered to be male and named Python in Simonides (PMG 573 fr. 68), see FONTENROSE 1959 pp. 13–15. The myths surrounding Apollo Pythios, with the related versions and variants, were collected and analysed by FONTENROSE 1959.

This tradition was certainly well-known and firmly acknowledged in fifth-century BC Athens: the episode is depicted in Athenian vase painting of the second quarter of the fifth century BC (fig. 6) and first appears in literature in Euripides's *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (1239–1251).[20] According to the myth, immediately after giving birth to her child on Delos, Leto took Apollo to Delphi. There, the infant Apollo killed the dragon that attacked them by shooting arrows from his mother's arms.[21] The scene illustrated in figure 6 matches this description. A child (Apollo) is held in Leto's arms and is depicted shooting at the dragon in the presence of another female figure, probably Artemis. While the fight with the dragon/snake clearly sets the scene at Delphi, two palm trees, which are depicted in the background, are a clear reference to the island of Delos. This association is not surprising, as the trees are probably being used to allude to their journey from the island, as well as indicating that the two aspects of the god (Delian and Delphic) were not totally distinct and incompatible to fifth-century BC Athenians.[22]

Obviously this scene focuses on the fight with the monster rather than on the god's route to Delphi. However, this depiction of the story is still relevant to this discussion as it illustrates a specific version of the journey featuring the triad of Leto, Artemis and Apollo. Klearchos of Solis, a pupil of Aristotle, provides us with more information on the route of Leto and Apollo.[23] He writes that Leto and the twins Apollo and Artemis travelled through Chalkis in Euboea on their way to Delphi. It may be possible that the version of the story reported by Klearchos, in which the gods go through Euboea, also omitted Athens and Attica from their route to Delphi. More details on this form of the tale can be probably found as far back in time as the composition of the *Odyssey*, which mentions that Leto was

[20] See *LIMC* II, *s.v.* 'Apollon', 993* (W. Lambrinudakis). FONTENROSE 1959, p. 18, n. 8 gives a reference to later authors mentioning this version of the myth. Most depictions of the fight of Apollo against the Python follow Euripide's account; see Ibidem, pp. 16–17.

[21] This corresponds to version 'C' of Fontenrose's study, FONTENROSE 1959, p. 21.

[22] SHAPIRO 1989, p. 60. I suggest the melding of Delian and Pythian elements could be an iconographic solution to refer to the beginning (Delos) and the end (Delphi) of the journey. Besides, the association of Delian and Delphic allusions is also attested in other painted vases; see Ibidem, p. 60.

[23] Clearch. 64.2.

abused by Tytios at Panopeus while going to Delphi.[24] The poet does not elaborate further on the subject, but this description may correspond with the version of the story above, in which Apollo (and sometimes Artemis) reach Delphi as an infant in his mother's arms. If this interpretation of the Homeric reference is correct, we have a very first (albeit rather indirect) mention of the god's journey to Delphi.[25]

In Attica, the wanderings of Leto are connected to a specific place, Cape Zoster. It is located on the west coast approximately 20km south of Athens. Here, the remains of the sixth-century BC temple of Apollo Zoster, where Apollo was venerated along with Artemis and his mother Leto, can be found.[26] According to Pausanias' narration of the myth, the name of the temple originated from when Leto loosened her girdle (*zoster*) at this place on her journey to give birth in Delos.[27] Unlike the case with the route of Apollo to Delphi, the Homeric Hymn does include Athens among the stops of Leto's roaming before she set foot on Delos.[28] However, any connection between this myth and the temple at Cape Zoster, and the Athenian stories of Apollo's journey connected to the ritual practices for the Pythaïs is unknown.

In conclusion to this section, we observe that in spite of any Athenian claims of privileged connections with the Delphic god, the standard stories of Apollo's journey mostly involved central Greece rather than Attica.[29] However, as proposed by Dörig, the representation of an Athenian version of Apollo's arrival in Delphi may have appeared in the east pediment of the temple of Apollo at Delphi as early as second half of the sixth century BC. Conversely, the scenes depicted in the vases examined above are indicative of a tradition concerning the god's journey known in fifth-century BC Athens, but not necessarily or specifically according to the Athenian version. Yet the analysis of the literary documents in the following section confirms that, as with the pedimental sculptures of the Alkmaionidai temple at Delphi, a very different adaptation of

[24] *Od.* 11.576–581.

[25] This interpretation is also accepted by FONTENROSE 1959, p. 24.

[26] For more on this temple, see CAMP 2001, pp. 316–317.

[27] Paus. 1.31.1.

[28] *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 30 (Appendix, #Ai).

[29] Aesch. *Eum.* 10–14 (Appendix, #Aiii).

the story, seemingly stemming from local Athenian tradition, already existed in the sixth century BC.

2. A local Athenian version

Turning to literary sources in the search for the traces of an Athenian adaptation of the myth, the first record of a specific Athenian version of Apollo's legendary journey can be found in a paean ascribed to Simonides.[30] The preserved text of fragment A1, b reads:

(b)

Π]ά̣ρνηθος [.] πὸ ζα[θεοῦ
].′δοις Ἄπ̣ολλον
]οι ᾽Ἀθάνας
ἐν]θ̣άδ᾽εὐμενεῖ φρεν̣ὶ [
]αίτιον οὐ πάρειτι ἔαρ·.
π]όνον ὑπομίμνομε[ν
]α̣ν ὀριδρόμον Ἄρτεμιν[
Παρ]θ̣ενικάν καί σε, ἄναξ ἑκαβ[ε-
]λ̣ε̣τα ἱέμενοι ἐνοπὰν ἀγανοῖσιν [
] εὔφαμον ἀπὸ φρενὸς ὁμορρόθο[υ[31]

This paean survives in such a fragmentary state that doubt can be cast on its context in general. However, in the terms of the poem's content, Ian Rutherford suggests that this poem was intended to be performed by Athenians, and he has made very good points as to why it should be connected with the Pythaïs.[32] The most important element pertaining to this discussion is the mention of Mount Parnes in association with Apollo (1–2).[33] This relationship is

[30] POxy. 2430 (PMG 519 fr.35; Appendix, #Aii). RUTHERFORD 1990, pp. 169–171.

[31] '*... from* (or *under*) *the sacred Parnes .../ Apollo .../ of Athens .../ here he is gracious .../ spring has not yet passed .../ we do the toil of waiting .../ the Virgin Artemis Oridromos and you, far shooting lord / we honour unanimously uttering gentle words*'.

[32] RUTHERFORD 1990, pp. 173–176.

[33] The same association can probably inferred for Artemis, who receives in line 7 the epithet *oridromos* (running on the mountain). RUTHERFORD 1990, p. 173, n. 14 suggests that Artemis'

attested in sources concerning both the rite and the cult.[34] Rutherford proposes three possible interpretations of this reference. The first is that the allusion to Mount Parnes could indicate Attica and Athens as the place of origin of the chorus; a second interpretation could be that the singers are inviting the god to come from Mount Parnes. A third possibility is that the mention of Parnes refers to the manifestation of a sacred sign from the mountain. This third option would parallel Strabo's account of the ritual, in which the Pythaïsts have to wait for a lightning flash from the direction of Mount Harma (a peak of Parnes) as a signal to send the procession (Str. 9.2.11).

I would like to suggest that the mention of Mount Parnes in relation with Apollo (and maybe Artemis) in the context of a Pythaïstic paean might possibly be an allusion to the Athenian version of Apollo's journey, just like we will see in another later Pythaïstic paean.[35] In any case, two elements emerge when considering Simonides' paean as being associated with the Pythaïs: first, the reference to Mount Parnes pinpoints and confirms the relevance of this area as a focal point in the mythical and ritual context of the Pythaïs; and second, ascribing this poem to Simonides pushes the date of the Pythaïstic ceremony, and/or the probable first reference to a passage of Apollo through Attica, back to the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC. This implies that an Athenian tradition might have developed even earlier than the end of the sixth century, possibly under Peisistratos. Furthermore, it is possible to hypothesise that the unmistakable reference to Parnes, recurrent in both Simonides and Strabo, might

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epithet should not be seen as revealing of a cult of the goddess on Parnes. However, Artemis was certainly venerated on Parnes, especially at Phyle, with the epithet Agrotera in the second half of the third century BC (IG II^2 1299).

[34] On the Pythaïs ritual, Str. 9.2.11 (Appendix, #Axi). On a cult of Apollo Parnessios on mount Parnes, see IG II^2 1258 (τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Παρνησσίου). The find-spot of this inscription is debated, but it possible that it was recovered in the area of Markopoulo, 8km away from Oropos. On this grounds, it has been hypothesised that this cult of Apollo was particularly venerated in the northern part of Parnes, see MILCHHÖFER 1895, p. 14.

[35] The presence of Artemis (line 7) would indicate the tradition according to which the two twins came to Delphi together. Should this be the case, the absence of Leto (Apollo's and Artemis' mother) would be difficult to explain. The Athenian version of the myth is recounted in a later paean as well: the second-century BC paean of Limenios (FD III^2 138; Appendix, #Ax).

indicate the direction followed by the procession from the origin of the pilgrimage through its later development.

After the reference from Simonides, it is Aischylos's *Eumenides* which provides the earliest certain literary mention of Apollo's passage through Attica and of his first contact with the Athenians.[36] Lines 1–14 read:

πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῇ τῇδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν
τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Θέμιν,
ἢ δὴ τὸ μητρὸς δευτέρα τόδ᾽ ἕζετο
μαντεῖον, ὡς λόγος τις· ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ
λάχει, θελούσης, οὐδὲ πρὸς βίαν τινός,
Τιτανὶς ἄλλη παῖς Χθονὸς καθέζετο,
Φοίβη· δίδωσι δ᾽ ἣ γενέθλιον δόσιν
Φοίβῳ· τὸ Φοίβης δ᾽ ὄνομ᾽ ἔχει παρώνυμον.
λιπὼν δὲ λίμνην Δηλίαν τε χοιράδα,
κέλσας ἐπ᾽ ἀκτὰς ναυπόρους τὰς Παλλάδος,
ἐς τήνδε γαῖαν ἦλθε Παρνησοῦ θ᾽ ἕδρας.
πέμπουσι δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ σεβίζουσιν μέγα
κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου, χθόνα
ἀνήμερον τιθέντες ἡμερωμένην.[37]

Unlike the tradition handed down in the Homeric Hymn, here the god arrives in Attica on his way from Delos to Parnassos (9–11). However, this is not the only noteworthy element of the account. In fact, if we compare Aischylos's description with the various traditions relating Apollo's deeds and movements, it

[36] This is the earliest source which explicitly mentions the presence of Apollo among the Athenians before heading to Delphi.

[37] '*I give pride of place in this prayer first of all the gods/ to Earth, primeval prophetess, and after her to Themis/ for she was second to sit in this, her mother's/ shrine of prophecy (so the story goes). In third/ assignment - the change was voluntary; no one exerted pressure -/ another Titaness, daughter of earth, took up the seat/ Phoebe by name, who then gave it as a birthday gift/ to Phoebus, who thus has Phoebe's name besides his own./ Leaving Delo's lake and ridge of rock/ he put in at Pallas Athena's shores, haunt of ships,/ then came to this land and a place to settle on Parnassus./ He was given escort and shown great reverence/ by Hephaestus' sons, builders of roads, /who made tame the savage land*'. (trans. PODLECKI 1989).

is possible to notice at least other two remarkable components different from the standard version of events. First, it is worth noting the omission of Apollo's fight with the dragon Python[38] and the peaceful establishment of the god's oracle, with the succession to the oracle seat passing from Gaia to Themis, to Phoebe, and eventually to Apollo himself (1–8).[39] Second, Aischylos' account pays great attention to the participation of the Athenians in escorting and honouring the god (12), and in some ways it specifically emphasises the road itself (13–14).

The *scholia* are now useful in discussing some of the above-mentioned points. The news of the arrival of Apollo in Attica is commented on with a certain scepticism on the part of the scholiast, who asserts that Aischylos wrote about the involvement of the Athenians in Apollo's journey to Delphi with the purpose of pleasing and gratifying them (χαριζόμενος Ἀθηναίοις).[40] The scene is set at Delphi by the temple of Apollo, and Aischylos has these words pronounced as an invocation by the Pythia, the prophetess of the god. The setting and the invocation itself seem to be purposely intended to lend solemnity and authority to this version of the mythical tale. Furthermore, almost as if to emphasise the peculiarity of a journey of Apollo through Attica, the same *scholium* points out another version of the myth, closer to the standard story: this is the version reported by Pindar, in which Apollo's escorted journey would have originated from Tanagra in Boiotia (Fr. 286 Snell: τὴν παραπομπὴν αὐτῷ εἶναι ... ἐκ Τανάγρας τῆς Βοιωτίας. Pindar's reference comes down to us through a very short fragment, and any interpretation of his note, in the sense of a tradition different from the Athenian one, owes much to the explanation provided by the ancient commentator of the *Eumenides* himself. However, this is problematic as

[38] Apollo's violent encounter with the dragon at Delphi is almost ubiquitous in literary descriptions of the founding of his oracular shrine, FONTENROSE 1959, pp. 13–22.

[39] This composition possibly parallels the aforementioned pedimental sculptures from the Alkmaionidai temple of Apollo at Delphi. The *scholium* on line 5 (*ad* Aesch. *Eum*. 5b) remarks upon this nonviolent succession and mentions the standard version told by Pindar (fr. 55 Snell).

[40] Schol. Aesch. *Eum*. 11 (Appendix, #Aiv)**.** See also the commentary on *Eum.* 9 by PODLECKI 1989, p. 130.

the fragment is still subject to a different reading. In fact, it has been proposed to interpret Pindar's description as referring to Tegyra and not Tanagra. [41]

The association of this first, legendary, Athenian procession with a specific ritual practice (namely the Pythaïs) is neither automatic nor obvious: this is evident to the ancient commentator, whose note on line 13 calls attention to the role of Theseus in ridding the road of brigands. This road is then indirectly alluded to in the scholiast's continued digression concerning the processional ritual. Following the scholiast's lead, a digression from the myth to the ritual is necessary here. The *scholium* on line 13 reads: κελευθοποιοὶ] οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Θησεὺς γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκάθηρε τῶν ληιστῶν. καὶ ὅταν πέμπωσιν εἰς Δελφοὺς θεωρίδα, προέρχονταί τινες ἔχοντες πελέκεις ὡς διημερώσοντες τὴν γῆν.[42]

The commentator observes that every time a sacred delegation makes the journey to Delphi, it is preceded by men carrying double axes (πελέκεις) to cut overgrowth from the path. The Pythaïs is not clearly mentioned, and we can only assume this procession was among the *theoriai* sent along this particular road. Interestingly, the scholiast ascribes to Theseus the primal 'cleaning' of the processional road to Delphi, and the same tradition is reported in a *scholium* on Aelius Aristides' *Panathenaic* oration (363).[43] This is an indication of the association (perhaps even assimilation) of Apollo with Theseus and the

[41] A Boiotian tradition identifies Tegyra, on the north edge of lake Kopaïs, as the actual birthplace of Apollo, and it sets the stories about the slaying of the Python and of that of Tityus in the region of mount Ptoüm (Callisthenes = Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τεγύρα; Plut. *Pel*. 16). For a commentary see PRANDI 1985, pp. 40–42. Should this option hold true, the above-mentioned hypotheses concerning the processional road through Boiotia to Delphi may be subject to reconsideration. It is acknowledged that an equation between mythical accounts and actual ritual practices cannot easily be achieved. As far as we know the blanket is still too short, and we will be unable to come to a satisfactory understanding unless we pull it to one side. In general terms, the information provided in the *scholia vetera* appears to be somewhat anecdotal and should be accepted with caution. Nonetheless, the possibility that Tanagra, and generally the lower valley of the Asopos river, to be understood not only as a landmark for an exclusively Boiotian procession to Delphi, but also as a possible route for the Athenian Pythaïs, should not be completely ruled out.

[42] *'Road builders*] *the Athenians. Theseos freed the road from brigands. And every time they send a theoria to Delphi, men equipped with axes proceed ahead as if to tame the land*' (Appendix, #Av). See also schol. Aesch. *Eum*. 12.

[43] See Appendix, #Aviii.

description of what seems to be a very ancient ritual practice. As far as the ritual is concerned, scholars have observed that the term πέλεκυς may refer to a sacrificial double axe and this use of the word might indicate that a very ancient procession is hinted at here. Subsequently, the men carrying the double axe would fulfil a religious/ritual role in the procession.[44] However, it is more convincing to believe that the *pelekeis* referred by the scholiast are in fact functional tools and not necessarily an integral part of the ritual. Likewise, the men carrying them should rather plainly be interpreted as 'road builders' (the κελευθοποιοὶ), and as such, men who do not necessarily hold a specific religious position in the context of the procession. In fact, the word πέλεκυς also appears as a technical term indicating an axe for felling trees, both in Homer and later sources, in which it features particularly as a tool for the construction of roads.[45] This hypothesis is supported by a passage from the sixth book of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, in which Xenophon records Cyros addressing the superintendents of his engineering units before their expedition against Croesus.[46]

[36] ὑμεῖς δ᾽αὖ οἱ τῶν ὁδοποιῶν ἄρχοντες ...:τούτων δὲ χρὴ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν πέλεκυν ἔχοντας ξυλοκόπον ἀναγκάζειν στρατεύεσθαι ... τούτους δὲ ἔχοντας ταῦτα πρὸ τῶν ἁμαξῶν κατ᾽ἴλας πορεύεσθαι, ὅπως ἤν τι δέῃ ὁδοποιίας, εὐθὺς ἐνεργοὶ ἦτε ...

The men equipped with the *pelekeis* are part of the corps of the *hodopoioi* (road builders) and are explicitly required to march in front of the carts in order to prepare the road for the rest of the convoy. This arrangement fits perfectly with the scholiast's mention of men with the double axes moving ahead of the processions to Delphi. Given this comparison, it is very likely that the πέλεκυς referred to in the context of the Delphic procession, may have in fact served primarily to clear trees and plants from the processional road even in historical

[44] BOËTHIUS 1918, pp. 31–33.

[45] E.g. *Il*. 13. 391; 16. 484. Xen. *Cyr*. 6.2.36.

[46] Xen. *Cyr*. 6.2.36 (Appendix, #Avi): '*You superintendents of the engineering corps* (οἱ τῶν ὁδοποιῶν ἄρχοντες) ... *You must require those of them who were spearmen to carry on the march a wood-cutter's axe* (πέλεκυν ... ξυλοκόπον) ... *With these tools they are to march in squads ahead of the wagons, so that, in case there is any need of road-building, you may get to work without delay* ...' (trans. MILLER 1914). For a comment on this passage in relation to road building techniques, see LOLOS 2011, pp. 177–178.

times. For this reason Aischylos's reference to the Athenians *who made tame the savage land* should be taken quite literally. By reading Xenophon's excerpt, it is reasonable to infer that even the Delphian *theoria* mentioned by the *scholium* on *Eumenides* 13 involved the use of carts. If we want to recognise in the scholiast's description a reference to the Pythaïs, then we must deduce that carts or wagons were part of the pilgrimage.[47] Furthermore, the employment of a specific corps of wood cutters might suggest, albeit only on a hypothetical level, that the procession was sent along a route (namely a specific Sacred Road) which was not otherwise frequented by regular traffic or large convoys, thus allowing it to be covered by vegetation over time.[48]

Having concluded this digression, it is still uncertain whether Aischylos reported a long-established tale well-known to the Athenian audience or whether his rejection of the standard version of the myth denoted a more recent formulation, only introduced in his tragedy.[49] Dörig suggests that, not only was the myth as told by Aischylos already known in the sixth century BC, but that the tragedian might have been inspired by first-hand experience of the east pediment of the temple of Apollo at Delphi.[50] In general, Aischylos' description has a clear etiological nature, and clearly refers to a processional practice and route

[47] Inscriptions (FD III^2 32–33; Appendix, #Axv–#Axvi) document the use of at least one cart during the ceremony of the Pythaïs for the conveyance of sacred objects (the tripod and the sacred fire).

[48] Such as the Phyle road, the most direct route to Boiotia across western Parnes.

[49] SHAPIRO AND BURIAN 2003, p. 236. on the same line as schol. Aesch. *Eum.* 11 (Appendix, #Aiv) emphasizes that Aischylos might have told the story of the Athenians escorting the god and building the road to Delphi to honor Athens. As discussed, the popular incident of the battle with Python is left out of Aischylos' account, while a peaceful establishment of the oracle by the god is described instead. In Ephoros' account Apollo also visits Athens during his journey (*FGrH* 70 F 31 b; Appendix, #Aix), where the fight with Python (although rationalised as a man) is related. It is reasonable to believe that if Aischylos deliberately modified part of the traditional account, then this anomaly should be found in the omission of the fight and not in the mention of Apollo's journey through Athens. In fact, as observed in SHAPIRO AND BURIAN 2003, p. 235, a nonviolent succession to the oracular seat would have been functional in the *Eumenides* to express the passage from the violence described in the *Agamemnon* and the new pacific order of the *Eumenides.* On the other hand, the references found in the paean by Simonides might indicate that Apollo's stop in Athens was a story already known to the Athenians.

[50] DÖRIG 1967, p. 109.

contemporary to him and familiar to his audience: probably the Pythaïs, and certainly the Athenian Sacred Road to Delphi. Moreover, it is important to raise the question of when the belief that Apollo passed through Athens on his journey was introduced, as well as when and under what circumstances this belief was translated into ritual custom. Generally, the relationship between myth and ritual is a two-way street: ritual practices, however evocative of traditional stories, had in their turn an influence on the development of local myths that served as archetypical models and explanation for the performing of the rituals themselves.[51] For this reason, attempting to determine the relationship between myth and rite in terms of relative chronology may be a thankless task. Axel Boëthius on the basis of the data available, assumed that both the Pythaïstic ritual, and the Athenian version of Apollo's journey, were already firmly established by the time of Pericles.[52] If we consider Aischylos's description in continuity with the references reported in Simonides's paean, we can hypothesize that both the myth and the ritual were already established by the end of the sixth century BC.

In conclusion, from an examination of iconographic and literary sources, it is clear that at least two versions of the legendary journey coexisted in the fifth-century Athenian imagination. One of these was earlier, probably traceable to the *Odyssey*, more 'international' in its scope, and resembles in its geographic context that described in the Homeric Hymn. The other one was most likely later and specifically Athenian, with the epicentre of the narrative shifted from central Greece to Attica.

3. Some notes on the topography of the myth

Following the above examination of some of the versions of Apollo's journey to Delphi, a closer investigation into the Athenian tradition can now be undertaken with the purpose of identifying possible landmarks between Athens and Delphi.

Among the scant sources, Ephoros's account (*FGrH* 70 F 31b), reported in Strabo (9.3.11–12), supplies most of the available information on the myth and

[51] FONTENROSE 1959, pp. 461–464 discusses the theme of relationships between myth and ritual.

[52] BOËTHIUS 1918, pp. 10–11.

is the first to openly highlight the relationship between Apollo's overland journey and the Athenian processional practices of his days:

(12) ὑποβὰς δὲ περὶ τῶν Δελφῶν οἵτινές εἰσι διαλεγόμενος, φησὶ τὸ παλαιὸν Παρνασίους τινὰς αὐτόχθονας καλουμένους οἰκεῖν τὸν Παρνασόν, καθ᾽ ὃν χρόνον ᾽Απόλλωνα τὴν γῆν ἐπιόντα ἡμεροῦν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δόσει τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν καὶ τῶν <ἄλλων τῶν ὠφελούντων τὸν ἀνθρώπινον> βίον. ἐξ ᾽Αθηνῶν δ᾽ ὁρμηθέντα ἐπὶ Δελφοὺς ταύτην ἰέναι τὴν ὁδόν, ἣι νῦν ᾽Αθηναῖοι τὴν Πυθιάδα πέμπουσι· γενόμενον δὲ κατὰ Πανοπέας Τιτυὸν καταλῦσαι ἔχοντα τὸν τόπον, βίαιον ἄνδρα καὶ παράνομον· τοὺς δὲ Παρνασίους συμμίξαντας αὐτῶι καὶ ἄλλον μηνῦσαι χαλεπὸν ἄνδρα, Πύθωνα τοὔνομα, ἐπίκλησιν δὲ Δράκοντα, κατατοξεύοντος δ᾽ ἐπικελεύειν «ἵε παιάν», ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὸν παιωνισμὸν οὕτως ἐξ ἔθους παραδοθῆναι τοῖς μέλλουσι συμπίπτειν εἰς παράταξιν. ἐμπρησθῆναι δὲ καὶ σκηνὴν τότε τοῦ Πύθωνος ὑπὸ τῶν Δελφῶν, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι καίειν ὑπόμνημα ποιουμένους τῶν τότε γενομένων. τί δ᾽ ἂν εἴη μυθωδέστερον ἢ ᾽Απόλλων τοξεύων καὶ κολάζων Τιτυοὺς καὶ Πύθωνας καὶ ὁδεύων ἐξ ᾽Αθηνῶν εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπιών.[53]

The relationship between this form of the myth and the one reported in Aischylos's *Eumenides* is difficult to understand. The two tales are characterized by a strong etiological purpose, which is slightly subtle in the *Eumenides* and definitely explicit in the rationalisation carried out by Ephoros. Ephoros's

[53] Ephoros, *FGrH* 70 F 31 b. (..11..); (12) (Appendix, #Aix): '*A little further on, when discussing who the Delphians were, he says that in olden times certain Parnassians, who were called indigenous inhabited Parnassus; and that at this time Apollo, visiting the land, civilised the people by introducing cultivated fruits and cultured modes of life; and that when he set out from Athens to Delphi he went by the road which the Athenians now take when they conduct the Pythias; and that when he arrived at the land of the Panopeans he destroyed Tityus, a violent and lawless man who ruled there; and that the Parnassians joined him and informed him of another cruel man named Python and known as the Dragon, and that when Apollo shot at him with his arrows the Parnasians shouted Hie Paean to encourage him (the origin, Ephorus adds, of the singing of the Paean which has been handed down as a custom for armies just before the clash of battle); and that the tent of Python was burnt by the Delphians at that time, just as they still burn it to this day in remembrance of what took place at that time. But what could be more mythical than Apollo shooting with arrows and punishing Tityuses and Pythons, and travelling from Athens to Delphi and visiting the whole earth?*' (trans. JONES 1927, pp. 365, 367).

account not only shows striking similarities and differences to the story we read in Aischylos, but also brings together elements from various versions of the biography of Apollo.[54] Therefore, it is most helpful to focus on certain points common to both descriptions which support the hypothesis of an Athenian tradition of the coming of Apollo to Delphi. First, the Athenians and Apollo are represented as playing the role of civilisers (Athenians tamers of land in *Eum.* 13–14, Apollo civilizer of men ἡμεροῦν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δόσει τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν in Ephoros). Second, both narratives emphasize the mythical journey of the god to Delphi via Athens;[55] in doing so they make reference to the procession and to the road itself. Notably, Aischylos does not directly mention the actual procession as being contemporary with himself, as the story is set in a mythical time. On the other hand, in Ephoros's description, the procession is referred to as the *Pythias*.[56] This is clearly incorrect, as the pilgrimage was certainly called *Pythaïs* and Ephoros is most likely discussing the Pythaïs.[57] An alternative interpretation is that, as observed in the *scholia* on the *Eumenides*, the Pythaïs may have used the same road as other overland *theoriai* to Delphi.

Both accounts call attention to the relationship between Athens, Apollo (Pythios) and Delphi in mythical and ritual terms. However, the story in Ephoros's text provides more details on the mythical topography associated with the Athenian tradition of Apollo's wanderings: it states that the god stopped at Panopeus on his journey from Athens.[58] Apart from the mention of Delphi and Athens, this is the only reference to an intermediate stop along the Athenian

[54] E.g. here is again the episode of the combat with Python (however humanised in Ephoros's rationalisation of the myth), which could not find place in Aischylos' version. For a comment on the text and its relationship with the *Eumenides* see JACOBY 1926, pp. 48–50 and RADERMACHER 1919.

[55] Both Aischylos and Ephoros refer to a grown up Apollo, which is not the infant in arms we find in the version of Euripides (Eur. *IT* 1239–1251).

[56] The Jacoby's new Brill commentary on the text notices that the expression Pythias appears only in Ephoros' tale as a *terminus technicus* for a procession. However, the Athenian *theoria* to Delphi is referred to as Pythias by Aelius Aristeides as well (*Panath*. 363; Appendix, #Avii).

[57] The terms Pythias and Pythaïs were often confused already in the fourth century BC. See BOËTHIUS 1918, pp. 33, 163–164.

[58] Panopeus appears in some versions of the myth as a stop-over locality on Apollo's way to Delphi.

processional road outside Attica.[59] Furthermore, Panopeus is also an important landmark in Apollo's quest according to the version hinted at in the *Odyssey*, which is related to the version in *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (1239–1251). Therefore, it is possible to say that the two stories detailing Apollo's arrival in Delphi via Athens featured Panopeus as an important topographical reference for Apollo's wanderings.[60]

It has already been hypothesised above, based on a paean ascribed to Simonides, that a certain location on the mountain range of Parnes may have played a role in the myth. Moreover, it is clear that any references to Attica, and more specifically to Athens, are always somewhat vague. In the *Eumenides*, for example, the description of the arrival of the god in Attica functions as an opportunity to celebrate the power of Athens rather than a complete mythical account: there is little doubt that the ἀκτὰς ... τὰς Παλλάδος in line 10 refer to the coasts of Attica and, by extension, Athens. Nonetheless, the association of this allusion with a specific locality is problematic.[61] For this reason, the last source discussed in this section will now be introduced, as it provides more precise information on the relationship between the topography of Athens and the topography of the myth. This source is another paean, a choral chant attributed with certainty to Limenios and performed as a προσόδιον (processional song) to accompany the Pythaïs in 128 BC.[62] Lines 13–14 read:

[59] We can also hypothesise that the pilgrimage stopped somewhere on its way across Parnes; it is likely that part of the ritual was carried out on Mount Harma as well. The results of the field surveys carried out in the Harma region by the author show that the top of the mountain could be reached in antiquity by a well-built road. The remnants of the road, a series of switchbacks which traverse the slope, lay on the north slope of the mountain; a carved mountain path at the end of the road was possibly used to reach to the summit. The presence of the ancient road leading to the mountain top suggests that this was probably used for both strategic and religious purposes.

[60] The relevance of Panopeus as an important place for pilgrims and travellers heading to Delphi is also confirmed by the rituals and devotional acts that were performed there (Paus. 10.4.1–4). On the presence of Athenian citizens at Panopeus see CAMP, et al.1997.

[61] The mythical landing of the god in Attica could have taken place in the Gulf of Prasiai, from where the Athenian delegations traditionally set off to Delos (birthplace and departure point of Apollo).

[62] FD III^2 138 (Appendix, #Ax); FANTUZZI 2010, pp. 192–196.

τότε λιπὼγ Κυνθίαν νᾶσον ἐ[πέβα θεὸ]ς
13/14 πρω[τό]καρπογ κλυτὰν Ἀτ[θ]ίδ᾽ ἐπὶ γααλ[όφωι
πρῶνι] Τριτωνίδος.[63]

These verses, which describe the arrival of the god in Attica, parallel lines 9–10 of the *Eumenides*, where the god's brief stop in Athens is hinted at in a similar way. Indeed, this paean, may be either in direct relation to the tragedy of Aischylos or convey and repeat a known conventional tale of which the *Eumenides* represents one of our earliest surviving records. Maria Vamvouri has argued that the insertion in Limenios' paean of a brief stay in Athens by Apollo may reflect the political and economic ties that the city had re-established with Delos after the island was ceded to Athens by Rome in 167/6 BC.[64] Indeed, the poem represents and develops these themes.[65] However, as already discussed, traditions involving this Athenian stop-over of the god were already long-established. In fact, coming back to the remarks made in the introductory chapter of this study, the myth and the rituals connected with the Pythaïs should not have changed much over the course of time. On the other hand, the communal perception of the ceremony and its significance were probably more mutable, being affected by the different historical frameworks in which the Pythaïs was celebrated throughout the centuries.

[63] KÄPPEL 1992 '*Leaving the isle of Kynthia the god arrived in Attica,/ famous for the first corn, on* (Athena) *Tritonis' craggy slope*' (trans. FURLEY AND BREMER 2001, p. 137). The following three lines constitute an *aition* for an Athenian invention of the genre paean (VAMVOURI 1998, p. 57; FURLEY AND BREMER 2001, p. 96) and for the ritual practice of honouring the god with paeans by the Athenians and the guild of the Dionysian τεχνῖται (ll. 18/19–20/21). In particular, lines 15–17 read: μελίπνοον δὲ λίβυς αὐδὰγ χέω[ν λωτὸς ἀνέμελ]πεν [ά] / δεῖαν ὅπα μειγνύμενος αἰόλ[οις κιθάριος μέλεσιν] / [ἄ]μα δ᾽ ἴαχεμ πετροκτοίκητος ἀχ[ὼ παιὰν ἰὲ παιάν (KÄPPEL 1992). '*The melodious Libyan flute sang out delightfully / mingling with the weaving melodies of the kithara / while an echo, latent in the rock, resounded*' (trans. FURLEY AND BREMER 2001, pp. 137). One is almost tempted to believe that the author alluded to the goddess Athena playing the flute to welcome Apollo, who would play the kithara in response. This poetic image would be portrayed by associating the goddess' epithet Τριτωνίδος (born from the lake Τριτωνίς in Libya) at line 14, with the λίβυς ... λωτὸς, the flute (literally the Libyan reed) at line 15.

[64] VAMVOURI 1998, p. 50, n. 32.

[65] Lines 38–40 are a prayer that the power of Rome might thrive.

What is more important is that Limenios's poem provides us with a topographical detail: ἐπὶ γαλ[όφωι πρῶνι] Τριτωνίδος (13/14) can be interpreted not only as a generic allusion to Attica but even as a specific reference to the Athenian Acropolis.[66] This allusion to the Acropolis is important to the topography of the myth; however, it is not known to what extent this information is also relevant to our understanding of the ritual and the ritual space. The Acropolis is a likely setting for the mythical arrival of the god, albeit little is known with regard to its connection to the ceremony. As noted, the cave of Apollo Hypoakraios, or Hypo Makrais, on the northwest slope of the Acropolis was indicated by Parsons as the departure point of the procession, as it is there that he located the Pythaïstai's ritual observation of the the lightning.[67] However, from the analysis of the available information on the ritual, it is hypothesised in the following chapter that the departure point of the Pythaïs was near the Pythion at the Ilissos. The Cave of Apollo Hypo Makrais may have been involved in the ceremony, as with other shrines of Apollo within the city, but it was not the focal point of the celebration.

The cave of Apollo Hypoakraios plays a specific role in the relationship between the Pythian god and the city, as described in Euripides' *Ion*. It is in the cave that (according to Euripides' description) Apollo seduced Creusa, daughter of the Athenian king Erechtheus. From the union, she conceived Ion, founder of the primary tribe of the Ionians.[68] I hypothesise that the episode recalled by Euripides could be connected to the first Athenian visit of the Pythian god on his journey to Delphi. Beside the short description of the arrival of the god as told by Aischylos, Ephoros and Limenios, this is the only account of a direct mythical episode of Apollo occurring within the city; the absence of different traditions might indicate that Euripides' version was probably that commonly known and accepted.

A passage of the *Ion* in particular is often juxtaposed with the Pythaïstic rituals by scholarship.[69] In fact, Euripides has Ion say that the Cave of Apollo is

[66] For more on this interpretation, see BÉLIS 1992, p. 134.

[67] PARSONS 1943, pp. 233–237.

[68] Eur. *Ion* 10, 283, 494, 937, 1400.

[69] See for example KARILA-COHEN 2005, p. 226.

blessed by the Pythian lightning;[70] it is difficult to resist the temptation to see in this statement a vague reference to the ritual of the observation of the lightning for the sending of the Pythaïs. However, Peter Nulton has objected to the idea that Euripides' Pythian lightning may be connected with the Pythaïs: the lightning in the *Ion* strikes the cave and is sent by Apollo, as opposed to the lightning for the Pythaïs, which flashes over Harma and is a sign from Zeus.[71]

In short, temporarily putting aside the issue of the debated location or duplication of the Pythion, the cave of Apollo could still have played an important role in the celebration of the Pythaïs without necessarily being interpreted as the lightning observation point for the Pythaïstai and the departure point of the procession. In fact, we do not necessarily need to see an official cult of Pythian Apollo being practiced in the cave to justify the mythical and ritual bonds between the cave on the north slope of the Acropolis and Apollo Pythios.

Our sources tell us this much only as far as the myth itself is concerned. To conclude, from the analysis of the iconographic and literary sources it is possible to theorise that an Athenian version of the myth was already firmly established as early as the second half of the sixth century BC, and possibly earlier. Furthermore, from the analysis of the textual sources we can identify certain places that were most likely, if not certainly, landmarks in the Athenian version of the overland route taken by Apollo to Delphi. These places are Athens (with a specific reference to the Acropolis), the region of Mount Parnes, Panopeus, and of course Delphi. Shifting the discussion from the topography of the myth to the topography of the ritual, the next chapter discusses the spatial context of the Pythaïs within the city and outside it, in relation to its possible routes across Attica.

[70] Eur. *Ion* 285.

[71] NULTON 2003, pp. 19–20.

V
The course of the Pythaïs across Athens and Attica

In the previous chapter visual and textual sources were analysed to understand the various forms of the mythical journey of the god; it was proposed that an Athenian version of the myth was acknowledged by the last quarter of the sixth century BC at the latest. In the present chapter, the ritual itself will be investigated and archaeologically contextualised within the city and across Attica.

As observed in the second chapter of this thesis, in the absence of precise information, the reconstruction of a procession is generally based on the simplest hypothesis of a centrifugal or centripetal ritual movement, according to the location of the destination shrine with respect to the point of the parade's departure. Indeed, a very basic scenario is that of a procession which develops in a linear direction, departing from the city and following a single general route to its destination (within or outside the city itself), and/or *vice versa*. However, actual ritual practices of major celebrations were often more complex, with different rituals, sacrifices, offerings, and several religious parades which may even have proceeded in opposite directions during the same festival. This is for example the case with the Eleusinian mysteries. It is well known that on the second day of the celebrations, the initiates went in procession to the sea along the Phaleros road before they took part in the big procession to Eleusis along the *Hiera Hodos*.[1] Furthermore, offshoots of specific rituals may have been conducted on a smaller scale and at different times, sometimes involving diverse areas of religious topography, as was the case with the lesser Mysteries. Indeed, the precise relationship between the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Lesser Mysteries celebrated at Agrai (a suburb of Athens) has not been yet clarified, which may add to the complexity of the ritual dynamics in the frame of the same initiation process, but in different periods of the year.[2] A similar level of

[1] For a recent contribution on the Eleusinian mysteries, see BOWDEN 2010, pp. 26–48.

[2] BOWDEN 2010, p. 32. On Agrai and the Lesser Mysteries to Demeter and Kore, see also SIMMS 2002, pp. 219–220, with notes.

complexity may have also applied to a ritual as ancient and important as the Pythaïs.

With these considerations in mind, the following questions should be addressed: how much is known about the ceremony of the Pythaïs, and what public buildings and spaces were involved in the celebration of the procession?

The only direct description of the religious practices which preceded the procession is given in a much-quoted passage in Strabo (9.2.11) which describes the wait for a lightning flash from the direction of Harma, a necessary sign for sending the procession. Strabo also mentions the location of the ritual, but this information is subject to multiple interpretations. As far as the topography is concerned, the most interesting passage is the following: '*They would keep watch for three months, for three days and nights each month, from the altar of Zeus Astrapaeus; this altar is within the walls between the Pythium and the Olympium*'.[3] This excerpt presents certain topographical issues, especially when paired with other literary sources in which the location of the Pythion is not unmistakably clear, and subject to different interpretations. Along with the aforementioned Strabo, this is the case of Thucydides and Flavius Philostratus, the former to be discussed later in this chapter.[4] The passage in Philostratus refers to the course and the mooring of the Panathenaic ship given to the city by Herodes Atticus; the text reads: '*Leaving the Kerameikos with a thousand rowers, it came to the Eleusinion, and, having circled it, skirted the Pelasgikon. Conveyed as it was, it came by the Pythion, near where it is now moored. At the other end of the stadium is a temple of Tyche with an ivory statue of her, indicating that she presides over all'*.[5] The Pythion mentioned in the excerpt above has been alternately identified as being the cave of Apollo on the

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The Eleusinian Mysteries and the Lesser were celebrated in the months of Boedromion and Anthesterion respectively (September/October and February/March).

[3] Trans. JONES 1927, p. 295. Str. 9.2.11 (Appendix, #Axi): ἐτήρουν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τρεῖς μῆνας, καθ᾽ ἕκαστον μῆνα ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας τοῦ ἀστραπαίου Διός: ἔστι δ᾽ αὕτη ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου.

[4] Thuc. 2.15.4 (Appendix, #Axvii); Philostr. *V S* 2.1.7 (Appendix, #Axxi).

[5] Trans. NULTON 2003, p. 16.

northwest slope of the Acropolis, or with the Pythion located at the Ilissos.[6] With specific regard to the Pythaïs rituals, these topographic issues, and particularly the description recounted by Strabo, raise a series of questions:

1) Which Pythion is Strabo referring to? Is this the primal Pythian shrine located by the right bank of the Ilissos,[7] or is this perhaps another place known for its connection with the god, such as the cave of Apollo Hypo Makrais on the north slope of the Acropolis? Is it possible that there were multiple Pythia within the city?

2) Where is the altar of Zeus Astrapaios, and what is the correct interpretation of the phrase ἐν τῷ τείχει, which Strabo uses to locate it? Is this τεῖχος a generic wall or is this a specific reference to the city wall? Should this reference be read as 'above the wall' or rather 'within the city walls' as Jones translates?[8]

In this section it is argued that the urban course of the Pythaïs can actually be reconstructed, at least partially, and with a good degree of accuracy, and that at the same time some of the topographic issues which have haunted the study of the Pythaïs can be resolved. This can be achieved through taking into account the information concercing the prominent ceremonies that were carried out as integral part of the procession, beside the above-mentioned lightning ritual. Epigraphic records are able to shed light on these ceremonies, which are called the *tripodephoria* and the *pyrphoria*.[9] These practices consisted of the

[6] For a recent discussion on the reading of Philostr. *V S* 2.1.7. (Appendix, #Axxi), see NULTON 2003, pp. 15–16. As already observed in chapter three, there has been long-term debate about the location of the primal Pythion (first alluded to by Thucydides 2.15.4; Appendix, #Axvii) and about the issue of the duplication of determined sanctuaries. For an early view in favour of the identification of the cave of Apollo with the Pythion and the duplication of the shrine, see HARRISON 1906, pp. 66–83, 143–144.

[7] Thuc. 2.15.4 (Appendix, #Axvii).

[8] JONES 1927, p. 295.

[9] In the economy of this reconstruction the sources on the two rituals can be reported and considered separately. In fact, the religious items of the tripod and the fire were certainly kept in different public buildings as suggested by tradition. Although not necessarily related to the *tripodephoria*, the official dedication of a tripod on the part of ten *hieropoioi* is recorded in FD III[1] 511. On the *tripodephoria* specifically: FD III[2] 32–33 (Appendix, #Axv–#Axvi).; on the *pyrphoria* FD III[2] 13, 32 (Appendix, #Axiv–#Axv).

ritual conveyance to Athens of two items: a bronze tripod, and the sacred fire from Delphi.[10] This ritual certainly involved both Athens and Delphi, with the city playing a special role both at the beginning and in the conclusive phases of the procession, when the Pythaïs headed back home to conclude the ritual. As far as Athens is concerned, it is possible to locate the areas where the Pythain tripod and the sacred inestiguishable fire were kept: the original shrine of Apollo Pythios and the shrine of Hestia in the Prytaneion, respectively.[11]

Thus, the questions raised in point 1) concerning the problems related to Strabo's account can be addressed with a simple yet strong argument which transcends the topographic issue of a hypothesised duplication of the Pythion in the cave of Apollo Hypo Makrais. The Pythion described by Strabo was certainly located between the Olympieion and the right bank of the Ilissos, and it is probably there that the Delphic tripod stood. The *tripodephoria* was a way of re-affirming a connection with Delphi through the ritual re-establishment of a Delphic cult branch in the city, a 'Kultfiliale' to use Boëthius' words.[12] Therefore, the tripod's ceremony should be seen as a ritual re-foundation of the primal Athenian Pythion, that is the shrine of Apollo by the Ilissos.[13] Once in Athens, the Delphic tripod must have been kept in this shrine, since its counterpart at Delphi was kept within the temple of the god.[14] Furthermore, the relationship between the tripod as an Apolline symbol and the Pythian shrine by the Ilissos is reflected in the well-documented custom of setting within its *temenos* (sacred precinct) the tripods dedicated by the *choregoi* victorious at the

[10] The fact that the Delphic tripod was conducted back to Athens is clearly stated in FD III^2 32 l. 3 (Appendix, #Axv).: ... ἔλαβεν τὸν ἱερὸν τρίποδα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἀπεκόμισεν ... .It is not clear if the tripod mentioned in the Athenian calendar of sacrifices (LAMBERT 2002, F 1 A col. 2–3, l. 29; Appendix, #Axiii) is related to the *tripodephoria*. For an argument against this hypothesis, see BOËTHIUS 1918, p. 157–159. Ritual fetching was common in the context of other state *theoriai* as well, see RUTHERFORD 2013, pp. 120–122.

[11] Whereas the location of the Pythion was discussed as a fundamental landmark for the path of the Athenian Pythaïs already in the nineteenth-century scholarship (see e.g. CURTIUS 1877, p. 485), the Prytaneion has never been comprehensively considered in relation to the reconstruction of the processional course of the Pythaïs through Athens.

[12] BOËTHIUS 1918, p. 74.

[13] BOËTHIUS 1918, p. 77.

[14] BOËTHIUS 1918, p. 79.

Thargelia festival.[15] On these grounds, it is possible to affirm that the Pythaïs moved from this Pythion, in the proximity of which the altar of Zeus Astrapaios should also be located.

A further argument which identifies the Pythion and generally the sacred area at the Ilissos as a likely scenario for the beginning of the procession across Athens may also be proposed at this point. The Pythion at the Ilissos may have also been involved in other steps of the Pythaïs, rather than only as a departing point for the pilgrimage. Indeed, as will be observed further in detail in this chapter, the Pythaïs was probably a ritual involving more complex activities than than the simple journey to Delphi, one that involved several landmarks within and outside the city, and accordingly with many distinct ritual movements. In this regard, a particular area of Attica may have had a share in the ritual in connection to the Pythion both before and during the journey to Delphi as well. This area, which, however, is not directly referred to by the sources as related to the Pythaïs, is identified with the modern bay of Porto Raphti, in the southern part of which lay the deme of Prasiai.[16] It is from Prasiai that for almost two millennia the overseas sacred delegations to Delos departed, and where Apollo's first mythical landing in Attica could have found a suitable setting. In this regard, Laura Ficuciello was the first to hypothesise a relationship between the Pythaïs procession (or a lesser procession as part of the rite) and Prasiai. Indeed, the Pythaïs or a procession connected with it could have been sent to Delos along the *Steiriake* road or another road across the Mesogaia connecting the city to Porto Raphti (fig. 21).[17] It is possible that the celebration of the Athenian Pythaïs involved the sending of two simultaneous sacred delegations, to Delphi and to

[15] This is clearly indicated by both textual sources and archaeological evidence. See MATTHAIOU 2011, pp. 259–261.The fact that the choregic tripods for the Thargelia were dedicated in the Pythion is stated, for example, in Suda *s.v.* Πύθιον; Phot. *s.v.* Πύθιον (Appendix, #Axxii); Isae. 5 41; Pl. *Grg*. 472.B.1. Literary and archaeological data on the relationship between the Thargelia and the Pythion is provided in the following paragraphs of this chapter.

[16] CAMP 2001, pp. 281–282.

[17] FICUCIELLO 2008, p. 32. Stereia was a deme in the northern part of Porto Raphti Bay; see CAMP 2001, pp. 281–282. For more on the *Steiriake* road, see STEINHAUER 2009, pp. 57–58; KAKAVOGIANNI 2009, pp. 185–187.

Delos respectively, as this was the case with the Marathonian Pythaïs as well.[18] Indeed, the possibility of a Delian sacred delegation as part of the Athenian Pythaïs is indicated by the much-debated 'first fruits' offering inscription (IG II^2 2336) and by fragmentary information from an Oxyrhynchus Papyrus where the lightning ritual is connected with a Delian *theoria* rather than a Delphic one.[19] Therefore, it can be hypothesised that from Delos and Prasiai a procession made its way back to Athens, as a re-enactment of Apollo's landing and triumphal arrival into Athens, before continuing his journey across Attica and central Greece. This procession would have gained access to the city in the sacred Ilissos area through Travlos's Gate X, near which the city Pythion lay (figs. 17–18), and where, as suggested in this work, the urban Pythaïs departed to seek the old Prytanenion and then proceeded to Delphi.[20] In short, the urban stretch of the procession should be considered as a middle segment of the whole ideal sacred road of the Pythaïs from Delos to Delphi. Indeed, even if the sacred topography as well as the order of the events involved in the celebration can only be reconstructed hypothetically, the primal Pythion by the Ilissos was certainly the hub of the ritual, at least in its original and early form.

Thus, Parson's hypothesis that the Pythaïs was ordered and dispatched from the area of the paved court below the cave of Apollo should be revised.[21] The argument above only apparently conflicts with the observations made in the previous chapter with regard to the connection between the north slope of the Acropolis and the Pythian god. In fact, as noted, the possibility that either the Pythion by the Ilissos and the Cave of Apollo could have been the setting of different parts of the pythaïstic ritual, or that their function in the context of the ceremony could have changed over time, should be still taken into account.

[18] The possibility of a Delian Pythaïs may be suggested in analogy to the ritual carried out in the Tetrapolis as described by Philochoros (*FGrH* 328 F 75; Appendix, #Axii).

[19] POxy. 2086. See PARSONS 1943, p. 237, n. 121. Indeed, inscriptions from Delos dating to the end of the second century BC make reference to the Delphic Pythaïs, see ROUSSEL 1908, pp. 422–423, nos. 20–21. On the other hand, the debated first-century BC inscription listing the contributors for the Pythaïs (IG II ^{2} 2336) may not have been related to a Delian theoria but to a Delphic one. See TRACY 1982.

[20] The course of the Pythaïs is discussed in more detail throughout this chapter.

[21] PARSONS 1943, pp. 236–237.

However, as indicated by the evidence, the Pythion by the Ilissos must have had primacy in the context of the Pythaïs.

On the other hand, the answer to the second topographic issue (that is, the location of the altar of Zeus Astrapaios in relation to the Pythion) requires a more precise contextualisation of the Pythian shrine, which can only be achieved through the analysis of the archaeological data.

The above-mentioned problems are not of secondary importance. The location of the altar of Zeus Astrapaios and the Pythion affects the spatial contextualisation of the processional route. In this regard, the question arises as to whether a ritual such as the Pythaïs, which involved the entire city and its territory and which developed both inside and outside the *chora* (territory), was a mutating phenomenon subject to change under different political and cultural circumstances.[22] I have already remarked upon the scarcity of information on the complete ritual procedure and the religious topography involved in it, which does not allow for a comprehensive diachronic reconstruction. We know that the magnitude and frequency of this pilgrimage changed over the centuries, and we can therefore only conjecture that cultural and political transformations might have affected the sacred topography within the city, possibly involving the course of the procession itself, both in its urban and extra-urban course.[23] In brief, a diachronic approach to the study of the sacred route of the Pythaïs is not a favourable avenue. What is more feasible is a general spatial contextualisation of the ceremony and a discussion of the sacred topography connected with it. However, some insight into the relationship between different historical frameworks and the ritual space of the Pythaïs can be provided by analysis of the shrines that were certainly related to the ceremony. As an example, looking back at some of the issues raised by Strabo's account, it is clear that locating the Pythion within or without the city wall circuit is not only a question of spatial contextualisation; it also can reveal profound political and cultural changes. The question of the actual relationship between the fifth-century BC Themistoklean

[22] The absence of inscriptions mentioning the Pythaïs in the third century and most of the second century BC indicates that the ritual came to a stop during this period; it was revived in the second half of the second century BC.

[23] Epigraphic documents provide a great deal of information on the procession, mostly regarding the period spanning from the second century BC to the first century AD (FD III^2 2–70).

city wall and the earlier Peisistratean Pythion should thus also be addressed: i.e., does the wall circuit include or exclude it?[24] Certainly, such aspects might have had an influence on and were motivated by the perception of the shrine and the ritual itself; but the extent of these influences it is not easy to gauge today.

The chapter continues by discussing the location of the archaic Pythion, from where the procession started.[25] Subsequently, problems which concern other relevant landmarks and the distribution of other shrines within the city possibly connected with the Pythaïs will be examined; the ancient road-network which connects these monuments will be brought into the discussion with the intent of reconstructing the urban course of the Pythaïs. Finally, a discussion is presented of the possible route of the Pythaïs across Attica.

1. The Pythion

The location of the Pythion has caused a lengthy scholarly debate, but it is now commonly accepted that the primal Pythion lay somewhere along the right bank of the Ilissos river, within a maximum range of two hundred metres southwest of the peribolos of the Olympieion. Indeed, the approximate location of the sanctuary was identified long ago in the nineteenth century (fig. 7).[26] Although this hypothesis is supported by textual sources and archaeological evidence, no architectural remains can be identified as having definitely belonged to the Pythion. Indeed, the precise location of the Pythion is still a debated issue as shown by the scholarly contributions on the topic, those of Noel Robertson, Angelos Matthaiou and Emanuele Greco being among the most recent.[27]

[24] GRECO 2009, p. 297.

[25] The Pythion on the right bank of the Ilissos was very likely the place where the Pythaïs was organised and dispatched, as also suggested by CURTIUS 1877, p. 495: '*... für die Ordnung der von hier aus gehenden Processionen ...*'.

[26] See for example CURTIUS 1877; CURTIUS AND KAUPERT 1878, p. 9.

[27] TRAVLOS 1960, p. 45–46 suggests that the Pythion was within the city wall in the area then identified as the Delphinion. Subsequently, TRAVLOS 1971, pp. 100–103 locates the Pythion further to the south, outside of the city walls. For a recent discussion, see ROBERTSON 2005, 52–55; GRECO 2009, p. 296, nn. 22, 23; MATTHAIOU 2011. I am indebted to Leda Costaki for pointing me towards the contributions of Matthaiou.

The general site of the sanctuary is indicated by several literary sources. Thucydides informs us that the primitive city encompassed the Acropolis and the region at its foot, extending especially to the south (καὶ τὸ ὑπ᾽ αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον).[28] He lists a number of shrines situated in that area: those of Zeus Olympios, Apollo Pythios, Ge, and Dionysos in Limnais. In another passage, the historian writes that Peisistratos the Younger dedicated an altar to Apollo Pythios in the sacred precinct, and records its dedicatory inscription.[29] This inscribed monument (more precisely, the altar's crowning block) has been recovered from the area south of the Olympieion.[30] Furthermore, the fact that the Pythion was close to the Olympieion is confirmed by Strabo's much-discussed account of the Pythaïs rituals, which (as already observed) took place by the altar of Zeus Astrapaios, located '*between the Pythion and the temple of Zeus Olympios'* (μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου).[31] Even Pausanias makes indirect reference to a Pythion somewhere in the area. He mentions a statue of Pythian Apollo close to the temple of Zeus Olympios, and continues his description by saying that 'there is also another shrine to Apollo surnamed Delphinios' (ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπίκλησιν Δελφινίου).[32] In this regard, Matthaiou has observed that the aforementioned expression '*there is also another shrine to Apollo*' indicates that the Apollo Pythios had a shrine in its own right nearby, and not only a statue.[33] In short, the textual indications for the location of the primal Pythion by the Ilissos appear unmistakable.

However, almost nothing is known about the appearance of the shrine, and in this regard literary testimonia are rather vague. The shrine certainly had a *temenos* (sacred precinct), as indicated by the altar's inscription, but it is unknown if this included an actual temple. The literary tradition has handed down inconsistent accounts of the construction of a proper temple of Apollo

[28] Thuc. 2.15.4 (Appendix, #Axvii).

[29] Thuc. 6.54.7 (Appendix, #Axviii). See CAMP 2001, pp. 36–37.

[30] IG I^3 948 (Appendix, #Axix). The inscription dates to 522/1 BC. KOUMANOUDIS 1877, pp. 149–152 gives the first report on the first discovery. Recent investigations carried out in the area brought to light another fragment of the inscribed crowning block, CHARAMI AND BARDANI 2011.

[31] Str. 9.2.11 (Appendix, #Axi).

[32] Paus. 1.19.1 (Appendix, #Axx).

[33] MATTHAIOU 2011, p. 259.

Pythios, whereas the relationship between the Peisistratidai and the establishment of a Pythian sanctuary (of which the above-mentioned inscribed altar is a tangible evidence) is unanimously asserted by the sources. These provide us with generic information that the sanctuary came into existence under Peisistratos.[34] Among the sources available, Hesychios seems to indicate the construction of an actual temple under Peisistratos. However, even hypothesising the foundation of a proper building, it is relevant to observe that, according to the anecdote told by Hesychios, the Athenians despised it so much that they tried to hinder the construction of the temple by excreting on its foundations.[35] Thus, we do not know if the erection of an actual public building within the precinct has ever occurred or if, at best, ever came to completion.

a. Archaeological evidence

The archaeological evidence does not help to solve these issues. The only known archaic structures in the area were brought to light during the excavations conducted by Markellos Mitsos in 1939–1940. During this campaign the remains of a late archaic building, located southwest of the Olympieion at the eastern foot of a rocky outcropping were uncovered, along with other foundations. The results of the excavation were not published, with the exception of some noteworthy fragments of inscribed vessels dating to the fourth century BC.[36]

[34] On the literary tradition surrounding Peisitratos' role in the construction of the Pythion, see WILSON 2007, p. 153, nn. 13, 14. Suda *s.v.* Πύθιον; Phot. *s.v.* Πύθιον (Appendix, #Axxii) vaguely mention the establishment of a sanctuary and not the erection of a temple: Πύθιον ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀθήνησιν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου γεγονός, εἰς ὃ τοὺς τρίποδας ἐτίθεσαν οἱ τῷ κυκλίῳ χορῷ νικήσαντες τὰ Θαργήλια. '*A sanctuary that came into existence under Peisistratos, in which the victors in the circular chorus at the Thargelia erected their tripods*' (trans. WILSON 2007, p. 153, n. 14).

[35] Hsch: <ἐν Πυθίῳ χέσαι>·Πεισίστρατος ᾠκοδόμει τὸν ἐν Πυθίῳ ναόν· τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων παριόντων <καὶ> μισούντων αὐτὸν ..., οὐδὲν ἐχόντων ποιεῖν, ἐνίους προσουρεῖν τῷ περιφράγματι καὶ πλησίον ἀφοδεύειν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς, ὥστε διοχλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐργαζομένους (Appendix, #Axxiii).

[36] For some preliminary information on the excavations, see LEMERLE 1941, p. 294**;** WALTER 1940, p. 167–169. On the ceramics related to the Pythion see AMANDRY 1942, pp. 237–238**;** MITSOS 1947, pp. 262–264. The finds uncovered in this campaign should be stored in the warehouse of the National Archaeological Museum; see THREPSIADES AND TRAVLOS 1963, p. 9, n. 3.

Among them, three are of particular interest as they may be connected with the cult of Apollo Pythios, and according to the brief notes provided by Mitsos seem to be associated with the site of the archaic structure. To have better understanding of the archaeological relationship between these finds and the archaic foundation, it is necessary to identify the whereabouts of the latter. This identification can be achieved through discussion of the precise location where the potsherds were found.

The first ceramic fragment belongs to a glazed saucer mended from four pieces and dated to the first half of the fourth century BC; it bears the inscription Ἀπ[ό]λλωνο[ς]. The other two fragments date to the middle of the fourth century BC. One is described as being 'from the base of a black-glazed vase.' Both carry the letters ΠΥ on their outer face, which suggests that we may 'have the initial letters of the adjective of Apollo.'[37] The adjective in question refers to the cult epithet, and when written in full would be Pythios in the dative case.[38] Mitsos does not provide precise information about the context in which these two last fragments were uncovered, but more details are given for the first fragment. His remarks are as follows: 'The importance of the sherd lies in the fact that it was found in the lower strata and near the foundation of a large building; thus it helps to indicate a more accurate location for the sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo.'[39] The following question arises: what large building is Mitsos referring to, and where is it? A short note by Pierre Amandry on the 1940 excavations in the Olympieion area helps to locate roughly these discoveries, and other finds, south of the Olympieion and immediately east of the rocky hill.[40] However, this information is not sufficient in itself to identify more precisely the excavation

[37] MITSOS 1947, p. 262.

[38] MITSOS 1947, p. 262. MATTHAIOU 2011, p. 263, suggests the following integrations: fr.2 ΠΥ [- - -] Πυ(θίο); fr.3 ΠΥ[- - -] Πυ[θίο].

[39] MITSOS 1947, p. 262.

[40] AMANDRY 1942, p. 238. '*Au Sud du péribole de l'Olympieion, à l'Est de la colline ... Au point de vue topographique, la trouvaille la plus intéressante est une patère avec le nom Ἀπόλλωνος inscrit sur le rebord, en lettre de la première moitié du IVe siècle. Cette découverte, ainsi que la représentation de citharèdes sur plusieurs fragments de vases, est interprétée par M.Mitsos comme la preuve qu'una grande partie de la céramique retrouvée dans la fouille provient d'un sanctuaire d'Apollon, probablement le Pythion*'.

context of the inscribed sherds. As observed by Matthaiou,[41] a better understanding of the correlation of the fragments with the late archaic structures identified in the area is to be found in the preliminary reports of the excavations conducted by Ioannis Threpsiades and Ioannis Travlos, who resumed the investigation in the Olympieion region.[42] To the south of the temple, they came across the structures already unearthed during previous campaigns (as well as new finds). Their remarks on these structures finally clarify the relevance and the location of Mitsos's discoveries as well. In particular, it is confirmed that excavations conducted in 1940 had uncovered the foundations of different sixth-century BC structures, along with a multitude of vessels in the area at the foot of the rocky hill.[43] These vessels include the above-mentioned inscribed fragments. More importantly, Threpsiades and Travlos go on to describe in detail that the majority of, and most interesting parts of, the fragmentary vessels uncovered by Mitsos were found in the pebbly floor of a specific late sixth-century BC public building (fig. 8, letter S in the distribution map fig. 10).[44] This late archaic structure, indirectly alluded to by Mitsos as the Pythion, would later be interpreted by Travlos as the law-court at the Delphinion.[45]

Having clarified the context in which the most significant vessel fragments were found, as well as their relationship with the late archaic building, one may wonder what conclusion can be drawn as far as the topography of the Pythion is concerned. The inscribed sherds, along with a quantity of ceramics portraying the god holding a *kithara*,[46] only indicate a general location for the sanctuary (or at least part of it) in the area of the rocky hill, close to the Olympieion.[47] Thus, the northern limit of the Pythian *temenos* was probably adjacent to the hill or even partially included it; the rest of the sanctuary (the

[41] MATTHAIOU 2011, pp. 263, 265.

[42] THREPSIADES AND TRAVLOS 1963.

[43] THREPSIADES AND TRAVLOS 1963, p. 9.

[44] THREPSIADES AND TRAVLOS 1963, p. 10. TRAVLOS 1971, p. 83 says that the seashore-pebble floors in the eastern room and in the court in front of the building are later repairs to be dated to the fourth or third century BC. The inscribed potsherds uncovered by Mitsos were most likely found in these floors.

[45] TRAVLOS 1971, p. 289, figs. 379–380.

[46] AMANDRY 1942, p. 238.

[47] MATTHAIOU 2011, p. 265.

extent of which remains unknown) would extend to the south. No certain identification can be made on the grounds of the scant data available; indeed, Matthaiou has recently suggested the necessity for a general re-evaluation of all finds uncovered in the area, as well as a re-assessment of the function of the archaic building (the law-court) and of the chronology of the temple currently identified as the Delphinion.[48]

b. Finds distribution approach

Given the difficulty of clearly explaining the function of the late archaic architectural remains (actually, of all temples in the area) and of definitely associating them with any specific function or cult, scholarship adopted another approach. Attention was thus drawn to the distribution and frequency of other relevant finds associated with the Pythion, in order to try to identify the area occupied by the sanctuary more precisely.[49]

In addition to the already discussed potsherds, the most relevant finds are:

1.The inscribed crowning block of the altar of Apollo Pythios set in the Pythian precinct by Peisistratos the Younger.[50]

2.The tripod bases dedicated by the *choregoi* victorious in the dythyrambic contests held during the Thargelia festival. These tripods were set within the Pythian precinct, as clearly indicated by the sources.[51]

Nevertheless, two important factors add to the complexity of a topographical contextualisation of the Pythion using the location and distribution of finds. The first is that neither the altar nor the choregic bases were found in their first original position. The second is that the finding-places of many of these monuments are uncertain and can only be hypothesised with a limited degree of precision.

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[48] MATTHAIOU 2011, p. 266. The identification of the temple of Apollo of Delphinios with the classical temple northeast of the law-court is not necessarily confirmed by the finds; see TRAVLOS 1971, p. 83. The temple conventionally attributed to Apollo Delphinios has been recently attributed to Apollo Pythios by ROBERTSON 2005, pp. 52–55.

[49] This is, for example, the approach followed by KOUMANOUDIS 1877; CURTIUS 1877; TRAVLOS 1971, and MATTHAIOU 2011.

[50] Thuc. 6.54.7 (Appendix, #Axviii); IG I^3 948 (Appendix, #Axix).

[51] MATTHAIOU 2011, pp. 259–261. For the sources mentioning the practice of dedicating the choregic tripods during the Thargelia in the Pythion, see p. 102, n. 15.

The tripod bases and the altar came to light over a long period of time, beginning in 1872 and stretching through the recent discoveries in 2009 in the area of 3 Iosif ton Rogon St. (see map, fig. 10, letter M), and in the plot at the corner of 31 Syngrou Av. and Negri St. In general, early excavation reports are either inaccurate in locating the areas investigated, or use spatial references no longer fully understandable for the localisation of the various finding-places. As an example**,** the area where in the years 1872 and 1877 some of the inscribed tripod bases and the altar were found is described by Stephanos Koumanoudis with the following words: 'On the right bank of the Ilissos, west of the bridge that leads to the cemetery, there are some houses, built not well few years ago almost above the line of the walls of the city ...'.[52] The contexts of particularly relevant finds are indicated more precisely by mentioning the owner of the property in which the excavation was conducted. Thus, three inscribed tripod bases (IG II^2 3065; 3066; 3067) were found '*... in the yard of one (house) of them, that one belonging to Mr. Karditsi ...*'[53], and the crowning block of the altar (IG I^3 948) was recovered ...'*in a yard of a house by the Ilissos and southwest of the Olympieion*'.[54] According to the conclusions of Matthaiou, this house was the property of Mr. Agapiou, which lay to the west of the house of Mr. Karditsi.[55] In short, whereas the relative positioning of many of these finds can be estimated, their absolute location is a problem. In fact, the late development of a proper cadastral map system in Greece makes it very difficult to plot old estates and parcels accurately today when using a simple textual description.[56]

These issues notwithstanding, scholarship fully acknowledges the importance of these finding-places to the identification of the site of the sanctuary, and has tried to extrapolate from the available documents all useful

[52] KOUMANOUDIS 1872, p. 169: 'Παρὰ τὴν δεξιὰν ὄχθην τοῦ Ἰλισσοῦ, πρὸς δυσμὰς τῆς γεφύρας τῆς ἀγούσης πρὸς τὸ νεκροταφεῖον, εἶναι τινὲς οἰκίαι, κτισθεῖσαι οὐ καλῶς πρὸ ὀλίγων ἐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς σχεδὸν τῆς γραμμῆς τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἄστεος ...'.

[53] KOUMANOUDIS 1872, p. 169: '... ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ μιᾶς (οἰκίας) ἐξ αὐτῶν, τῆς τοῦ Χρ. Καρδίτση ...'

[54] KOUMANOUDIS 1877, p. 149: 'ἔν τινί αὐλῇ οἰκίας ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰλισσοῦ καὶ νοτιοδυτικῶς τοῦ Ὀλυμπιείου ...'.

[55] MATTHAIOU 2011, p. 261, n. 13.

[56] For more on the Hellenic cadastral system, see POTSIOU, et al. 2000.

information to localise the old excavation plots. Travlos drew a distribution map of the most relevant monuments to accompany the discussion of the Pythion in his *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*.[57] He must have calculated the location of the altar and some of the other monuments using the indications provided in the aforementioned accounts of Koumanoudis.[58] The result of Travlos' reconstruction are visible in one of the plans he drew of the area (fig. 9). Here, the possible finding spots of most monuments (including the altar) are located as far south as the block comprised between the streets Lembesi and Bourbaki, close to the right bank of the Ilissos.

To complete the list of finds related to the Pythion, we need to add to Travlos' map the positioning of the monuments unearthed after its publication. These are numerous. An inscribed tripod base was found close to 16–18 Athanasiou Diakou St. (fig. 10, I). Seven tripod bases were found reused in a third-century BC structure (fig. 10, H), along with other four tripod bases on 15–17 Iosif ton Rogon St. (already marked as G in Travlos' map).[59] In 2005 and 2009 two additional choregic inscriptions were found. One was recovered in the area corresponding to 9 Iosif ton Rogon (fig. 10, L),[60] the other one in the plot at the corner of 31 Syngrou Av. and Negri St.[61] The latter inscription does not appear in the map since, although it was found in the same general area as the above-mentioned bases, its location is quite isolated from where these bases and other finds relevant to the discussion are mostly concentrated.[62] Some monuments that were uncovered well ahead of Travlos' reconstruction deserve a place on the map, but their find-spots are too vague to be plotted with confidence: these are four inscribed tripod bases. Two of them were originally thought to pertain to the Dionysia festival; however, they should be considered

[57] TRAVLOS 1971, p. 101, fig. 130.

[58] KOUMANOUDIS 1872, 1877.

[59] Thus a total of eleven tripod bases was recovered from the same Hellenistic building, eight of which are inscribed. For the text of these eight inscribed choregic bases see KOUMANOUDIS 1970.

[60] IG I^3 966.

[61] Λ 12601 (3rd Ephoreia of Antiquities inventory number).

[62] For a discussion of this inscription and its context, and another distribution map of the finds in the region southwest of the Olympieion as far south as Negri St., see MAKRI AND SAKKA 2014, pp. 155–162, fig. 3.

along with the choregic monuments set in the Pythion for the Thargelia.[63] The other two inscribed tripod bases were found somewhere close to the bridge. These latter are IG I^3 963 and IG I^3 965.[64]

According to the maps (figs. 9–10) the majority of monuments were found close to Iosif ton Rogon St. and Ath. Diakou St. – that is, approximately along the line of the city wall. This cannot be a coincidence. Probably most of them were originally set further to the north of their finding places. Indeed, the finds indicated on the map and discussed here were all found in secondary context. In fact, due to the specific nature of the area, which gradually slopes as one moves from the temple of Zeus to the south towards the riverbank, some of these monuments must have literally rolled down from their first location, which was higher.[65] Later, they become building material for the construction or renovations of the city walls and other structures in proximity of which they were found.

While the information regarding the location of discoveries after 1960 are precise (figs. 9–10, E–G), the early finding-places of the altar's fragments (figs. 9–10, A) and other relevant monuments (figs. 9–10, B–D) are not. Matthaiou, who has recently reconsidered these issues, locates the altar and some of the choregic bases further to the north, (fig. 10, A_M, B_M, C_M, D_M).[66] According to his interpretation of the notes given by Koumanoudis, the possible finding-places of the nineteenth-century finds should be located on Ath. Diakou St. in the area roughly corresponding to numbers 26 to 32.[67] In fact, the discovery of a further fragment of the altar during rescue excavations conducted in 2009 in a plot on 3

[63] MATTHAIOU 2011, pp. 262, 267. These bases would date to the last quarter of the fifth century BC; they carry the inscriptions IG II^2 3029 and IG II^2 3047 respectively.

[64] According to IG I^3 965, p. 658 this base was found in Athens but '*incerto loco*.' According to MATTHAIOU 2011, p. 261, the base was uncovered in a house not far from the bridge on the Ilissos. Additional epigraphic documents concerning the contests at the Thargelia were found in different parts of the city far from the Ilissos area; their location is provided by MAKPRI AND SAKKA 2014, p. 159, n. 16 (among them, IG I^3 964, which was found west of the gate of Athena Archegetis, far from the Ilissos area).

[65] This hypothesis is also upheld by KOUMANOUDIS 1872, p. 171; KOUMANOUDIS 1873, p. 25; MATTHAIOU 2011.

[66] MATTHAIOU 2011.

[67] MATTHAIOU 2011, p. 265.

Iosif ton Rogon St. (fig. 10, M), seems to confirm rather closely the conclusions reached by Matthaiou.[68] However, this recent discovery requires a more in-depth discussion.

When the monument was first excavated in 1877, it was broken into five fragments.[69] The piece recently found probably broke in the above-mentioned circumstance and therefore, is of enormous importance as it may indicate the approximate find-spot of the other fragments previously recovered. This discovery is thus considered today the only actual evidence for a rough topographic contextualisation of the Pythion.[70] In short, Matthaiou's analysis and the recent archaeological investigation in the region seem to indicate that the altar's crowning block was found in a more northerly spot than where Travlos had located it. Therefore, the sanctuary possibly extended into an area between the southeast foot of the rocky outcropping (where the inscribed sherds were found) and the plot on 3 Iosif ton Rogon St.

Exhaustive information from the 2009 excavation has not been published, but an important detail of the context in which the altar's fragment was found is provided in the archaeological report. In fact, it seems that it was found accidentally among other stones that collapsed from one of the scarps of the excavation areas.[71] The uncertainty of the stratigraphic context of the last fragment should thus recommend a little caution in associating unmistakably this very plot with the original find-spot of the rest of the fragments. It is also possible that the piece was moved after the 1877 excavations, or even that it broke off well before that. Even given the topographic relevance of the fragment and the correctness of the conclusion reached by Matthaiou, there is still room for further observations and hypotheses about the possible identification of the context of the fragments brought to light in 1877. In the next paragraphs the data

[68] The excavation has not been published yet. General information on the fragment and its location in respect to the excavation plot can be found in CHARAMI AND BARDANI 2011.

[69] KOUMANOUDIS 1877, p. 149 'Εἶχε δὲ ἀνασκαφῆ αὐτοῦ πρὸ μηνῶν εἰς 5 τεμάχια'. See MATTHAIOU 2011, p. 261.

[70] As reported in a note by Chara Charamì and Voula Bardani, the discovery of the fragment indicates that even the other fragments of the altar uncovered in 1877 might originally come from the same plot; see CHARAMI AND BARDANI 2011.

[71] CHARAMI AND BARDANI 2011.

available will be analysed in the context of old cartographic and photographic documents.

As already reported, the 1872 excavations were described by Koumanoudis as being in an area west of the bridge to the cemetery, where a group or recently constructed houses laid '*almost above the line*' (ἐπ' αὐτῆς σχεδὸν τῆς γραμμῆς) of the city walls. In fact, the region southwest of the Olympieion was not occupied by single houses or major buildings roughly until 1868. This is confirmed by cartographic and photographic documents of the time which show the quick development of the area in the decade 1868–1878 (figs. 11–15).

Bearing in mind Koumanoudis' information, it is possible to observe that, indeed, the only stretch of the ancient city wall at that time identifiable in the area nearly coincides with the same plot as the altar's fragment found in 2009. Thus, the information that the houses were built almost above the line of the wall may refer to this part of the wall. This would confirm that, although the recently discovered fragment was not found in a datable archaeological context, it still possibly indicates the place in which the other fragments of the altar were found as well. However, Matthaiou locates the houses in the area of 26–28 and 32 Ath. Diakou St. He reaches this conclusion by associating Koumanoudis' mention of the city wall with the actual remnants, which are reported by Olga Alexandri as being on Ath. Diakou St.[72]

On the other hand, we do not know how much of the wall circuit was actually visible in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the contemporary plans confirm that the reconstructed line of the city walls in the area was largely hypothetical. Thus, another interpretation of Koumanoudis' account is possible, especially upon comparison of the description of the houses involved in the excavations of 1872 and 1877 with the photographs of the area dating to the same period. Both the 1878 map and the almost contemporary photograph (figs. 12, 14–15) show that at the time of the excavation, the area between 3 Iosif ton Rogon and 26–32 Ath. Diakou was occupied by a block of large two-story buildings and other fine structures. However, following Koumanoudis' indications it must be inferred that the altar was recovered from

[72] ALEXANDRI 1968, p. 53, figs. 15–16.

the courtyard of a poorly built house which lay along with others '*southwest of the Olympieion*.'[73] In fact, to the southwest of the temple of Zeus and in proximity of the area of the 2009 discovery, both the photographs and the map show a series of separate houses which seem to match Koumanoudis' description more closely than the taller constructions to the south. They appear as urban 'farmsteads' and are built almost along what was the hypothesised projected line of the city wall. These could well be the houses referred to by Koumanoudis. Thus, the debate is not over, and it can be suggested that either Travlos was right in locating the altar's context much further to the south (south of the block of fine houses shown in the old photograph, that is), or that another candidate for the house of Mr. Agapiou (where the altar was found) must be identified. I am inclined to follow this second hypothesis and suggest that the house of Mr. Agapiou was probably among the small houses depicted in the old photograph (fig. 15) as north of modern Ath.Diakou St.

Thus, the best and most cautious solution is that, to extend the 'buffer area' of the altar's find-spot from the plot on 3 Iosif ton Rogon to the region of the houses northeast of it. The most likely conclusion is that, if the fragmentary altar is seen as the most reliable topographic indicator for the location of the Pythion, there is good reason to believe that the core of the shrine was very close to the rocky outcropping which extends southwest of the Olympieion. Since some of the remains of the Themistoklean wall were found on 26 Athenasiou Diakou St., south of the rocky outcropping that they probably enclosed, it is possible that the Pythion lay inside the Themistoklean city wall and not outside, as posited by many.[74] Thus, Strabo's indication of an altar of Zeus Astrapaios 'ἐν τῷ τείχει' should be probably read as within the city wall and not above it.[75] The altar was located between the Pythion and the Olympieion, in a location from

[73] KOUMANOUDIS 1877, p. 149 '... ἔν τινι αὐλῇ οἰκίας ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰλισσοῦ καὶ νοτιο δυτικῶς τοῦ Ὀλυμπιείου …'.

[74] For the analysis of the remnants of the Themistoklean city wall in the area of the Olympieion see THEOCHARAKI 2007, pp. 484–497; THEOCHARAKI 2011, p. 83. For the remains of the Themistoklean wall on 26 Athenasiou Diakou St., see THEOCHARAKI 2011, p. 79, pl. 1. Due to the cult characteristics of the Pythian god some believe that the Pythion has always been outside of the city walls 'by virtue of its purificatory function' WILSON 2007, p. 154, n. 17.

[75] Str. 9.2.11 (Appendix, #Axi).

which the Pythaïsts would have had a favourable view of Mount Harma. According to this reconstruction, the altar is most likely to be located on the rocky spur which also delimited the northern extent of the Pythian shrine.

This conclusion strengthens the hypothesis that the Pythion might extend closer to the Olympieion than previously thought; Matthaiou's demand that all archaeological data found in the area should be reassessed finds full support. Indeed, the function of the foundations east of the rocky spur (i.e. the law-court at the Delphinion and the Delphinion itself) needs probably to be reconsidered.[76] Moreover, it is among these structures that Travlos had first placed the Pythion before he decided to re-locate it much further to the south.[77]

The possibility that the Pythion was included in Themistokles' wall circuit is not simply a topographic datum; it may symbolise the acceptance of Peisistratos' Pythion into the political and cultural context of fifth-century BC Athens. Therefore, with specific regard to the Pythaïs (which, as I suggest, was introduced to Athens under Peisistratos) we may hypothesise that the transition of the ceremony itself from the sixth century BC into democratic Athens was not a traumatic one, with the ritual remaining possibly unaltered.

2. Contextualising the *pyrphoria*

In the first part of this chapter, the ritual of the *tripodephoria*, which was part of the ceremonies celebrated in the broader framework of the Pythaïs, was contextualised within the religious topography of the city. It was in the urban shrine of Apollo Pythios (located south of the Olympieion) that the sacred tripod was kept, and it was within the precinct of this shrine that the tripod as a Delphic symbol recurs, as shown by the well-documented practice of dedicating the choregic tripods for the Thargelia festival within this very sacred precinct.[78] Moreover, Strabo's description of the rituals which preceded the actual sending of the procession fits well with this interpretation. Therefore, it has been concluded that the primal urban shrine of Apollo Pythios must have been the

[76] TRAVLOS 1971, pp. 83–90.

[77] TRAVLOS 1960, p. 46, pl. 2.TRAVLOS 1971, pp. 100–103.

[78] As discussed, this practice, which is well documented in textual sources, has been confirmed by archaeological evidence.

starting point of the Pythaïs as well. Given the issues with both the precise location and extension of the shrine, as well as its relationship with the city wall, the discussion was conducted on purely archaeological and topographical levels, through the re-assessment of the data available and through the analysis of cartographic and photographic data. In this regard, I concur with Matthaiou's location of the Pythian shrine further north than hypothesised by Travlos. Furthermore, it is also suggested that the shrine extended within the Themistoklean city wall and that the eschara of Zeus Astrapaios should be located on the rocky hill between the proposed location of the Pythion and the Olympieion, as indicated by Strabo (9.2.11).

Along with the *tripodephoria*, another ritual is recorded in the Pythaïs of the Hellenistic period which must have had an important place during the conduction of the early Pythaïdes as well; this was the ritual of the *pyrphoria*, that is the fetching of the sacred fire from the Common Hearth at Delphi.[79]

One of the best-attested *pyrphoria* would have occurred after the battle of Plataia in 479 BC. Plutarch recounts that following the battle, the victorious Greeks were ordered by the Delphic oracle to erect an altar to Zeus Eleutherios. Before carrying out the sacrifice, they had to extinguish fires throughout Greece, which were considered polluted by the barbarians, and convey fresh and pure fire from Delphi.[80] This episode is believed by some scholars to have marked the origin of the Athenian Pythaïs.[81] However, we hypothesise in this work that the introduction of the Pythaïs to Athens long preceded the battle of Plataia. Indeed, no evidence binds the conveyance of the sacred fire after Plataia to the Athenian ceremony. Furthermore, it has been convincingly suggested by Paul Cartledge that this episode should be interpreted as a literary invention belonging to a much

[79] The *pyrphoria* is recorded in the Pythaïs of 106/5 BC and 97/6 BC (FD III^2 13, 32, 33; Appendix, #Axiv–#Axvi), see BOËTHIUS 1918, p. 73. The relevance of this ritual and its relationship with the *tripodephoria* is discussed in depth by Boëthius, see BOËTHIUS 1918, pp. 72–80. Both the fetching of the Delphic tripod and the renewal of the sacred fire in the context of the renewed late Hellenistic Pythaïs probably reflected aspects of the ancient ritual (BOËTHIUS 1918, p. 79).

[80] Plut. *Arist.* 20.4–5.

[81] Some scholars believe that the Pythaïs emerged after the battle of Plataia in 479 BC; see FURLEY AND BREMER 2001, pp. 132–134, with notes.

later cultural context; the Plataian *pyrphoria* recounted by Plutarch may have never occurred.[82]

However, the ritual of the *pyrphoria* during the Athenian Pythaïs may have been conducted in a manner analogous to that described by Plutarch: the existing sacred fire in the Prytaneion was probably quenched, and new fire was brought from the *pyr athanaton* (eternal fire) in the *cella* of the temple of Apollo at Delphi (as suggested by Boëthius), or more probably from the *koine hestia* in the Prytaneion of Delphi.[83] Aside from the purificatory meaning which is associated to this ritual and to the cult of Apollo generally, the *pyrphoria* could have also expressed another religious significance in the context of the early Athenian Pythaïdes.[84]

Irad Makin has shown that the fetching of the sacred fire was common practice in Greek religion for the founding of shrines and colonies at least before the end of the seventh century BC.[85] I suggest that, as with the *tripodephoria,* the primal meaning of the *pyrphoria* in the context of the Pythaïs was the symbolic re-foundation of the Pythion in Athens. Indeed, one of the inscriptions from the Athenian *thesauros* at Delphi clearly associates the two rituals as closely related in the context of the same Pythaïs (FD III^2 32), and Daux has suggested that the fire was actually carried back to Athens using the tripod.[86]

However, it is not certain whether the *pyrphoria* and the *tripodephoria* had always been a feature of the Pythaïs. While there is little doubt as to the antiquity of the above-mentioned rituals, it may be observed that the renewed Pythaïdes of the second and first centuries BC could have incorporated them as re-enactments of ancestral religious practices which were previously carried out separately. This seems unlikely, and the above-mentioned practices still remain the only clues for the topographic contextualisation and reconstruction of the

[82] CARTLEDGE 2013, pp. 130–131.

[83] BOËTHIUS 1918, p. 74, n. 1. The public hearth was kept in the Prytaneion of Delphi, see FURLEY AND BREMER 2001, p. 117, n. 78. See also MALKIN 1987, pp. 118–119. For further reading on fire rituals in the context of state *theoriai,* see also RUTHERFORD 2013, pp. 122–125.

[84] On the cult of Apollo as related to purification rituals, see KARILA-COHEN 2005, pp. 231–235.

[85] MALKIN 1987, pp. 114–134.

[86] DAUX 1936, pp. 718–721. Conversely, Boëthius believes that the two ceremonies were carried out separately; see BOËTHIUS 1918, pp. 72–80.

course of the Pythaïs within the city in its early phases. In fact, it is probable that both the *tripodephoria* and the *pyrphoria* featured in the early Pythaïdes as well. Indeed, the interpretation of *tripodephoria* and *pyrphoria* as ritual re-foundations of the Pythion fits very well with the information provided by the textual sources that, as noted, unanimously ascribe to the elder Peisistratos the setting of the shrine of Apollo Pythios.[87] Moreover, two documents bear witness to the handling of the tripod for a Pythaïs and to the role of the sacred fire (symbolised by Hestia) in the framework of Athenian Apollo's worship in Delphi, as early as the fourth century BC. The first is an inscribed tripod base from Delphi which records the dedication of a tripod to Apollo on behalf of the ten *hieropoioi* (magistrates overseeing temples and rites, one for each tribe) that conducted a Pythaïs, probably in the years between 330 and 324 BC.[88] This document is revealing of the role already played by the tripod offering in the context of the Pythaïs in the fourth century BC. In this regard, the offering of the tripod on the part of the Athenian officials could be seen as reciprocating and mitigating the ritual 'abduction' of the Delphic tripod enacted with the *tripodephoria*. In addition to this dedicatory inscription, it should be noted also that among the number of ritual items for the Pythaïs listed in the Athenian calendar of sacrifice, the tripod features prominently.[89] Although not surprising in the context of an offering to Apollo, this reference still indicates the close relationship between tripod dedication and the Pythaïs in the fifth century BC.

The second document which provides evidence of the relationship between the *pyrphoria* and the Pythaïs before the Hellenistic revival of the festival is another fourth-century BC epigraphic record: an inscribed paean by Aristonoos of Corinth found in the area of the Athenian treasure-house at Delphi.[90] The composition is dedicated to Hestia and clearly indicates and confirms the relevance of her position in the context of Apolline celebrations. Even though the inscription does not explicitly mention for which festival the paean was composed, it has been suggested by William D. Furley and Jan M.

[87] The Peisistratid ideology inherent in these aspects is expanded in a historical contextualisation and discussion in the conclusion to this work.

[88] DAUX 1936, pp. 529–530. FD III[1] 511.

[89] LAMBERT 2002, F 1 A col. 3, l. 28 (Appendix, #Axiii).

[90] FD III[2] 192.

Bremer that, like many of the inscriptions carved on the Athenian treasury, in particular like the later paeans by Athenaios and Limenios, it was related to a Pythaïs.[91] As a logical consequence, it can be hypothesised that this paean to Hestia was connected with the *pyrphoria*.

As far as the topography of Athens is concerned it has been proposed that the *tripodephoria* was directly related to the Pythion. On the other hand, the *pyrphoria* was connected with the Prytaneion, the place where the civic fire or 'the flame of Hestia', was kept continuously burning.[92] Given the relevance of Hestia and its connection with the *pyrphoria*, it is argued here that the Prytaneion was one of the public/religious buildings involved in the celebration of the festival. As already mentioned, because the ritual probably entailed the quenching and renewal of the civic fire, the procession stopped by the Prytaneion both on its way to Delphi and upon its return to Athens. Indeed, after leaving the Pythion, the Pythaïs would have proceeded towards this area, which must have been one of the stations of the ritual, marking its itinerary within the city.[93] Although the precise location of the archaic Prytaneion is an issue almost as complicated as the discussed location of the archaic Pythion, it is still possible to identify its whereabouts to a high probability. Indeed, it will be sufficient here to discuss its general location, as this also indicates the direction followed by the procession across the southeastern part of the city.

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[91] WEIL 1893, pp. 569–583; WEIL 1894, pp. 345–362. The hymns by Athenaios and Limenios are in FD III^2 137–138 (Appendix, #Ax). The fact that Aristonoos' paean to Hestia might refer to a Pythaïs is suggested by FURLEY AND BREMER 2001, p. 118.

[92] On the connection between the Prytaneion and the flame of Hestia see SCHMALZ 2006, p. 33, n. 2. In this chapter reference will be often made to SCHMALZ 2006, which contains a recent discussion of the topographic issues of the old Prytaneion with an analysis of the main textual and archaeological sources. Some of the problems pertaining to the whereabouts of the Prytaneion have been also newly summarised in KAVVADIAS AND MATTHAIOU 2014. This contribution includes the publication of the most recently recovered evidence towards the discussion of the approximate location of the Prytaneion: an inscription (Π 1247 1st Ephoreia of Antiqioties inventory number), found at 32 Tripodon St. This possibly dates to the second quarter of the fifth century BC and concerns regulations for the *prytaneis* and the Prytaneion.

[93] The sacred fire and the shrine of Hestia in the Prytaneion was the starting point for several other religious processions in the city as well: see PARKER 1996, pp. 26–27 with notes; see also SCHMALZ 2006, p. 34, with notes.

3. The Prytaneion

Aristotle, in his descriptions of the institutions of archaic Athens and their official residences, places the Prytaneion somewhere near the Archaic Agora, near other key buildings of Athenian civic life.[94] The Boukoleion is explicitly described as being next to the Prytaneion; other buildings such as the Epilikeion and the Thesmotheteion were nearby as well.[95] None of these buildings has been identified with absolute certainty and the general location of the Prytaneion and other structures is a relatively recent achievement. Pausanias, who is our best source for the contextualisation of the archaic town hall, describes it as being in close proximity to the Aglaurion.[96] This latter shrine was certainly identified, in the early 1980s, in the cave on the southeast crag of the Acropolis.[97] Therefore, current scholarship agrees in locating the general area of the Prytaneion southeast of the Acropolis.[98] In a recently published work, Geoffrey C.R. Schmalz has re-examined all textual and archaeological evidence for the topographical contextualisation of the Prytaneion; his hypothesis to locate it under the modern Agia Aikaterini Square appears a very likely one (fig. 16).[99] The identification of the colonnaded complex underneath the square as belonging to the Prytaneion is largely due to the epigraphic evidence found in the environs of the above-mentioned church and around Lysikrates Square.

The structure was the residence of the eponymous archon; it was the city's town hall and was an iconic public building, symbolically related to the establishment of the Athenian state as direct consequence of Theseus's mythical

[94] To avoid confusion, the term 'Archaic Agora' will refer to the early civic space located somewhere east of the Acropolis. The later public space north of the Acropolis is here referred to as the 'Classical Agora'. These terms are conventional: they do not imply that the Archaic Agora went out of use after the Archaic period, nor that the Classical Agora did not have its own gradual development from the Archaic period.

[95] Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 3.5.

[96] Paus. 1.18.2–3 (Appendix, #Axxiv).

[97] SCHMALZ 2006, p. 40, n. 27.

[98] The location of the general areas occupied by the Prytaneion and the Archaic Agora has been possible thanks to the identification of the Aglaurion in the 1980s; see DONTAS 1983; SCHMALZ 2006, pp. 40–43. KALLIGAS 1994; LIPPOLIS 1995.

[99] SCHMALZ 2006.

synoikismos ('civic union') of Attica.[100] As such, it was home to several shrines: to Hestia, the goddess of the civic immovable fire; Apollo (who was Patroös to the Athenians); the goddess Eirene; and possibly even Pallas Athena.[101] The co-presence of Apollo, Hestia, Athena, and Eirene in the Prytaneion is attested by the epigraphic record; the cult of Eirene and Hestia in the Prytaneion is also mentioned by Pausanias.[102] One of the earliest inscribed documents in relation to the Prytaneion refers to Apollo. This inscription dates to the last quarter of the fifth century BC (422–416 BC); it records the dedication of a ceremonial throne for the god (most probably worshiped as Pythios or Patroös) in this building.[103] The cult of Eirene in the Prytaneion is recorded in an inscription dating to the second half of the second century BC, which honours the holder of a new office for the Prytaneion.[104] An epigraphic document attesting to the presence of Hestia in the Prytaneion dates to the end of the first century AD. This inscription is a private dedication to Hestia, Apollo, the Theoi Sebastoi (the imperial house) and the civic institutions of the city.[105] There is also an inscription commemorating the dedication of a statue of Pallas Athena, which was probably set up in the Prytaneion in the second century AD.[106]

The following discussion aims to highlight the relationship between the deities which had a share in the Prytaneion (especially Apollo and Hestia) and the Pythaïs. First of all, it has already been observed that the ritual of the *pyrphoria* conducted during the Pythaïs must have been centred in the

[100] Thuc. 2.15.2 (Appendix, #Axvii); Plut. *Thes*. 24.3. For a discussion on the chronology of Theseus' mythical foundation, see CAMP 2005, pp. 200–202.

[101] SCHMALZ 2006, p. 73, n. 147.

[102] Paus. 1.18.3 (Appendix, #Axxiv).

[103] IG I^3 137 ll. 3–5. The inscription was found near the gate of Athena Archegetis. The earliest inscription referable to the Prytaneion is Π 1247 (1st Ephoreia of Antiquities inventory number), possibly dating to the second quarter of the fifth century BC; see KAVVADIAS AND MATTHAIOU 2014.

[104] IG II^2 1000; see SCHMALZ 2006, p. 68.

[105] IG II^2 3185.

[106] IG II^2 3177. SCHMALZ 2006, p. 73 suggests that this statue might have replaced a previous one, originally kept in the Palladion Sanctuary of Zeus. The new dedication would have probably taken place in the Prytaneion, as the dedication was found close to the proposed site of the Prytaneion (it was built in the now-demolished church of Agia Kyria Kandili).

Prytaneion. In this regard, it was suggested that both the *pyrphoria* and the *tripodephoria* be primarily interpreted as symbolic re-foundations of the Pythian cult and shrine at Athens. However, the significance of the ritual involving the transfer of the inextinguishable fire may have also taken on an even more complex meaning over time. Indeed, the celebration of the *pyrphoria* can be also read as a symbol of the Athenian maritime power, as a reminiscence of the Ionian colonists' practice to carry the fire from the civic centre of the metropolis into the new foundations.[107] In this respect, one of the possible interpretations of the connection between the goddess of the civic hearth and Apollo can be probably found in some of the items involved in the procession. In fact, among the religious objects carried for the Pythaïs one in particular commands our attention, featured in the calendar as ἐπιτοξίδα.[108] The meaning of this term in the context of the procession does not appear readily understandable. However, an interpretation can be attempted if the term ἐπιτοξίδα is read against the broader ritual framework of the *pyrphoria*. Stephen Lambert suggests that this is an adjective which functions as a substantive; according to him its meaning in the context of an Apolline ritual would be connected with a bow, or possibly indicate a small votive anchor. It is argued here that this latter interpretation is the most likely one. Traditionally, Ionian colonists (and this was probably an universal practice among Greeks) were required to take and bring the sacred fire to new settlements with the favourable omen of Pythian Apollo; in this respect the renewal of the fire through this ritual conveyance directly from Delphi may have also been a symbolic act of re-foundation and re-generation for the city of Athens, which ensured the most favourable auspices of the god.[109] Thus, the ritual anchors can likely be a symbol of Athens's status as a colonial and maritime power.[110] Therefore, it is possible to accept the interpretation of the term ἐπιτοξίδα as indicating the dedication of votive anchors. These were

[107] On the carrying of the sacred fire from the Prytaneion to new colonies, see MALKIN 1987, pp. 114–134.

[108] LAMBERT 2002, F 1 A col. 3, l. 28 (Appendix, #Axiii).

[109] See MALKIN 1987, pp. 114–134.

[110] LAMBERT 2002, pp. 370–371, takes into account Antonio Corso's personal communication of the term ἐπιτοξίδα as indicating a votive anchor. In his turn, Corso follows the lead of Photios where the term indicates a small iron anchor (Phot. *s.v.* ἐπιτοξίδες).

probably carried in the procession and offered either in the archaic Prytaneion of the city, or perhaps conducted up to Delphi and dedicated there, the latter being the most likely solution. To conclude this short digression, it can be affirmed that with the conduction of the Pythaïs not only did the city re-enact her vow of piety towards the god honoured as Pythios and Patroös, but also it celebrated and re-affirmed her authority in front of all Greeks and beyond, in a context (Delphi) which was primarily panhellenic.

Of the many (more than 30, according to Schmalz) inscriptions reflecting upon the civic and religious function of the Prytaneion, the most relevant to understanding the urban setting of the Pythaïs is a dedication to Hestia.[111] The finding context of the inscription is revealing, in the sense that it shows that the dedication was not moved very far from where it was originally set up. Schmalz reports the later story of the inscription:[112] it was first recorded as built in the church of Agia Kyria Kandili (the Holy Lady of the Lamp).[113] Prior to demolition, the church originally stood midway between the monument of Lysikrates and the Middle Byzantine church of Agia Aikaterini where the inscription was moved to. As observed, the shrine of the goddess was located in the Prytaneion, which most likely was situated near the crossroads where the Street of the Tripods and the Street of Lysikrates meet today (most likely in the area of the Agia Aikaterini square). These data and the topographic contextualisation of the shrine of Hestia point to this area and the ancient crossroads currently occupied by Lysikrates square as the course of the Pythaïs within Athens. However, the question remains by which road the Pythaïs made its way from the Pythion to the Prytaneion.

[111] IG II^2 3185.

[112] SCHMALZ 2006, pp. 71–73.

[113] This is indeed an evocative epithet for a church which was likely built on the spot (or close nearby) of the shrine of Hestia, the goddess of the civic hearth, whose dedicatory symbol was the votive torch.

4. The processional road across southeast Athens

It has been proposed that from the area south of the temple of Zeus Olympios (where the Pythion was) the procession moved towards the general direction of the Archaic Agora, in particular towards the shrine of Hestia in the Prytaneion. The general route of the Pythaïs in this first stretch can be considered almost certain even from a diachronic perspective, as the Prytaneion remained, at least symbolically, the centre of the archaic city well into the first centuries of the Christian era. However, our limited knowledge of the procession itself does not allow us to understand whether, in this part of Athens, other shrines or buildings were involved in the ceremony besides the Pythion and, as argued here, the Prytaneion. In fact, as pointed out by recent scholarship, the procession might have involved the sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus as well; this has been hypothesised on the basis of an *omphalos* that was found in the area of the theatre.[114] Nevertheless, the absence of any precise information on the ritual of the Pythaïs in this sense renders this idea merely hypothetical.

The road used by the Pythaïs must be the same as one, or more, road axes that connected the area of the Pythion to the hub of Lysikrates Square (fig. 17). The most important thoroughfare that headed into the heart of the city centre from the east joined the city at Gate IX (Hippades Gate) into Lysikrates Square, passing through the Arch of Hadrian.[115] In its last western stretch, which most likely coincides with today's Lysikrates St., it probably flanked the southern perimeter of the Prytaneion.[116] This was a very ancient road, certainly in use before the Classical period; it has been proposed that it should be identified as the urban course of the *Hestia Hodos*, which crossed the ancient deme of Ankyle in the southeastern suburban area of the city.[117] The main course of this road passes north of the Olympieion, at a distance from the Pythion; however, we do not know if the road (or roads) departing from the Pythion area could have easily joined this major route on its way to the Prytaneion. Similarly, neither do we know if the route of the Pythaïs actually headed for the Prytaneion along the

[114] FICUCIELLO 2008, p. 79.

[115] COSTAKI 2006, pp. 365–366.

[116] According to the location of the Prytaneion proposed by SCHMALZ 2006.

[117] FICUCIELLO 2008, pp. 76–78, 214.

same path as the *Hestia Hodos*. Nevertheless, all possibilities need at least to be taken into account in this context.

It has been assumed through reconstruction that some of the ancient streets that crossed the southwestern part of the city converged approximately at a crossroad north of the Olympieion (east of the arch of Hadrian), where some of these roads most likely joined the course of the *Hestia Hodos* (fig. 17).[118] These major streets are the early South Road from the Acropolis and the Theatre of Dionysos, the streets beginning at the main course of Phaleros road (Makryiannis St.), and the north-south road stretch that started in the area of Gate XI (on 8 Iosif ton Rogon St.). This latter passed west of the region of the proposed location of the Pythion, and, further to the north, the *peribolos* of the Olympieion.[119] Among the above-mentioned roads, the north-south road (close in orientation to modern Tziraion St.) would be a good candidate to be part of the first section of the processional course. However, its chronology (late Hellenistic to late Roman) is later than the first phases of the Pythaïs, which suggests particular caution in associating this road with the processional course. Furthermore, other possibilities should be considered since (as mentioned) it is not known whether the processional course approached the Archaic Agora through the route of the *Hestia Hodos*. One of these alternative possibilities also involves the discussed north-south road stretch: it was also part of a more direct route (divided into several segments) that entered Lysikrates Square from the south almost directly from Gate XI (fig. 17).[120] Possibly the Pythion, which was probably north of the gate, could have been served by this road or a branch of it. However, the system of intersections and road stretches that connected the area south of the Olympieion with the Archaic Agora can only be reconstructed hypothetically.

One road stretch in particular deserves special attention. This is the thoroughfare that crossed the sacred area southwest of the Olympieion and served the city's Gate X on the east section of the Valerian enceinte (this road is

[118] FICUCIELLO 2008, p. 77.

[119] COSTAKI 2006, pp. 368, 375–376, 389–390.

[120] FICUCIELLO 2008, p. 80. This city gate is located in close proximity to the find-spot of the recently found altar's fragment.

marked in purple on the map, fig. 17).[121] Given its northwest-southeast orientation, it is plausible that this road headed directly towards the area of the Archaic Agora, like many of the ancient roads which entered the city from the main gates. However, its course can only be reconstructed hypothetically as part of it was destroyed, probably quite soon after the construction of the Olympieion terrace under Hadrian.[122] The area surrounding the road was occupied with no interruptions from the late Helladic through the Byzantine period, and at least from the sixth century BC it developed as one of the focal points of religious life in Athens.[123] The road has been archaeologically investigated mostly in its Byzantine phases, but slightly more is known concerning its earlier stages. In fact, as a result of cleaning operations conducted in the late 1990s, it seems that the course of the road was encroached upon by a late Hellenistic building, which put it provisionally out of use.[124] Even though the road still awaits further archaeological investigation to confirm its chronological life span, it is possible to affirm that this route must have been a very important and early one. In fact, the antiquity of the area and the orientation of the road course between major religious buildings, such as the so-called temple of Apollo Delphinios to the south and the Olympieion to the north, suggests that this was a very ancient way which likely served religious functions since earliest antiquity.[125] As such, this was most probably used as a processional road for many of the deities worshiped there, including Apollo Pythios, and the Pythion was thus probably very close to the road.[126] In fact, in this work, the idea has been discussed and upheld that the Pythion was originally located further to the north than previously thought, most probably north of Ath. Diakou St. From this general area, access to the road was

[121] COSTAKI 2006, p. 587. It is possible that the Valerian Gate replaced an earlier predecessor, as indicated by the road itself which must have been in connection with a city gate there.

[122] FICUCIELLO 2008, p. 79.

[123] As already observed, this area was extensively excavated by Threpsiades and Travlos in the early 1960s. See THREPSIADES AND TRAVLOS 1963; however, the excavation has not been fully published. On the development of the primitive city in this area see Thuc. 2.15.4 (Appendix, #Axvii).

[124] COSTAKI 2006, pp. 587–588.

[125] COSTAKI 2006, p. 588 suggests that this might be the ancient road to Sounion.

[126] On the identification of the Pythion in the so called temple of Apollo Delphinios, see ROBERTSON 2005, pp. 52–55.

provided by a large ramp east of the rocky mound. Furthermore, as repeatedly stated, neither the precise location of the Pythion has been ascertained nor has any building been unmistakably associated with the shrine.[127] Thus, many interpretative options are still available. Of the many hypotheses that have been developed recently, those concerning the identification of the buildings already uncovered in the area deserves particular attention in this discussion. For example, following Pausanias' description, Robertson rules out the identification of the fifth-century BC structure commonly interpreted as the temple of Apollo Delphinios, which he assigns instead to Apollo Pythios.[128] This temple closely borders the road to the south. Should this identification find archaeological confirmation in the future, the road could be certainly be seen as the processional course of the Pythaïs. To conclude, judging from our knowledge of Athenian religious topography of the area in relation to the road network that traversed it, it is reasonable to believe that this road (and its extension) may have corresponded to the processional road of the Pythaïs.[129]

In this section the Pythion on the Ilissos has been identified as the starting point of the Pythaïs, and the shrine of Hestia in the area of Lysikrates Square has been proposed as one of the stops along the processional way. Whereas this conclusion designates the main direction followed by the procession, little is known about the processional road itself. Thus, some possibilities have been taken into account and discussed in light of our current knowledge of the Athenian road system. It has been concluded that the first segment of the processional road was probably that which crossed the 'sacred area' south of the Olympieion. Its orientation indicates that the road should have headed toward the centre of the city, in the area of the Archaic Agora, likely up to an important ancient crossroad near Lysikrates Square.

[127] Except for the temple of Zeus Olympios, none of the religious structures in the area has been unmistakably identified.

[128] In this regard, even the ancient predecessor of the second-century AD temple identified as that of Kronos and Rhea should perhaps be considered among the candidates for the Pythion. On this temple, see TRAVLOS 1971, pp. 335–339.

[129] On this hypothesis see also FICUCIELLO 2008, p. 79.

5. The Pythaïs and the Classical Agora

The reconstruction of the path of the procession across the rest of the city from the location of the Prytaneion and the Archaic Agora is undermined by great uncertainty. This uncertainty is determined by two factors: first of all, the urban course of the processional route was probably related to the extra-urban route as well, and this latter can be reconstructed only hypothetically; second, as already observed in the opening paragraphs of the chapter, it is not certain whether the course of the procession might have changed over time and whether the ritual itself remained generally the same.

With regard to the first point, the question is whether the procession sought the centre of Classical Athens by heading for the Classical Agora and maybe the Acharnian Gates (or the Sacred Gate), or if it skirted the area occupied by the Classical Agora and proceeded straight from the Archaic Agora to the Acharnian Gates, heading in the direction of Harma. In this regard, it is pertinent to observe that according to Travlos' reconstruction of the city roads, one in particular, which is very ancient, connected the Archaic Agora directly to the Acharnian Gates (fig. 18).[130]

There is indeed, however, more to consider. Besides the practical considerations related to road layout, there are also the issues of religious and other political factors as well. One question concerns the relationship between the Archaic Agora and the public space that was gradually developing as a new Agora; it is not sure if the Classical Agora developed in terms of a rupture or continuity with the Archaic Agora, although the latter is more probable. Indeed, we propose that from the Archaic Agora the procession advanced to the area of the later Classical Agora. While this reconstruction is readily understandable for the Pythaïdes of Classical and Hellenistic eras, we suggest that early official pilgrimages to Delphi might have involved the area of the future Classical Agora as early as the second half of the sixth century BC.

As shown by John Camp, the area occupied by the Classical Agora developed as a common public space in the second half of the sixth century BC,

[130] TRAVLOS 1971, p. 167, fig. 217. As far as the extra-urban route of the Pythaïs is concerned, the route to Eleusis and that to Phyle via Acharnai appear to me as the only good candidates for the course of the Pythaïs.

with the gradual definition of the Agora 'triangle' by the Peisistratidai in around the third quarter of the sixth century BC. This public space was delineated by the construction of structures such as the so-called Building F, the Altar of the Twelve Gods, and the monumental southeast Fountain House (fig. 19).[131] Of these monuments, the Altar of the Twelve Gods is of particular relevance in the context of this work. Dedicated during the archonship of Peisistratos the Younger in 522/521 BC, it was used as the point from which all distances to Athens were measured; as such, it became the physical centre of the city, and was certainly an important reference for all outbound travellers.[132] For this reason, the monument was conveniently located at the convergence of major thoroughfares, meaning that the city's road layout was already sufficiently developed; the axes of some of the main roads to the city gates originated near the altar, or at least passed nearby, as early as the second half of the sixth century BC. The logical layout of the roads within the city was matched by the attention paid to the communication network outside Athens as well. At around the same time, Hipparchos, who was Peisistratos' son and uncle to Peisistratos the Younger, is credited with having set up herms along the roads around Attica, midway between Athens and each of the demes.[133] It can be inferred that the establishment of the central milestone, along with Hipparchos' herms, reflected a broader plan involving the maintenance (and possibly the new layout) of the road system across both the city and the countryside.[134] In this regard, most of the literary sources on the Pythaïs, which by definition became the overland journey, emphasise the importance of the pilgrimage road itself and the participation of the Athenians in tracing this way.[135] This road was openly defined as an *ergon* of the city by Aelius Aristeides.[136] Furthermore, the aforementioned attention paid by Peisitratos and the Peisistratidai to the cult of Apollo Pythios may be indicative

[131] CAMP 2005.

[132] Thuc. 6.54.6–7 (Appendix, #Axviii). On the altar as central milestone, see Hdt. 2.7; IG II^2 2640. On the architecture and function of the altar, see TRAVLOS 1971, pp. 458–461; CAMP 2010, pp. 89–90.

[133] Pl. [Hipparch.] 228 D.

[134] See for example STEINHAUER 2009, p. 37.

[135] See for example Aesch. *Eum.* 12–14 (Appendix, #Aiii), and *scholia ad loc* (Appendix, #Av).

[136] Aristid. *Panath.* 363, and *scholia ad loc* (Appendix, #Avii, #Aviii).

of the introduction or a specific consideration of the Pythaïs in Athens in this very period.[137] For these reasons, it is possible to hypothesise that the Athenian version of Apollo's journey, and the tradition connecting the Pythaïs to its road, developed during the sixth century BC, characterising the subsequent literary tradition of the myth. The building programme and the religious fervour on the part of the Peisistratidai were matched by their artistic patronage; Hipparchos himself probably added Homeric recitals to the Panathenaïa and invited the lyric poets Anacreon and Simonides to Athens.[138] Therefore, it is probable that the religious and political policies of the Peisistratidai may have found some echo in the compositions of their artistic entourage. Indeed, as seen in the chapter dedicated to the literary sources on the mythical journey of the god, the earliest document on the ritual of the Pythaïs is actually ascribed to Simonides.[139] The Pythaïs being an Athenian procession, the paean was probably written during the poet's stay in Athens, possibly before Hipparchos was murdered in 514 BC; that is sometime between 527 and 514 BC; by this time, the Pythaïs may already have been firmly established.[140]

To conclude, the traditional connection between the Pythaïs and the emphasis on Apollo's pilgrimage road seem to have suited certain initiatives of Peisistratos and his family very well. Indeed, the probable care they took of the urban and extra-urban road networks was likely the context in which the Pythaïs developed. Furthermore, as noted, the promotion of the cult of Pythian Apollo, with the documented setting of the Pythian shrine on the part of Peisitratos, is well reflected by the ritual re-foundation carried out during the ceremony, through the *tripodephoria* and *pyrphoria*. All evidence points to the sixth century

[137] Literary sources attribute to Peisistratos the construction of the Pythion, Suda *s.v.* Πύθιον; Phot. *s.v.* Πύθιον (Appendix, #Axxii); Hsch: <ἐν Πυθίῳ χέσαι>· Πεισίστρατος ᾠκοδόμει τὸν ἐν Πυθίῳ ναόν (Appendix, #Axxiii). Peisistratos the Younger dedicated an altar to Apollo Pythios in the Pythian precinct, Thuc. 6.54.7 (Appendix, #Axviii). See CAMP 2001, pp. 36–37.

[138] The disputed presence of Simonides at the tyrants house seems confirmed by scholarship, and as was customary for court poets, he possibly composed work in praise of his patrons and their deeds. On the relationship between Simonides and the Peisistratidai, see MOLYNEUX 1992, pp. 65–79.

[139] POxy. 2430 (PMG 519 fr.35; Appendix, #Aii); see RUTHERFORD 1990, pp. 169–171.

[140] According to some scholars, the Athenian Pythaïs came to be after the battle of Plataia in 479 BC; see FURLEY AND BREMER 2001, pp. 132–134, with notes.

BC as the date of the introduction or development of the Athenian Pythaïs; there is no proof for a later origin of the ceremony, which moreover was particularly emphasised during the fourth century BC and in the second half of the second century BC.

These considerations, and specifically the construction of the Altar of the Twelve Gods, seem to indicate the area of the Classical Agora as the topographic focus of the Pythaïs in its first stages, as the procession moved into the centre of the city from the Pythion at the Ilissos. Indeed, part of the ritual was most probably conducted in the region of the Classical Agora, and possibly on the northern slope of the Acropolis as well, even in the centuries to follow. In fact, after departing from the Pythion, the Pythaïs probably proceeded towards certain civic/religious areas connected to Apollo or more generally to the city's civic life. For example, as noted, the cave of Apollo Hypo Makrais could have received particular veneration during the celebration of the Pythaïs from at least the fifth century BC; likewise, it is reasonable to suggest some involvement by the temple of Apollo Patroös by the fourth century BC at the latest.[141]

The existence of a shrine of Apollo in the Classical Agora in the sixth century BC can only be conjectured, and the temple of Apollo Patroös is dated to the last quarter of the fourth century BC.[142] However, the link between Apollo Patroös and Pythios had already been established by the fourth century BC, and it is probable that this shrine may have been among the places attended during the Pythaïstic celebrations.[143] As far as the Cave of Apollo is concerned, it has already been observed that the paean by Limenios inscribed in the second

[141] The cult of Apollo in the cave is ascertained for the fifth century BC, see GAWLINSKY 2007. The temple of Apollo Patroös on the west side of the Classical Agora lies on what is possibly its mid-sixth-century BC predecessor.

[142] On the temple of Apollo Patroös and the structures that preceded it, see HEDRICK 1988; CAMP 2010, pp. 70–72.

[143] On the relationship between Apollo Patroös and Pythios, see HEDRICK 1988, pp. 200–203. With regard to other possible Apollonian elements in the Classical Agora, a hypothetical relationship between the 'omphalos'-shaped stones recovered in the Classical Agora and the *gylloi*, the movable stones that marked the route of the processional way between Miletus and Didyma, has recently been proposed by Laura Ficuciello; see FICUCIELLO 2008, pp. 30–31, nn. 181–182. However, these stones in the Classical Agora should be interpreted as olive press weights as suggested by John Camp (personal communication).

century BC seems to point to the Acropolis as the landmark for Apollo's mythical visit to Athens, and it is in Apollo's cave on the Acropolis's northern slope that the god is first indirectly associated with his function of Patroös, as indicated in Euripides' *Ion* where Apollo is described as the father of Ion and thus an ancestral fatherly figure to all Ionians.[144] Therefore, even this shrine may have had a part in the rituals. Furthermore, it can be also conjectured that the City Eleusinion may have been in some way connected to the Pythaïs as well (fig. 19), in that it was there that probably even the offerings of the first fruits to Apollo (*aparchai*) were kept; in fact, the custom of offering firstlings was probably an integral part of the first Pythaïdes, before such contributions became mostly monetary.[145]

Unfortunately, the scholarship does not allow us to reconstruct the precise form of the ritual that was conducted in the spatial context of the places indicated throughout this chapter. In fact, a religious practice as complex as the Pythaïs may have involved multiple rituals and offerings, conducted in several shrines and over several days, inside and outside the city, before the actual pilgrimage started. In short, while the proposed indication of the general direction of the procession from the Pythion at the Ilissos to the area of the Classical Agora, via the Prytaneion, can be considered reasonably probable, proof of the continuation of the procession from the Classical Agora towards one of the gates is much less clear. Indeed, the course of the procession within the city was certainly related to the direction of its route outside the walls, as the urban and sub-urban Athenian road network was obviously closely connected with the location of the city gates. In short, heading towards one gate rather than another would have most likely determined the route of the pilgrimage outside the city as well. Therefore, a discussion of the potential routes of the Pythaïs through Attica seems the only way to achieve a better understanding of the spatial context of the ritual within the city as well. This requires a thorough analysis and discussion of the hypothesis put forward by the scholarly tradition, along with the re-assessment of the data already available, and new first-hand observations. Such an analysis is presented in the following section.

[144] FD III^2 138 (Appendix, #Ax); Eur. *Ion* 10, 283, 494, 937, 1400. See HEDRICK 1988, p. 204.

[145] IG II^2 2336. On the *aparchai* for the Pythaïs to Delos and Delphi, see JIM 2014, pp. 236–249.

6. Extra-urban routes

With regard to the extra-urban course of the pilgrimage, a quick overview of the main possible routes has already been given in the third chapter, in a literature review on the route of the Pythaïs. In this section, a more in-depth discussion of these routes is necessary. The possibilities indicated by scholarship over a period of about 200 years are the following: a route along the *Hiera Hodos* via Eleusis and Kithairon; a route across Parnes, towards the general direction of mount Harma; or a route across the territories of the Marathonian Tetrapolis (figs. 1, 23). A further, 'conciliatory' theory that attempts to reconcile some of those above also needs to be mentioned here, as it combines the Eleusinian sacred road and the Parnes routes into one, defining a rather indirect itinerary.

Among the possible aforementioned routes, the one through the Marathonian plain has not received much support from scholars in more recent research, and should probably be excluded. In fact, Boëthius has convincingly suggested that the Athenian and the Marathonian *theoriai* were two distinct rituals that followed different routes before joining the course of the 'international' sacred road through Boiotia.[146] As a matter of fact, a pilgrimage road to Delphi along the northeastern regions of Attica was most probably connected with the religious route of the Pythaïs dispatched by the *koinon* of the Marathonian Tetrapolis; as such, this northeastern route was probably distinctive of the Marathonian Pythaïs and not of the Athenian. The Marathonian Pythaïs started from the Pythion at Aiantid Oinoe and possibly headed into Boiotia via Aphidna, or even via another route closer to the coast. From the Delion of Marathon a further *theoria* was sent in the opposite direction to Delos.[147] From Marathon, this sacred delegation proceeded southwards and possibly reached Prasiai, from which it sailed towards the island (fig. 20).[148]

[146] The two sacred delegations, and subsequently their routes, merged in the second half of the second century BC. As long as the *theoriai* were sent separately, they followed different routes; see BOËTHIUS 1918, pp. 38–51. On the 'international' sacred way to Delphi, see Hdt. 6.34.2.

[147] Philochoros, *FGrH* 328 F 75 (Appendix, #Axii).

[148] It is possible that this pilgrimage route related to the primitive course of the Hyperborean offerings that, according to the version recounted by Pausanias, were handed down to Prasiai, from which they were carried to Delos by the Athenians (Paus. 1.31.2). Pausanias's account

The most influential hypothesis has been that of a route via Eleusis along the *Hiera Hodos*, which has largely met with consensus since an 1824 work by Müller.[149] On the other hand, the route through western Parnes via Harma and Phyle, also received early scholarly attention with Milchhöfer for instance, but it has never actually been archaeologically contextualised, nor have the characteristics of this ancient road been actually considered in the context of the Pythaïs.[150] The theory of the 'conciliatory' route was proposed by Parsons and recently also reformulated by Ficuciello. According to Parsons, the pilgrimage may have followed the Eleusinian *Hiera Hodos* to the temple of Apollo located in the area of Daphni monastery. Then, it would have continued past Egaleo, but rather than going up to Eleusis and beyond, it would have turned northeast at Rheitoi or shortly after, making its way into Parnes across the Thriasian plain.[151] In the following section, the Eleusinian, the 'conciliatory' and the Parnes routes will be discussed in this order.

a. The Eleusinian Hiera Hodos

As previously observed, one road much referred to as a possible candidate for the route of the Pythaïs followed first the sacred road to Eleusis, then passed into Boiotia through Kithairon (fig. 22). The *Hiera Hodos* (not to be confused with the general, uncapitalised term *hiera hodos*) was the Athenian sacred way by definition and a much-used thoroughfare of today's Athens, still known as *Hiera Hodos*, follows approximately the course of its ancient predecessor. It has already been noted that this road is very well documented in both literary and archaeological data; its physical and religious aspects are therefore available to scholars. For this reason, it is a natural inclination for the existing scholarship to consider this route as the first candidate for the Pythaïs.

would report an Athenian version of the Hyperborean itinerary (cf. Hdt. 4.33.1–3 with the comment of CORCELLA 1993, pp. 259–260). On the antiquity of the pilgrimage route through northeast Attica, see FARNELL 1907, pp. 106–112.

[149] MÜLLER 1824, pp. 239–240.

[150] MILCHHÖFER 1873, pp. 43–53. This work is among the first to theorise that the Pythaïs headed into Parnes, rather than following the Eleusinian *Hiera Hodos*.

[151] PARSONS 1943, pp. 237–238; FICUCIELLO 2008, pp. 28–32.

Those who suggest that the Pythaïs used the same route as the Eleusinian sacred road do so for the reasons presented in the following paragraphs.

At the outset the connection of this road with the god Apollo must be considered. In this respect, the most interesting element is the presence of a temple of the god on the road, probably located at today's monastery of Daphni (fig. 22). Boëthius, as well as others including Parsons, considered this shrine an unmistakable piece of evidence for the course of the Pythaïs.[152] Both the location of this temple and its foundation myth are often included when discussing the route of the Pythaïs. Following Pausanias' account, we are informed that the temple was built by the descendants of Kephalos, Chalkinos and Daitos, upon the request of the god himself as they were travelling back from Delphi to Athens.[153] This has lead to the conclusion that the shrine of Apollo lay on the well-trodden route from Athens to Delphi, and that this route was also that of the Pythaïs. The first possible rebuttal of this argument is that the route of the Pythaïs did not necessarily coincide with the usually used road to Delphi, and furthermore, several options were given to travellers in antiquity according to their departure points outside and within Attica. Moreover, the interpretation of this myth is more complicated than it seems. The first observation is that it is not certain under which cult epithet the god was worshiped in this temple (he may have been venerated as Daphnephoros and not Pythios, as suggested by the name of today's monastery), the Pythian shrines being more directly related to the Pythaïs than other cult places of Apollo.[154] In addition, the location of a temple itself on the *Hiera Hodos* is not necessarily proof that the road is the route used by Kephalos' descendants to reach inner Attica. In fact, we do not know whether the myth referred to a land or a sea journey. Generally speaking, long-distance journeys over land were very uncomfortable, and travelling by sea was the preferred form of transport for those who could afford it, mostly for reaching sacred destinations

[152] BOËTHIUS 1918, p. 50; PARSONS 1943, p. 238.

[153] Paus. 1.37.6.

[154] In this regard must be mentioned the much debated passage in Sophocles's *Oedipus at Colonus*, 1047: ἢ πρὸς Πυθίαις ... ἀκταῖς. The related *scholium* directly associates these 'Pythian sea promontory' to the Pythion in the Marathonian Oinoe. However, the same passage is also interpreted as referring to the temple of Apollo at Daphni. For the possibility of an actual Pythion in the area of Daphni, see also Str. 9.1.6.

located far away and sometimes even closer to home.[155] As an example, apart from the yearly *theoriai* to Delos, there was likely an annual Athenian delegation by sea to Delphi, and even within Attica a *theoria* probably sailed from Athens to Brauron, whereas another one sailed to Sounion.[156] Therefore, we do not know what the actual route used by Kephalos' descendants would have been; this is even truer when considering that, as reported by Pausanias, the first leg of their trip to Delphi was actually by sea, without specifying whether from Kephallenia (which as an island would make sense) or from Thebes (which would be impossible).[157]

Furthermore, another element needs to be considered in the interpretation of the story. The god commands Kephalos' successors to make a sacrifice in Attica at such time when they would see a ship or galley travelling over the land; they stop and sacrifice at the sight of a snake hastening into its hole instead. Pausanias's reference to a myth about a vessel proceeding overland in Attica seems to me to be too close to the ritual of the Panathenaic ship carried out during the Panathenaïa, which was still largely in use at the time of Pausanias, to be coincidental. This practice received much attention shortly before Pausanias began Book I of his work.[158] Indeed, under Herodes Atticus' superintendence of the Panathenaic celebrations, the conveyance of Athena's robe on the ship became almost prodigious with the adoption of mechanical devices to pull the vessel over ground, as recounted by the already quoted description of Flavius Philostratus.[159] In short, it is possible that at the time of Pausanias, this foundation myth had been influenced by recent memories of this extraordinary ship, and it may actually have referred to Athens rather than Mount Poikile (at the southern foot of which the temple was). Pausanias may have recounted an already-corrupted myth, which wove together two stories: the foundation myth

[155] DILLON 1997, p. 29.

[156] DILLON 1997, p. 25.

[157] Paus. 1.37.6.

[158] Pausanias should have finished book I before the death of Herodes Atticus' wife in 160 or 161 AD; see HABICHT 1985, p. 11.

[159] On the Panathenaic ship, see MANSFIELD 1985, pp. 68–78. The ritual of the Panathenaic ship was particularly impressive with Herodes Atticus organisation of the festival in 143/144 AD; see Philostr. *V S* 2.1.7. (Appendix, #Axxi).

for the Pythion at Athens, and the foundation myth for the temple at Daphni. The story retold by Pausanias may well have been a recent invention, or possibly had not been preserved in its more genuine form at his time.

Moreover, even if the reference to 'ships running overland' was a genuine one, it may have also indicated another place where such an occurrence was possible if the characters of the myth had made an overseas journey: the Diolchos at Corinth, the track-way for ships and cargoes across the Corinthian isthmus, which shortened and facilitated the communications between the Corinthian and the Saronic Gulfs. However, this idea can be sustained only hypothetically as it is not known how often and to what extent the Diolchos was used; furthermore this possibility is admittedly less likely, as the mythical account clearly indicates Attica as the region for the sacrifice. The foundation myth of Apollo's shrine at Daphni could thus indicate an overseas journey as much as it may suggest the overland route from Boiotia to Attica across Kithairon and Eleusis; it is possible to hypothesise that either the myth was a recent one, or that it became corrupted to such a degree that it should not be used as an unmistakable piece of evidence for the route of the pilgrimage.

Apart from the shrine at Daphni, Pausanias devotes little space to Apollo among the heroes and deities mentioned on his way to Eleusis.[160] However, the god was certainly venerated near Eleusis as well, as indicated by a fourth-century BC boundary stone of a not-yet-located shrine of the god, although it specifies no cult epithet. The only references to the god as Pythios in an Eleusinian context are very indirect, and by no means can they be associated definitively with a cult of the Pythian god in the sanctuary.[161] In brief, a cult of Apollo Pythios at Eleusis

[160] Paus. 1.38.1–7. Beyond Reithoi the only reference to Apollo is a very indirect one. Pausanias mentions a shrine of the hero Zarex, to whom Apollo would have taught music (Paus. 1.38.4). Apart from Demeter and Kore, the main deities of the Eleusinans seem to be Triptolemos, Artemis, and Poseidon, with no mention of Apollo (Paus. 1.38.6). It is however well known that Pausanias purposely omits the description of the Eleusinian sanctuary itself (Paus. 1.38.7).

[161] A boundary stone (IG II^2 2601) of uncertain provenance, possibly dating to the first half of the fourth century BC, witnesses to the presence of a shrine of Apollo somewhere near Eleusis. However, this boundary presents no cult epithet specification. See CLINTON 2005, no. 677, p. 496; CLINTON 2008, no. 677, p. 426. A law concerning the Mysteries, dating to the first half of the fourth century BC (a copy of which was found in the City Eleusinion) refers to an innovation according to Apollo's oracular response, see CLINTON 2005, no. 138, l. 10, p. 124; CLINTON

is plausible as the sanctuary was also home to other major deities of the Athenian Pantheon, but its presence has not been ascertained by hard evidence.[162]

However, the location of the sanctuary of Apollo at Daphni and the foundation myth related to it are not the only arguments used by scholars to support the hypothesis that the Pythaïs might have proceeded along the Eleusinian *Hiera Hodos*. Archaeological evidence seems to indicate a relationship between the temple at Daphni and the Cave of Apollo Hypo Makrais on the north slope of the Acropolis; as noted, this cave is considered by some scholars to be the setting for the ritual observation of the lightning as well as the starting point of the procession.[163] Parsons correctly notices that of the many votive plaques originally dedicated to Apollo Hypo Makrais (or Hypoakraios), two were recovered at the Dipylon Gate and at Daphni Monastery respectively.[164] Parsons connects these findings with the route of the Pythaïs, as he observes that their location is unlikely to be a coincidence. However, these two plaques are of quite late date, either first or second century AD, and the chronology of the entire body of these votives fluctuates between the middle of the first century AD to the end of the third century AD. None of these plaques refers to Apollo Pythios; all of them are dedicated to Apollo Hypo Makrais (or Hypoakraios), who was officially worshiped in the cave on the northern slope of

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2008, no. 138, pp. 119. Apollo Pythios appears at Eleusis in an entry of an Eleusinian sacrificial calendar **(**IG II^2 1363) possibly dating to the second half of the fourth century BC, see DOW 1965, pp. 21–30. CLINTON 2005, no. 175, l. 9, p. 182; CLINTON 2008, no. 175, pp. 170, 172. The calendar mentions offerings to Apollo Pythios on the part of the Eleusinian personnel brought during the celebration of the Pyanopsia festival in Athens. This entry is witness to the Eleusinian representatives going to Athens rather than a Pythian procession going to Eleusis. Interestingly, among the objects conveyed to Athens for Apollo is a specific one, the προγόνιον (uncertain meaning), which also appears in the Athenian Sacrificial Calendar among the list of sacred items for the Pythaïs (LAMBERT 2002, F 1 A col. 3, l. 29; Appendix, #Axiii). In an honorary decree recovered at Eleusis, which dates to the first half of the first century BC, it is featured a list of priesthoods held by the Kerykes, and among them an official of Apollo Pythios, see Clinton 2005, no. 300, ll. 14–15, p. 300; CLINTON 2008, no. 300, pp. 306–307. However it is possible that this official of Apollo Pythios referred to the cult at Athens not at Eleusis.

[162] On the deities worshiped at Eleusis, see LIPPOLIS 2006, pp. 110–115.

[163] PARSONS 1943.

[164] These two plaques are IG II^2 2897, and IG II^2 2909. All the plaques (IG II^2 2891–2931) have been collected and studied by Peter E. Nulton, see NULTON 2003.

the Acropolis since at least the fifth century BC.[165] On the other hand, the connection between the Apollo in the cave and Apollo Pythios can only be sustained on a mythical level with the identification of the cave as, according to Euripides, the birthplace of Ion, son of the Pythian god.[166] A hypothetical connection between Apollo Hypo Makrais and the shrine at Daphni may well have been established in the context of another celebration or official offering to Apollo, not necessarily the Pythaïs, since it is suggested in this work that the ritual started from the Pythian shrine by the Ilissos. In addition, if the Cave of Apollo Hypo Makrais shared in the Pythaïs together with the shrine at Daphni, this still does not indicate the course of the processional route. In fact, a lesser procession conducted in the broader frame of the Pythaïs celebration may well have touched upon different shrines of Apollo located in different areas of the city and even outside it. In short, neither the location of the shrine of Apollo at Daphni (whether Daphnephoros or Pythios), nor the two fragmentary plaques represent unmistakable pieces of evidence for the course of the Pythaïs.

Another element which comes into discussion in the attempt of reconstructing the pilgrimage route is a purely mythological one, which leaves no archaeological evidence for modern evaluation. This is the myth of the death of Androgeos. According to the version recounted by Diodorus Siculus, Androgeos, son of Minos, was slain by order of the Athenian king Aigeos at Oinoe, on the way from Athens to Thebes, where Androgeos was heading to attend a festival there.[167] Scholars have usually discussed Androgeos' path as the customary main route from Athens into Boiotia, automatically implying that this was also the course of the Pythaïs. As noted, there were at least two Oinoe in Attica, one on the way to Eleutherai and a second one which was part of the Marathonian Tetrapolis. Therefore, locating Androgeos's death in the correct Oinoe would also indicate Androgeos' route to Thebes. Boëthius suggested that this Oinoe was the Oinoe Hippothoöntis, on the way to Eleutherai, and he concluded that the pilgrimage would have therefore followed the route into Boiotia from Eleusis

[165] GAWLINSKY 2007.

[166] Eur. *Ion* 10, 283, 494, 937, 1400.

[167] Diod. Sic. 4.60.5.

through Kithairon.[168] However, regardless of whether the legendary death of Androgeus occurred near Oinoe Hippothoöntis or in the whereabouts of the Marathonian Oinoe, no mention is made of the route as being that of the Pythaïs. In fact, as also observed when commenting upon the story of Kephalos' descendants, there were more than two possibilities for travellers heading into Boiotia from Attica. At least three major overland routes connected Athens to Boiotia, that across Phyle being the most direct. In short, even following Boëthius's reading of the myth, we would have a late source mentioning a route which connected Athens to Thebes across Kithairon, which is not a surprise. It can be concluded that even Diodorus Siculus' version of Androgeos death does not represent a compelling piece of evidence for the route of the Pythaïs.[169]

Generally, what is remarkable is the almost complete silence of the sources on the route of this pilgrimage road, and it has been shown that the few *testimonia* available are quite vague in defining it beyond its mythical context. However, if the Eleusinian *Hiera Hodos* was also the road of the Pythaïs, the fact that Pausanias's description of the road stops with the description of the sanctuary of Demeter with no hint to the sacred way to Delphi, is striking. The actual monumental road ends at Eleusis. The meagre description of the Thriasian plain north of Eleusis is also interesting, given that Pausanias only mentions the temple of Dionysos at Eleutherai.[170] This casts some doubt on the fact that the *Hiera Hodos* shared its course with the Pythaïs, since if this was the case we would have been probably informed of the fact by Pausanias. In his turn Pausanias probably knew the work of Polemon of Ilium, to whom is ascribed a work entirely dedicated to the Sacred Road and who was certainly acquainted

[168] BOËTHIUS 1918, pp. 47–51.

[169] A further approach that may be considered is a spatial one, with particular regard paid to the location of the Apollinean shrines along the possible general route of the pilgrimage. In 1967, in the broader consideration of Greece's sacred geography, Jean Richer discussed the alignment between Delos, Athens, Daphni, Eleusis, and Delphi; all these sites lie on the same approximately straight vector, which connects the island to the Apollo's main oracular shrine; see RICHER 1967, pp. 25–27, 42–44. Even hypothesising a deliberate geometry in the layout of the sacred geography of Greece (and beyond, according to Richer), a relationship between this alignment and the direction of the pilgrimage has never been discussed, and in the end cannot be taken as face value.

[170] Paus. 1.38.8.

with the Pythaïs, as he wrote in the second century BC when the Pythaïs was renewed and featured prominently among Athenian rituals of that time.[171] Therefore, since Pausanias makes no mention of the Pythaïs it can be hypothesised that the *Hiera Hodos* to Eleusis was not the road of the Pythaïs. However weak such an *argumentum ex silentio* might be, it is still worth taking into account.

By the time of Pausanias, the cult of Demeter and Kore had taken over the entire road, imposing its sway even in the shrines of other deities on the way, such as Apollo's temple at Daphni.[172] Other deities are represented up to the Egaleo, and if the Pythian presence extended beyond that point, we would have expected a much stronger presence of Apollo Pythios at Eleusis, and probably beyond, between the sanctuary and Kithairon. To our knowledge, the influence of Apollo Pythios is far more noticeable in other areas of Attica than in the Thriasian plain. More generally, in the previous paragraphs it has been shown that from a review of the elements usually brought forth in favour of the route of the Pythaïs extending via Eleusis and Kithairon, it appears clear that none of them is watertight. This leaves the discussion open to other possibilities, a route across Parnes via Harma being a probable one.

b. The 'conciliatory' route

Before discussing the Parnes route, it is necessary to examine briefly what I have defined as a 'conciliatory' theory; according to this idea, the Pythaïs would have touched Daphni on the *Hiera Hodos* but rather than continuing to Eleusis and Eleutherai, would have diverted its course to Parnes past Egaleo (fig. 23). This suggestion is a combination of the above-described elements (most of all the location of Apollo's temple at Daphni, and the find-spot of the two votive plaques), with the observation that throughout the Turkish period the most direct route to Boiotia and Thebes was that via Phyle on Mount Parnes.[173] In this reconstruction, of course, particular weight has been given to Strabo's description of the Pythaïstic ritual, in which Mount Parnes (specifically Harma) features as the point above which the lightning had to flash, thus signalling the

[171] Harp. *s.v.* Ἱερὰ ὁδός.

[172] Paus. 1.37.6.

[173] See PARSONS 1943, p. 237, with notes.

pilgrimage to begin, and probably indicating the direction of the pilgrimage. However, a physical contextualisation of this 'conciliatory' itinerary presents some difficulties which cannot be omitted.

Immediately beyond the southernmost ledge of Egaleo only three routes can be used to reach the Phyle road and Harma from the southwest (fig. 24). The first two routes are closely related, as they both would have crossed the saddles between the northern slopes of Egaleo and the southern foot of Parnes. After the construction of the Dema wall in the beginning of the fourth century BC, the Pythaïs would have passed through it. Specifically, one would have bordered the length of the northern flank of Egaleo and passed through a probable Gate in the southernmost segment of the wall; the other route would have stretched a bit to the north and probably passed the wall through Gate B (fig. 25).[174] Past the Dema, the pilgrimage would have either headed directly north into Parnes or merged with a northbound road probably passing near Ano-Liossia, or even pushing itself farther to the east towards Acharnai −although reaching Acharnai from the Thriasian plain and then going back to northwest towards Phyle seems an extremely circuitous route for the journey of the Pythaïs (fig. 20). A third branch of the 'conciliatory' route would have proceeded beyond Rheitoi and crossed the Thriasian plain following the Dipotami river upstream, before entering Parnes through its gorge between Mount Daphna and the southwestern projection of Vouno Chassias (this peak is marked as 'Judenstein' in the *Karten von Attika* – abbreviated from now on as *KvA* – sheet VI = *Pyrgos*, fig. 24).[175]

I sustain that the above-mentioned 'conciliatory' route (and its possible ramifications) is improbable. Certainly, the routes between southwest Parnes and Egaleo were used throughout antiquity, and ancient road remnants bear witness

[174] For the road across Dema Gate B, see MUNN 1983, p. 182; STEINHAUER 2009, p. 44–46; PLATONOS 2009, p. 145. However, another ancient and much-travelled road crossed the wall near the southern Dema saddle, where there probably was a Gate; see MUNN 1983, p. 183. If the Pythaïs would have actually made its way into Parnes right past Egaleo, it would have followed this latter route.

[175] A digital version of *Karten von Attika* (CURTIUS AND KAUPERT 1904) is accessible at http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/curtius1895a.

to the importance of this passage.[176] However, there is no known religious or practical reason to believe that the Pythaïs would have reached Parnes across such an itinerary north of Egaleo if the pilgrimage was then bound to proceed into western Parnes. Therefore, this route seems unnecessarily complicated. From a careful analysis, even the other route, that between Mount Daphna and Vouno Chassias, seems improbable for the Pythaïs and more generally for heavy or wheeled traffic. The reasons in this case are also practical. In fact, I have walked the possible routes opening along this valley, and come to the following conclusion: through the Dipotami valley, a major road could have certainly developed along the southern slopes of Mount Daphna and reached the Janoula valley first; then it would have turned north towards the lower course of the Phikti and the Theodora gorge (fig. 26). From these passages, the Phyle road could have been met northwest of Chassia or intercepted southeast of the fortress, in that order. However, upon reaching the upper course of the Theodora, due to the morphology of its gully and the terrain, a proper road would have given way to narrow and uncomfortable paths, so steep as to almost require skilled climbing at certain places. This route was obvioulsy not suited for a crowded pilgrimage, and certainly not adapted to wheeled traffic (this route is described in chapter six as Section IVc).

Therefore, if we want to consider the temple of Apollo at Daphni a station for the Pythaïs (considered unavoidable by a faction of the scholarship), the same observation should be made as that advanced when discussing the *Hiera Hodos*. That is to say, it is possible that the pilgrimage (or another procession in the context of the Pythaïs) could have stopped at Daphni without getting past Egaleo; then it could have made its way back to the city or headed directly to the north along a route across the Athenian plain. In short, admitting an involvement of the shrine at Daphni as postulated by many, an offering could have been made there in the frame of the Pythaïstic celebration without necessarily implying that the temple was on the pilgrimage route. This observation, can be substantiated on the

[176] The gap between Parnes and Egaleo has always had a strategic importance as well. This is for example the route followed by Archidamos in 431 BC when the Spartan army invaded the Athenian plain; see MUNN 1993, p. 102.

grounds of other large Athenian religious celebrations, such as the Eleusinian Mysteries, as noted at the beginning of this chapter.

Whereas the *Hiera Hodos* to Eleusis was certainly suitable for a large procession, we have just seen that the 'conciliatory' route did not accommodate the transit of pack animals, much less the employment of carts, in its stretch south of the fortress. In fact, it has been observed that, along with topographic and religious factors, other practical reasons, such as the number of the pilgrims and the suitability of the route to carts, also determined the choice of the pilgrimage route. Indeed, while most pilgrims certainly travelled on foot and, less frequently, could make use of animals, carts were also a feature in many processions and pilgrimages. Wagons were employed for accommodating private individuals and supplies, and more frequently for carrying officials and sacred objects.[177] This latter was certainly the case with the Pythaïs; epigraphic documents indicate that the *tripodephoria* and *pyrphoria* were conducted by means of carts.[178] In this regard, it has been already observed in chapter four that the men carrying the *pelekeis* (double axes) and preceding the pilgrimage to Delphi, as described in the *scholium* on *Eumenides* 13, probably had a practical function rather than a ritual one.[179] They opened up the road to the pilgrims and especially to the carts (we do not know how many) that accompanied the pilgrimage. The scale of the pilgrimage probably affected the choice of the route more in its extra-urban leg rather than in the city, and practical reasons played a greater role in mountainous regions than comfortable flatlands. As it will be shown in this chapter and in the following one, the characteristics of the Parnes route probably suited the Pythaïs with regard to both religious and practical aspects. Therefore, before discussing the Parnes route in detail, it seems to me appropriate to propose a brief discussion on the composition and magnitude of the ceremony.

We do not know much about the composition and the participants of the earlier Pythaïdes. The earliest information relates to the end of the fifth century BC and is provided by the already discussed sacrificial calendar of Athens.

[177] For the presence of wagons in the context of religious travelling, see DILLON 1997, pp. 8, 33, 35, 38, 56, 62–64, 73, 78, 136–138.

[178] FD III^2 32–33 (Appendix, #Axv–#Axvi).

[179] See Appendix, #Av.

However, most of the evidence on the participants of the early ceremonies dates to the fourth century BC. This evidence is provided by the sacrificial calendar of Erchia,[180] another possible sacrificial calendar of unknown provenance, two inscribed dedicatory reliefs from the Pythion at Ikaria (on the northern slopes of Mount Pentele), and the aforementioned tripod dedication at Delphi on the part of the ten Athenian *hieropoioi*. The sacrificial calendar of Erchia dates to the second quarter of the fourth century BC, the other fragment to the third quarter of the same century. The two inscriptions from Ikaria date to the first half of the fourth century BC, the tripod dedication to the second half of the same century.[181] The documents above only mention *pythaïstai*, *pythaïstai paides,* and the *hieropoioi*. The first two groups are well-represented in the renewed Hellenistic Pythaïdes as well, and therefore show the continuity of their role in the composition of the Pythaïs from the fifth century BC through the first half of the first century BC. On the other hand, the *hieropoioi* appear as leaders of the Pythaïs only in the fourth century BC. Possibly, they emerge again among the participants of the Pythaïs of 106/5 BC, at which time they had lost their leading role;[182] they are featured once more in the Dodekaïdes of the late first century AD, where their number is reduced to one *hieropoios.*[183] However, the early Pythaïdes were certainly much larger rituals; an idea of the groups that may have taken part in them can be formed on the basis of the composition of the later, Hellenistic Pythaïdes. As already noted, most of our information about the Pythaïs and its participants comes from the inscriptions from the south wall of the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi. The majority of these inscriptions represent the Pythaïdes of the second and first century BC, and the reconstruction

[180] A deme, probably to be located south of modern Spata; see VANDERPOOL 1965.

[181] The Athenian sacrificial calendar mentions the *pythaïstai* (LAMBERT 2002, F 6 A col.1, l.11), the sacrificial calendar of Erchia refers to offerings to Apollo (with different epithets and in three different occurrences) to be handed over to the *pythaïstai* (SEG 21, 541 c.2 l. 50, c.3 l. 36, c.5 l. 37), the possible sacrificial calendar fragment of unknown provenance reports the amount of 60 drachmas or more for the *pythaïstai* (IG II/III^3 1, 533), and the inscriptions from Ikaria mention four *pythaïstai* (*paides*) (IG II^2 2816), and the *pythaïstes Peisikrates* (IG II^2 2817) respectively. The dedication of the Athenian *hieropoioi* is FD III^1 511.

[182] FD III^2 52. For more on the *hieropoioi* as participants in the Pythaïs of 106/5 BC, see RUTHERFORD 2013, p. 395.

[183] FD III^2 65, l. 6, 66, l. 25.

of their composition is presented in the works of Colin and Boëthius;[184] very recently, an analysis and a list of the participants in the Hellenistic Pythaïdes has also been proposed by Rutherford.[185] Although the focus of this work is on the spatial contextualisation of the pilgrimage, rather than on its participants, a list of the groups that featured in the best-documented Pythaïdes is provided in the table below (tab. a); this will help us undersand the magnitude of the ceremony that according to William S. Ferguson added up to five hundred people or more.[186]

Pythaïs	FD III^2 no.	Participants
Timarchos 138/7 BC	*7*	*Theoroi*
	11	*Pythaïstai paides*, *Didaskaloi* of the choir
	23	*Epheboi*
	29	*Kanephoroi*
Dionysios 128/7 BC	*3*	*Archontes*, *Keryx* of the Areopaus, *Hieromnemon*
	8	*Theoroi*
	12	*Pythaïstai paides*
	24	*Epheboi*
	27	*Hippeis*
	33	Carrier of a *Pyrphoros*
	47	*>Technitai Dionysou, college of Epic Poets*
	50	
Agathokles 106/5 BC	*4*	*Archontes*
	5	*Strategos*, *Hiereus* of Apollo, *Exegetes*, *Hieromnemon*,
	-	*Hoi epi tas prosodous*
	9	*Theoroi*
	13	*Pyrphoros*, *Pythaïstai*, *Ho epi tas aparchas*
	14	*Pythaïstai klerotoi*
	15	*Pythaïstai*
	25	*Epheboi*
	28	*Hippeis*
	30	*Kanephoroi*
	49	*Technitai Dionysou*
	IG II^2 1136	*Priestess of Athena*
Argeios 98/7 BC	*2*	*Archontes*, *Keryx* of the Areopagus, *Keryx archontos*, *Salpinktes.*
	6	*Strategos*, *Hiereus* of Apollo, *Exegetes*, *Hieromnemon*, *Mantis*,
	-	*Hoi epi tas prosodous*
	10	*Theoroi* and *Pythaïstai* from noble families
	16	*Pythaïstai klerotoi*
	17	*Pythaïstai*
	26	*Epheboi*
	31	*Kanephorai*
	32	Carrier of a *Pyrphoros*
	48	*Technitai Dionysou*

Table a. This table shows the composition of the Pythaïdes of 138/7 BC, 128/7 BC, 106/5 BC, 98/7 BC as reconstructed by COLIN 1909, p. 13; with additions from RUTHERFORD 2013, t. 8, pp. 226–228.

[184] COLIN 1905; BOËTHIUS 1918.

[185] RUTHERFORD 2013, pp. 222–230.

[186] FERGUSON 1911, p. 372. Participation in the Hellenistic Pythaïdes may have been even broader than previously thought, possibly involving Pythaïstai outside Attica. Indeed, epigraphic documents from the island of Telos, dating to the third quarter of the second century BC, feature a list of Pythaïstai led by a Pytharchas (SEG 25, 853; 28, 692).

The Pythaïs must have been conducted in the form of a well-ordered procession in the city and across the sanctuary at Delphi, but most of the journey was carried out independently by the participants, with pilgrims travelling in separate smaller groups, though possibly stopping in the same places to rest. The city officials and those in charge of the religious aspects of the ceremony certainly made stops to perform rituals in places of particular importance, according to the orthopraxis of the ritual. Mount Parnes (probably the top of Harma itself) and Panopeus were among these places. The same places may have also been objects of devotional practices to honour deities not necessarily related to the Pythaïs, on the part of certain individuals. There is, for example, the case of Dexios the Athenian, who made a dedication to Herakles at Panopeus probably as he was travelling to Delphi during a Pythaïs.[187] The procession would have fallen into line again, in ranks, once at Delphi for the chief ceremony. Even the Eleusinian processions, which covered a mere 20.5km compared to the 150km of the Pythaïs, had to come into line again as they approached the sanctuary and before entering the city on their way back.[188] Therefore, it is very difficult to imagine that a Delphic pilgrimage proceeded as a regulated parade throughout. Such a long overland journey would have made it impossible to march in an orderly fashion along the extent of the sacred road from Athens to Delphi, in particular when crossing uncomfortable mountain stretches and especially along narrow passages, which were constrained to around 2m in width in certain places.

c. The Parnes route

The direction of the Pythaïs across Attica should be primarily reconstructed with no other evidence than that concerning the Pythaïs. Indeed, the information available on this specific sacred route to Delphi indicates no other places than Harma and Mount Parnes, and does not include Eleusis.[189] The ritual observation of the lightning and the subsequent pilgrimage were certainly closely related to some of the divinities worshiped on Parnes, primarily Apollo

[187] CAMP, et al.1997. On the relationship between religion/superstition and ancient travelling, see MUIR 2011, pp. 36–39.

[188] DRAKOTOU 2009, p. 116.

[189] POxy. 2430 (PMG 519 fr.35; Appendix, #Aii). RUTHERFORD 1990, pp. 169–171; Str. 9.2.1.

and Zeus. The only shrines to be certainly located are that of Zeus, and that of Pan and the Nymphs. The first was worshiped in his cave at Ozea as Parnessios and Hikesios; indeed, Pausanias mentions a bronze statue of Zeus Parnethios, possibly relating to this same shrine (for further discussion of the epithet Parnessios/Parnethios, see below). Pan and the Nymphs were venerated in the homonymous cave that opens onto the Goura gorge.[190] However, other deities were worshiped on Parnes, but their shrines or altars have not yet been precisely identified. Apollo most probably played an important role as chief deity along with Zeus at different places on Parnes (see below), while Artemis Agrotera was among the principal gods at Phyle,[191] and Pausanias also mentions an altar of Zeus Ombrios or Apemios and one of Zeus Simaleios (sign-giving) as well.[192] This latter was most probably associated with the Pythaïstic lightning, and therefore possibly located on Harma, or very close to it.[193] As noted above, the cult site of Zeus Parnessios has been identified; in fact a graffito on a *lebes* from the cave gives an indication of an altar of Zeus Parnessios on Parnes.[194] However, Pausanias refers to this latter as Parnethios. This specific cult of Zeus had an offshoot in Athens as well, as witnessed by an early fifth-century BC shrine's boundary stone.[195] Most importantly in the context of the Pythaïs, an inscription dated to the last quarter of the fourth century BC indicates that the peaks of Parnes were also home to Apollo Parnessios, of whom, surprisingly Pausanias makes no mention.[196] The adjective Parnassios/Parnessios primarily

[190] The Cave of Zeus and the altar within it are actually located in the second highest peak of Ozea. For a cult of Zeus Parnessios and Hikesios in this cave, see MASTROKOSTAS 1984, p. 341**.** On the first excavations of the Cave of Pan, see SKIAS 1901, pp. 38–41; SKIAS 1902.

[191] The cult of Artemis Agrotera at Phyle is documented in IG II^2 1299.

[192] Paus. 1.32.2.

[193] PLATONOS-IOTA 2004, pp. 349, 397–406; LANGDON 1976, p. 101.

[194] SEG 33, 244.

[195] On the boundary stone of Zeus Parnessios (SEG 34, 39), see ALEXANDRI 1967, p. 56; KALOGEROPOULOU 1984, pp. 111–118. This boundary stone was found in Athens on the ancient road to the Academy, and it should therefore relate to an urban shrine of the god, for which there was a counterpart on Parnes. I am indebted to Leda Costaki for introducing this find to me.

[196] The cult of Apollo Parnessios is documented in IG II^2 1258 l. 24. According to MILCHHÖFER 1895, p. 14, Apollo Parnessios was probably venerated in the northeastern part of Parnes; see LOEPER1892, pp. 397–398, n. 3.

refers to Mount Parnassos in Phokis; however, it is known that the two adjectives Parnethios and Parnassios/Parnessios could have been used interchangeably with reference to Mount Parnes as well, whereas the adjective Parnethios only refers to Parnes.[197] If this epithet Parnessios is here interpreted according to its most recurrent significance, the existence of a cult of Apollo of Parnassos could be postulated somewhere on Parnes.[198] This latter would have had strong religious links with Parnassos and Apollo's main oracular shrine; and this hypothesis would be sufficient to shed new light on the route of the Pythaïs across Attica as well. However, it has been shown that the same cult epithet was also shared by Zeus at the beginning of the fifth century BC, and in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* the charcoal from Mount Parnes is referred to as 'Parnessios'; therefore the adjective Parnessios was already firmly established as a geographical reference to Parnes in the fifth century BC, and an even earlier usage of this adjectival form cannot be ruled out. Indeed, even in the case that the adjective 'Parnessios' were simply considered a form of Parnethios, it is still indicative of a tie between the two mountains (Parnassos and Parnes). The two toponyms Parnassos and Parnes are etymologically very close, as they both derive from the same root *parna-* (a Hittite form for 'house'). The toponym ending *-ssa* (considered a Luvian substrate) is clearly present in the name Parnassos and the related adjective Parnassios, but is probably a less immediate choice when it appears as an adjectival form associated with Parnes (for which the most common adjective is Parnethios).[199] Therefore, the question remains as to whether this choice, and the fluctuation between Parnethios and Parnessios when referring to Parnes, might have also had origins or implications that transcended the word's simple morphology. It is most probable that the etymological ties between these mountains were not merely coincidental, and possibly bore a significance that went beyond the mere etymological form, possibly a religious one. Indeed, in addition to Parnassos and Parnes, there is another important mountain chain, the name of which shares the same Anatolian root: this is Mount Parnon in the Peloponnese, and just like Parnassos and Parnes, Apollo was the chief deity

[197] KALOGEROPOULOU 1984, pp. 115–116.

[198] According to CLAY 2009, p. 24, the adjective Parnessios in IG II^2 1258 has to be interpreted as 'of Parnassos'.

[199] CHANTRAINE 1999 s.v. Παρνασσός; LSJ: s.v. Πάρνης.

venerated there (on Parnes, Apollo was worshiped as an important god alongside Zeus). As far as Parnes is concerned, Zeus should have been the principal god of that mountain until Apollo's veneration gradually grew in importance and probably affirmed its full presence on the mountain in the sixth century BC. Indeed, the finds from the Cave of Zeus at Ozea cover a period from the tenth to the seventh or sixth century BC, and it is just at the end of the sixth century BC that Simonides's fragmentary paean, discussed above, provides the first literary reference for a cult of Apollo on Parnes, probably in association with a Pythaïs.[200] On the grounds of these considerations, I am inclined to believe that the cult of Apollo on Parnes, using the epithet of Παρνησσίος (mostly for Apollo) may indeed be a more or less direct reference to the religious connection between the two mountains, combining in the same adjective the primal place of his veneration and its counterpart in Attica. It would not be surprising if Parnes were regarded as a sort of Attic Parnassos through the filter of local mythical tradition. Indeed, as is shown throughout the course of this research, the two regions had mythical ties from at least the sixth century BC, as the Athenian version of the journey of Apollo may have actually had the god traverse Mount Parnes on his way to Parnassos. There is more to consider: it must be stressed that Mount Parnassos (therefore *sensu stricto* Delphi) is perfectly visible from different spots on the summit of Harma (and probably even from other peaks of Parnes), as we ascertained (fig. 27).[201] Therefore, there was (and of course still is) a close visual connection between Athens and Delphi, since Harma is in turn perfectly visible from Athens (fig. 28). Harma and more generally Parnes represented the binding knot of this Athens-Delphi connection. Most probably, the visual reference constituted by Parnassos had religious implications, as much as it may also have served practical navigational purposes for the traveller. In short, Parnes and Parnassos were connected at mythical-religious, etymological, and even physical levels through a relationship of inter-visibility. Such a connection cannot be omitted in the reconstruction of a possible direction for the Pythaïs route that had Parnassos and Delphi as its final destination. In light of all

[200] On the chronology of the finds from the cave of Zeus, see MASTROKOSTAS 1984

[201] This was also noticed by E. Dodwell on his journey across Parnes; see DODWELL 1819a, p. 51.

these observations, Strabo's description of the Pythaïstic ritual assumes an even stronger significance, and the possibility that the Pythaïs actually headed towards Parnes becomes very likely. For this reason, and given the discussion of the other possible routes, it can be hypothesised that the pilgrimage sought Harma on its way to Delphi, probably making the first leg of its journey across the Athenian plain.

7. From the Classical Agora to western Parnes

As a result of these considerations a reconstruction of the continuation of the route of the Pythaïs from the Classical Agora to western Parnes can be suggested. The topography of the plain that extends from the northern outskirts of Athens to the Parnes chain offers more than a possibility for a road to Harma, and from there into Boiotia. As observed, it is probable that the direction of the sub-urban section of the pilgrimage was also tightly related to its course within Athens, and especially to the gate from which it left the city. In the passages on the first urban stretch of the ritual it has been suggested that the procession departed from the Pythion (at the Ilissos), headed to the archaic Prytaneion, and then sought the area of the Classical Agora. Subsequently, the Pythaïs probably engaged one of the roads that connected the Classical Agora to the gates of the city, via the square's northern edge. Right outside the city walls, the Pythaïs most probably used one of the roads of the sub-urban road system that originated from the city gates and posterns comprised between the Acharnian Gates and the Dipylon (some posterns may have not been identified yet). The best documented and most used of these roads was that extending from the Acharnian Gates to the ancient deme of Acharnai and its continuations. Furthermore, it was from these gates that the usually trodden road to Boiotia departed, as witnessed by old cartography as early as the seventeenth century AD (fig. 29). Therefore, the ancient road layout is discussed first, which allowed communication from the Classical Agora to the Acharnian Gates, and from here towards the deme and western Parnes.

Indeed, some have pointed to the deme of Acharnai as a possible landmark on the Pythaïs road when considering a northern route for the extra-urban stretch of the pilgrimage (fig. 20). This is, for example, the position of

Milchhöfer, who postulated that the sacred road of the Pythaïs moved towards the direction of Acharnai, which was also conveniently located close to the region of the Marathonian Tetrapolis. In fact, hypothesising a less dramatic rupture between the course of the earlier Marathonian sacred road and that of the Athenian Pythaïs, Milchhöfer suggested they may have started from different points and then merged together at Acharnai before proceeding to Delphi across Parnes as one.[202] Acharnai was indeed the largest deme in Attica, with a considerable demographic weight in the Athenian state, and strategically located in the heart of the Athenian road network of northern Attica.[203] The deme was certainly a communication hub for the different routes that entered the Athenian *pedion* from the northwest, north, and northeast, and of course *vice versa* it was an important reference for travellers leaving the city towards northern Attica and beyond. In general, scholars refer to this road as the most important of the ancient north-bound sub-urban arteries from the city; and indeed the ancient roads to Phyle as well as to Dekeleia are sometimes considered by modern scholarship to be northern branches of this road.[204] It must have been for all these reasons that the much-used Acharnai road connecting Athens to the deme was under the special protection of Apollo, in his capacity as guardian of the streets and averter of evil. Indeed, an inscription referring to a shrine of Apollo Agyieus Alexikakos was found at the Acharnian Gates; furthermore, the god was worshiped as Agyieus at the deme as well.[205] However, the influence of Apollo as protector of roads and travellers probably did not only involve the first segment of the road to the deme, but it may have extended along the continuations of this axis that, by means of its extensions, was projected towards long distance, extra-territorial travels.[206] An association could be made between this road and Apollo Agyieus, even at a mythical level. In fact, it has already been noted that in the sources which refer to the Athenian version of Apollo's legendary journey to Delphi, the god appears in the guise of the wandering divinity by definition; the road itself has the pride of place in this myth, along

[202] MILCHHÖFER 1873, pp. 56–57.

[203] Thuc. 2.19.2, 2.20–23. See CAMP 2001, pp. 274–275.

[204] PLATONOS 2009, p. 141.

[205] Paus. 1.31.6

[206] IG II^2 4850. This inscription was found in 1825 at the Acharnian Gates.

with the Athenians who are credited with its construction. It can therefore be hypothesised that the road to Acharnai may in fact have been used in the sub-urban segment of the pilgrimage. In the following paragraphs the city road layout will be discussed with specific reference to a possible route of the Pythaïs from the Classical Agora to the direction of Acharnai.

The Acharnian Gates were connected to the Classical Agora by at least one street that departed from the northeastern corner of the square (figs. 18–19, 30); this street was in use at least from the fifth century BC, until the construction of a second-century AD Roman basilica put out of use all routes into the Classical Agora in that corner.[207] It cannot be forgotten that this urban road stretched along the same course (or followed the same general direction) of a more ancient street. Noticeably, the aforementioned (and unfortunately not *in situ*) boundary of the Pythaïs road was found a mere 30m south of the southern limit of this road.[208] Following the train of thought according to which the road to Acharnai and beyond may have been that of the Pythaïs, it may be suggested that the boundary of the Pythaïs road was probably associated to this very road (or another one nearby heading to the Acharnian Gates) rather than to the Panathenaic way as suggested by Parsons.[209] The precise path of this street across the city is uncertain; it is not clear how directly this connected the Classical Agora to the Acharnian Gates, but most probably the road followed a general northeast direction to the Gates.[210] Slightly more is known with regard to the actual ancient road to Acharnai beginning outside Athens at the Acharnian Gates, mostly as far as its sub-urban stretch is concerned. The characteristics of the ancient Acharnai road have already been partially investigated, and its course has recently received renewed attention as a result of the works carried out for

[207] This road connected the northeastern corner of the Classical Agora to the Acharnian Gates, but probably not via a direct street. For the urban stretch of this road from the Classical Agora to the Acharnian Gates, see COSTAKI 2006, pp. 110–111, 429–431, 438–440.

[208] COSTAKI 2006, pp. 264–265.

[209] COSTAKI 2006, p. 265 observes that the excavator Stephen G. Miller associated this road with the boundary stone of the Pythaïs road. On the other hand, PARSONS 1943, p. 238 hypothesised that this boundary stone was set somewhere along the Panathenaic Way, to which it might have referred.

[210] COSTAKI 2006, pp. 110–111.

the construction of the modern *Attiki Odos*, which has exposed a 205m long segment of the ancient road likely pertaining to the main artery to the ancient deme. These remains were uncovered south of the deme, 100m west of the intersection between modern Philadelphia St. and the *Attiki Odos* toll-way.[211] The continuation of the route from the deme to Parnes is slightly less well known, but a road certainly departed from Acharnai and headed west-northwest into western Parnes and Phyle. However, it is also very probable that a further axis may have departed from the course of the main road well before reaching the deme. Whereas the ancient Phyle road followed one route and one only (with the exceptions of secondary mountain paths of course), as it was determined by the mountainous topography of Parnes, there may have been more possible avenues available to reach the southern foot of western Parnes from the city.[212] Although the aforementioned route across the *pedion* from the Acharnian Gates seems to be the most likely one, other possibilities will be discussed in the following paragraphs to present in this context a more complete overview of the urban street layout from the northern side of the Classical Agora to some of the city gates that may have given access to the Athenian plain to the north.

Indeed, it is possible that even other roads from other gates could have guaranteed more or less direct access to western Parnes. As with the street heading to the Acharnian Gates, their urban segments were connected directly or indirectly with the Classical Agora, through streets that departed from the different points in the northern edge of the public square (figs. 18–19, 30). An important road most probably started from the middle of the Classical Agora northern edge and extended along the line of modern Karaiskaki St. However, its actual connection with the Classical Agora has not been archaeologically confirmed yet as the southern stretch the road lies underneath Saint Philip

[211] On the route of the suburban roads from the Acharnian Gates, see COSTAKI 2006, pp. 421–428; FICUCIELLO 2008, pp. 197–199. For the continuation of the ancient road to Acharnai through the *pedion*, see PLATONOS-IOTA 2004, pp. 108–110; STEINHAUER 2009, pp. 44–46; PLATONOS 2009, pp. 141–144.

[212] The road has been tracked with a good degree of certainty in our surveys and it has been shown that its course has not changed much over the centuries.

Square. Same uncertainty lies on the northern continuation of this road across the city.[213]

Another road, which roughly coincides with today's Leokoriou St., directly joined the Classical Agora at its northwest side to the Travlos's Gate V. From this Gate, the sub-urban segment of the road led to the *Kolonos Hippios*; from there another branch could have extended further north to intercept the roads into western Parnes.[214]At this first stretch, this street seems to have an orientation quite compatible with the sixth-century BC Altar of the Twelve Gods; however, apart from the ascertained antiquity of this road axis and its branches, no information guides us to make any inference about a possible usage of this road for the Pythaïs. Therefore a further possibility needs to be discussed in the following paragraphs.

From the area of the Altar of the Twelve Gods (or more generally the northern edge of the square), the Pythaïs may have followed the Panathenaic way and exited the city through the Dipylon Gate. It would have hypothetically proceeded along the *Dromos*, which was in use from at least the fifth century BC to the Augustan era, towards the Academy. Then it could have continued to the north along a hypothetical northern extension of the *Dromos*, which was also flanked to the west by another road parallel to it.[215] This hypothesis may be grounded on the following factors: the presence of the Pompeion, where the Pythaïs could have been organised (at least from the years around 400 BC, to which the building is dated), and the enormous width of the *Dromos* (between 30m and 40m) in its first stretch from the Dipylon almost up to the modern Constantinoupoleos St., the size of which would have suited the throng gathering for the Pythaïs. In addition, another element may support this identification of the *Dromos* (or another nearby road following a similar course) as a possible religious road to Parnes. In 1966 a boundary stone (referred to previously) was

[213] COSTAKI 2006, pp. 110–111.

[214] For the northwest corner of the Classical Agora, see CAMP 2010, pp. 91–103;on the gates and the ancient road crossing it and its continuation, see THEOKARAKI 2007, pp. 468–473; FICUCIELLO 2008, pp. 156–160; COSTAKI 2006, pp. 142–143.

[215] On the *Dromos*, see COSTAKI 2006, pp. 455–459. The archaeological evidence indicates a fifth-century BC chronology for this road, but it is probable it was laid out earlier. On the road parallel to the *Dromos*, see COSTAKI 2006, p. 487.

found which originally marked the limits of the aforementioned shrine of Zeus Parnessios (of mount Parnes), very close to the ancient road to the Academy.[216] As already discussed, Zeus was venerated on Mount Parnes under several cult epithets, including Parnessios; this boundary stone indicates the existence of a shrine to Zeus Parnessios within the city as well. Although aware of the dangers and the limits of a reconstruction based on misplaced finds (the boundary stone was probably reused), the roadside shrine to Zeus Parnessios may not only indicate that an ancient road could have continued from the whereabouts of the Academy to Parnes, but that this (or another road close to this) may have been the first choice for pilgrims travelling from the city to visit the deities worshiped on that mountain. However, this hypothesis cannot be confirmed on the grounds of this individual and probably out-of-context find. Indeed, not much is known about the northern continuation of the actual ancient road, which roughly coincides with the modern Plateon and Platonos Streets, although it has been archaeologically contextualised up to the area of the Academy.[217] Nevertheless, it is very probable that, with no regard for the boundary stone referring to a shrine near its find-spot, the road or a branch of it may have extended well north of the Academy up to the foot of Parnes by following a route similar to that indicated in the nineteenth-century *KvA* (sheets III, VI = *Athen-Peiraieus*, *Pyrgos*), passing west of the deme of Kolonos and closely bordering the northeastern edge of Egaleo.

Of course, it must not be overlooked that if, as an alternative, the Pythaïs unfolded along the Eleusian *Hiera Hodos*, it would have obviously headed to the *Hiera Pyle* (Sacred Gate), either along the western stretch of the Panathenaic way or the urban stretch of the Sacred Road. However, it is here suggested that the extra-urban route of the Pythaïs might have headed to Parnes, and of the aforementioned routes, the one via Acharnai seems to be the more likely. While the topography and the characteristics of the Eleusinian sacred road and its northward continuations to Kithairon are very well known, there has always been

[216] ALEXANDRI 1967; KALOGEROPOULOU 1984.

[217] LYNGOURI 2009, pp. 138–139. After Constantinoupouleos St. the ancient road shrank and had a considerable width of 6m, see LYNGOURI 2009, p. 139.

great uncertainty concerning the path of the ancient Phyle road across Parnes.[218] It was therefore necessary to survey carefully the route traversed by the Phyle road in order to support with actual field-collected data and observations any discussion surrounding the ritual that, however remote to us now, once took place in an actual physical environment – one that cannot be understood unless by first-hand observation. The data and discussion of these field observations are presented in the next chapter.

[218] The Eleusinian sacred road was object of monographic studies as early as the second half of the nineteenth century, with Lenormant's 1864 (LENORMANT 1864). For recent contributions on the *Hiera Hodos* and the roads through the Thriasian plain into Boiotia, see DRAKOTOU 2009; PAPANGELI 2009; STEINHAUER 2009, pp. 41–44.

VI
The Phyle road: new examinations and considerations

The current section presents the results of field surveys conducted in the western region of Mount Parnes, over a period stretching from September 2013 through December 2014, to trace the remains of the ancient routes and road networks that led into Boiotia via Harma and Phyle.[1] This work describes the surveying methodology used, along with a discussion of all data and results. Original maps, old cartography and digital photographs accompany and support the discussion.

1. The areas surveyed: choice of location and physical characteristics

In recent years, our understanding of the road network in Attica has increased enormously as a result of the numerous rescue excavations that followed the development of modern Athens' infrastructures. This has given new life to the analysis and understanding of the road system in Attica as a whole, and it is no coincidence that a number of studies on these roads have emerged in the last decade. New research has made considerable progress in the acquisition of new information and the re-assessment of previous data, mostly from the *pedion* and the city.[2] Focusing on the roads which cross the mountainous northern regions of Attica is an obvious consequence of this new direction in scholarship. As far as this thesis is concerned, the analysis of the ancient routes that traverse the border regions is key to understanding the most plausible course of the processional road of the Pythaïs to Delphi in its stretches across both Attica and

[1] In this chapter, the location of the ancient deme of Phyle is generally referred to as 'ancient Phyle' or the 'deme of Phyle'. The ancient fortress west of the deme is called 'the fortress' or 'Phyle fortress'. Today's village of Phyle is referred to as 'modern Phyle' and in certain cases with the old name 'Chassia' when discussion involves direct or indirect reference to routes indicated nineteenth-century *KvA* map (where the place of modern Phyle is indicated as 'Chassia').

[2] See for example the fundamental works of COSTAKI 2006; FICUCIELLO 2008; KORRES 2009.

Boiotia. As discussed in the previous chapter, among these routes, the one extending from Athens across western Parnes past Mount Harma is a very likely candidate. Furthermore, its characteristics and archaeology have never been comprehensively investigated, and this field survey aims at filling this gap in knowledge. Unfortunately, with the exception of finds from rescue excavations, the extension of the modern city of Athens up to the foot of Mount Parnes makes it impossible to collect field data for the area south of the mountain range, the region mainly covered by our surveys.

The Parnes mountain range, together with Mount Kithairon and Mount Patera, constitutes a natural border between Attica, Boiotia and the Megaris, extending nearly 60 kilometres from east to west. Parnes is characterised by a varied topography with long mountain crests and sixteen peaks reaching altitudes of over 1000m, the highest of which, Karabola (Ozea), reaches the height of 1,413m. The mountainous landscape is at places interrupted by small plateaus and moorlands. The western and southwestern areas of Parnes, the areas involved in our surveys, are mostly characterised by long and deep valleys and gorges, extending between limestone mountain ridges. Several caves and steep precipices typify these limestone formations. The particular arrangement of the rocks in the geological substrate allowed the formation of numerous springs, some of which are located along the route of the ancient road, and at places create streams and ponds. The area of western Parnes is densely forested and mostly covered with *Pinus halepensis* (Aleppo Pine), maquis and phrygana, which, when particularly thick, are almost impenetrable, making the exploration very difficult.[3]

The archaeological landscape is mostly characterised by a series of fortified strongholds and single towers, which overlooked and controlled the major routes across the mountains. Along these routes a network of paths and trails developed. Many of these paths were probably used by local traffic between demes and towers, whereas others extended for several kilometres and could be used to reach Boiotia from the south. However, they varied greatly in terms of accessibility and length, and only a few were conceived as properly engineered roads.

[3] Information on the natural characteristics of Parnes is accessible at the official Parnitha National Park website: http://www.parnitha-np.gr/welcome.htm

The courses of these roads were dictated significantly by natural constraints, specifically by the local orography. As they approached the mountain range from the south, these roads made their way through the mountains first along the valleys, then gradually ascended the slopes, often with a series of short and sharp turns to minimise the gradient as they climbed up to and reached the saddles and the passes from which they began their descent on the other side of each mountain or hill. Many of them were used constantly throughout antiquity, and beyond, until quite recently. However, with the mechanisation of excavation devices and the development of modern wheeled traffic, some roads fell almost completely out of use, whereas others had their surfaces enlarged or their routes shifted. Due to its mountainous terrain, this region has always been sparsely populated and, in many instances, these ancient paths and roads can be tracked and documented by modern surveying methodologies.

2. Survey Methodology and Tools

Looking for ancient roads requires an extensive and purposeful surveying methodology. In particular, our surveys have to be completely non-intrusive, so nothing is touched or picked up from the ground, merely recorded. The most productive strategy is to locate a stretch of road which has already been described by previous researchers as ancient (or, more generally, supposed to be old), and to walk along it in both directions, in order to evaluate its actual length and state of preservation and to record it with modern topographical instruments. The optimal approach for tracking paths is to proceed from a *known* road stretch to its *unknown* extents by following its visible traces, such as retaining walls or wheel ruts; or, in the event that these are not entirely visible, tracking it further by interpreting the landscape and making educated guesses as to its route. In this regard, it is also possible to create predictive models of road locations using GIS spatial analysis methods such as the 'least-cost path' which proved to be a useful tool. With the acquisition of a digital elevation model (DEM) of the areas to be surveyed, it is possible to create maps that automatically show the easiest paths – that is, the least costly ones in terms of slope – connecting source points to

destination points.[4] Traces of actual road remains can then be verified in the field against the customised least-cost path maps.

Desktop research involving the consultation of modern and archive cartographic material, aerial imagery and scholarly works must take place before the routes suitable for survey can be chosen. As observed in the previous paragraphs, the roads and paths under consideration have been in use for centuries. It therefore seemed logical to turn to early cartography to identify any areas worth surveying. In this regard, the *Karten von Attika* (*KvA*) by Ernst Curtius and Johann Kaupert, dating from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, proved to be an invaluable research tool for its detailed and fairly accurate positioning of major and minor paths, as well as the locations and descriptions of ancient remains. Since these maps were drawn at 1:25,000 scale, it soon became necessary to obtain more detailed maps. The 1:5,000 topographic diagrams from the Hellenic Military Geographical Service offered a higher level of accuracy in planning the survey, but yielded less information regarding antiquities.[5] Thus the two cartographic sources needed to be used complementarily.

The data were collected in the field with a Trimble® GeoExplorer® 6000 handheld GPS, capable of sub-metre accuracy, and equipped with GIS software so that the data could be surveyed as points, lines or polygons and organised into a database in the field.

The areas investigated mainly coincide with the principal routes through western Parnes into the Plain of Skourta, approximately along the general direction of the modern Phyle road to the Dervenochoria. It has been decided to divide this region into four main sections (indicated with the Roman numerals I–IV, e.g. Section II) according to their location and respective to the route (or routes) that traverse it. All these sections are roughly comprised in an area bordered to the south between Mount Daphna and Ano Liosia, whereas the northernmost extent of our investigation extended up to the southern edge of

[4] For GIS spatial analyses I made use of ASTER DEMs. Topography and digital terrain data are available online at: http://www.usgs.gov/

[5] Cartographic products by the Hellenic Military Geographical Service can be acquired online at http://web.gys.gr/

Skourta (fig. 31).[6] Sections II through IV are further divided into several areas, identified by the aforementioned Roman numeral and a letter of the alphabet (e.g. Section IIa, IIb). Along with other features, each section shows evidence of not only one, but several paths, from different periods, including modern tracks and roads. These paths present different characteristics, some being simple trails, others showing evidence of road engineering, and even constructions along their route. In some cases, these engineered segments and the constructions flanking them can be interpreted as ancient, as detailed later in this chapter. As with the data collected and discussed below, these different paths and roads are indicated in the maps with different symbols and colours. In the case of the road certainly identified as ancient, the colour red has been chosen to mark its track, which is often characterised by segments of retaining walls of varying lengths, cuttings and other ancient features bordering its way.

3. The archaeological remains

Section I

The modern Phyle road skirts Elias hill from the west and passes through the village of Phyle before making its way across the mountainous region ahead.[7] By contrast, the ancient Phyle road, which departed from the deme of Acharnai, entered the Parnes massif to the east of Elias hill, passing through the small valley formed by its eastern slope and the southwest foot of Keramidhi (Katerineza) (figs. 32–33). Walter Wrede suggested that in this area there was probably a settlement, the presence of which was indicated by occasional

[6] For the topography, history and archaeology of Skourta, see MUNN AND ZIMMERMAN MUNN, 1989, 1990. For a brief overview of the routes across Skourta and those approaching the plain from different sides, see MUNN AND ZIMMERMAN MUNN 1989, p. 79.

[7] SKIAS 1901 and lately WREDE 1924, p. 157 observed that unlike the ancient road, the modern one leaves the hill of Elias on the right, following the development of the Albanian village of Chassia (today Phyle) between Elias the *Vouno tis Chassias.* However, due to the recent building development north and southeast of Elias, a second road (Trassivoulou St.) was also built which, like its ancient predecessor, follows the contour of Elias hill from the east. While this modern road developed west of the seasonal stream referred to by WREDE 1924, p. 157, the ancient route parallels it from the east.

ceramic and structural finds on the hill slope northeast of Elias hill, along with scattered finds associated with a necropolis in the area.[8] The ancient road to Phyle passed to the right of Elias hill to serve this settlement. It is from here that the ancient route gradually began its journey towards the plain of Skourta across Parnes, and it is from here that we started tracking the remnants of the Phyle road.

According to Wrede, traces of the ancient road were still largely visible in his time and could be followed for a '*gutes Stück'* in this first stretch. Following Wrede's description, it is possible to infer that the preserved road closely flanked the stream which runs through the valley in winter. Wrede specifies that a retaining wall of rough stones reinforced the downhill side of the road toward the stream, whereas its uphill side is partially carved into the rock.[9] With the support of both the *KvA* (sheet XXIV = *Phyle*, fig. 33) and the topographic diagram (sheet 6434/8) we began our survey with the purpose of identifying some of the above-mentioned road features described by Wrede.

Section I. The data

The southeast approach did not yield much evidence, as the construction of the modern road and numerous houses/farmsteads, along with the secondary local roads that serve them, made it very difficult (if not impossible) to spot the remains of the ancient way in this area. Thus it was decided to begin surveying from the northwestern part of the hill, where highly visible retaining walls for an old paths network are found. Departing north of modern Trassivoulou St. and heading eastward, this path still leads hikers and worshippers to the church of Ag. Antonios, not far away. A stretch of this path, especially that lying northeast of Elias, is very likely to coincide with that of an ancient one – the morphology of the terrain does not give travellers a better alternative to cross the saddle between Elias and Katerineza hill. Its course is also clearly indicated in the *KvA*, and as we will see in the following paragraphs, field data indicate that the road must have indeed made its way across the northeast fold of Elias hill, taking

[8] WREDE 1924, pp. 157–158. He saw also the fragments of a small funerary *lekythos* in the chapel of Saint Kyriaki, see WREDE 1924, p. 158, fig. 3.

[9] WREDE 1924, p. 157: *Teils ist sie mit groben Blöcken gegen den hier herabkommenden, flachen Winterbach abgestützt, teils in den Felsen geschnitten.*

advantage of the streambed. However, in this very area there are no obvious traces of the ancient road immediately noticeable along this path; therefore we decided to leave it and extend the search area farther east. Northeast of Elias, the slope of Hill Katerineza is characterised by a number of old, low terraces that, aside from their primary agricultural function, may have been used until recently as ideal road beds for everyday local farming traffic. Abandoned farmsteads and terraces typify the landscape. In this area, no signs of the settlement indicated by Wrede were found; however, a large, ruined limekiln located on the west slope of Hill 361 might indirectly confirm the presence of a settlement, the ruins of which were certainly used for lime production (fig. 34). While abandoned farmsteads, simple dry masonry shepherds huts and enclosures are a common sight in the mountainous Phyle area, the presence of a limekiln is mostly restricted to specific spots where the remains of previous building activities guarantee an abundance of readily usable material. In short, the presence of the old limekiln indicates two things: the existence of structures pre-dating the kiln, and the certainty that the vast majority of these were turned into lime and are no longer identifiable. Limekilns were built in similar ways throughout the centuries, and it is today very difficult if not impossible to assign them any definite place in a chronology. However, on the basis of comparison with very similar kilns in Greece and other Mediterranean regions (the Algarve region in Portugal for example), I hypothesise a chronology of the seventeenth century or later for this and the other kilns that we have identified in the region.[10]

Traces of the ancient road were finally found at a spot east of the shallow gorge of the winter stream. As observed by Wrede, it was at that time possible to follow the ancient road for a good stretch, although he gives no clear indication of its length. The ancient remnants identified extend for a stretch as long as 80m, which could add up to 300m if the possibility is considered that the streambed itself was used as part of the road. Furthermore, along the southern segment, a longer portion of retaining walls (around 110 m) appears to follow a similar alignment to the road, though it may only hypothetically belong to the ancient way or to a later period of use. Given the vagueness of Wrede's identification, it is not possible to establish how much of the ancient road has been lost since his

[10] For a discussion on limekiln in Greece, see DEMIERRE 2002.

time (first quarter of the twentieth century). In fact, in the words of Erin Gibson, 'roads and paths are both erosive and depositional environments', and subsequently much of their extent is easily wiped out or concealed.[11] The degree to which this deterioration occurs, of course, depends on factors such as topography and gradient, relative to the time of their abandonment. In the case of mountain roads and paths, these factors are particularly evident, and the remnants that last longer are usually the most stable ones such as carvings on outcrops of bedrock.[12] Visible traces of ancient roads (or paths) risk disappearing in two contrasting scenarios: complete abandonment; or, conversely, continuous use over the centuries, with consequent destruction owing to later and modern reuse. In this latter case, however, at least the route remains the same. All these observations need to be taken into account to arrive at the least biased interpretation of road remains.

Some longitudinal grooves or cuttings along the course of an abandoned path which borders the winter stream appear to match Wrede's description of the road remains. The cuttings are today broken into several short sections, which extend over a total length of at least 80m. The cuttings are conserved particularly well in two separate sections: one consists mainly in a cutting running along the uphill side, which measures 4 m in length (figs. 35–36). The other section is even more revealing of the nature and function of these cuttings. Here, the carvings have survived as a couple of parallel straight lines, spaced not less than 1.40m from each other (figs. 37–38). This is the only spot where the longitudinal marks appear as both perfectly parallel and obviously artificial. With the clear and fundamental exception of this spot, throughout the length of the road it is mostly the groove on the uphill side that is particularly noticeable, whereas signs of its parallel counterpart are generally very faint.

Judging by our observations, the best-preserved parts of the carvings are shown in the figures 35, 40–42, where tool marks are also visible. The carvings'

[11] GIBSON 2007, p. 65. For sake of precision, Gibson does not use this expression with specific regard to the state of preservation of a road. She rather refers to the uncertainty of giving a road a chronology based on that of the finds scattered on its surface. In fact, these can easily move from their original depositional context due to depositional and erosive agents.

[12] On the progressive deterioration of road remnants, mostly in mountainous areas, see PIKOULAS 2012, pp. 37–38.

depth and width were not homogenous throughout, as the height and width of the limestone into which it is carved is quite irregular as well. Due to the bad state of preservation, it is not possible to assess the complete original measurements of the cut, nor it is totally clear whether its cross-section was U-shaped or L-shaped. Even though the remnants show both possibilities, a L-shaped broad section appears more common. Thus these remnants are best described as deliberate cuttings rather than grooves worn through accident or coincidence.[13] Indeed, the section of the cut shown in close-up in figure 39 seems to correspond with a L-shaped cut resulting from the levelling of the rock, whereas the detail in picture 36 clearly demonstrates that some L-shaped sections of the carving appear almost concave, probably due to the passage of wheeled traffic. Among the data collected, in one case the cutting is very narrow and deep, resembling a furrow across the limestone. Its orientation and appearance leave no doubt as to its function as a wheel rut; this measures 0.10m in width and 0.12m in depth (fig. 40). In most cases, the vertical sides do not make a ninety-degree angle with the sub-horizontal base but lean slightly outwards, either because they were originally made so, or because they have been worn out by use.

As mentioned above, with the exception of one case, the wheel marks on the western or downhill side of the path are scarcely noticeable. However, a careful observation of ground data still yields some interesting results. In the central part of the road, it is possible to make out at least two spots where the outcropping limestone is worn in a longitudinal direction parallel to the cut (figs. 41–43), whereas further possible carvings are almost concealed under surface deposits and can hardly be recognised as such. Most of these marks are likely due to use rather than the result of intentional shaping of the limestone. To use Greek terminology they are εκ χρήσεως (from use), as opposed to the carving along the uphill side which clearly appears as a τεχνητή αρματροχιά (artificial wheel rut). However, they all have a similar width of slightly more than 0.20m on the lower part. It is certain that together with the uphill side cutting, they form a set of parallel lines spaced at least 1.40 m from each other, as shown by their well preserved northern continuation (fig. 37).

[13] A parallel can be found on another stretch of the Phyle road; Section IIIc shows similar L-shaped carved wheel ruts on the rock-cut road stretch.

The rocky surface of the road, which today appears very uneven, was probably artificially levelled, and filled with packed dirt and other small debris in specific areas. Its original maximum width cannot be gauged with precision. However, judging from the location of certain badly preserved stretches of the retaining wall along the western edge of the road (figs. 44–45) it can be hypothesised that it had a maximum width of 3.5–4 m. On the other hand, the minimum width of the road can be assessed more precisely in the only stretch where all its components are preserved. Figure 46 shows the retaining wall, the above-discussed set of parallel carvings and part of the road bed; the distance between the eastern rut and the inner side of the retaining wall measures 2m, which is the narrowest stretch recorded for this road.

Further to the south, an unusual, sharp, vertical edge of the outcropping rock suggests this might have been an area traversed by or cut back to widen the road; in addition, two interrupted lines of retaining walls (fig. 47) appear to be in relation to the ancient road, as they closely match a stretch of the *KvA*'s path east of Elias. The most immediate observation is that this very route was in continuous use from antiquity until recent times. However, no further traces of cutting are found in relation to these retaining walls, which may also pertain to a different phase of use on the same road.

Proceeding northwards, the precise course of the ancient road becomes less clear. In fact, a few marks preserved in the bed of the winter stream suggest that the road might have taken advantage of the course of the stream itself (fig. 48). However, today the small valley of the stream becomes progressively narrow and deep as one follows it northwards. In short, the possible continuation of the road along the streambed does not appear likely under present conditions. A further observation needs to be made. Before entering the stream valley there is an ample and battered limestone surface west of the stream, which could be identified with what is left of the ancient road bed. Although no wheel marks are preserved on its surface, the route along this rocky surface actually leads to the northeast foot of Elias hill, but is largely buried underneath the debris and the artificial scarp realised for the construction of modern Trassivoulou Str., so it is no longer possible to track its continuation.

Section I. Discussion

Wrede, who first observed these ancient road remnants and these cuttings, did not recognise them as meant for wheeled traffic. However, the longitudinal carvings that stretch mostly along the eastern side of the road and the passage marks identifiable on its opposite side can be safely interpreted as wheel ruts. This can be affirmed on the grounds of their appearance, their location, and the measurements of the best-preserved pair of parallel wheel ruts. The distance between them measures at least 1.40m; this dimensions match that of the average axle width (μετατρόχιο), which was the standard measure for most of carts. Comparing the orientation and direction of these ruts with those of the faint wheel marks, it can be concluded that the axle width must have been consistent throughout. However, it was not easy to take accurate measurements for all identified pairs of wheel ruts; indeed, the west wheel marks are today less detectable on the ground and are generally ill defined, as if they were more the consequence of general wear rather than the result of deliberate cutting into the rock. The explanation probably lies on the fact that in the case of mountain roads it is mostly the rocky uphill part of the roadside which requires direct levelling. In fact, in the majority of cases the downhill side is slightly lower than the uphill, according to the transversal incline of the hill slope; this situation only necessitates a simple levelling to fix, which could be often achieved through filling rough surfaces and holes with dirt and crushed rocks, kept together by the retaining wall. It can be observed that the paired wheel ruts do not lie on the same level in certain spots along the road. This could have favoured an uneven wearing of the cart tracks, as gravity pulled the weight of vehicles towards the lower side of the road.[14] In conclusion, this stretch of the road was certainly able to support cart traffic; even though the badly preserved state of the western side does not allow for a precise assessment of the average width, this must have fluctuated from 2m up to a maximum of 4m.

As observed, it is not completely clear whether the road continued its course through the bed of the winter stream or if they divided again before the road entered the gorge. Indeed, there are many cases of roads that take advantage

[14] On the characteristics of cart roads, cart axle width and the causes of abnormal μετατρόχιο, see PIKOULAS 2012, pp. 36, 38–43; STEINHAUER 2009, pp. 66–67, n. 112.

of riverbeds to make their way across particularly difficult terrain. It is interesting to note that the modern Greek language is reminiscent of the relationship between the path of a road and the course of a stream; in fact, the term ρεύμα (stream, current) is today also used to refer to the lanes of major roads.

A cautious approach might suggest to look at the marks on the rocks which flank the northern course of the stream as caused by the water flow itself. However, the stream is a seasonal one and the marks seem very well defined and in a too high position to be actually caused by the water stream. A safe interpretation would require at least a thorough cleaning of the course of the road along its continuation in order to determine whether its course actually diverted from the direction of the river or followed it right through its bed. Additionally, the possibility that the road might bifurcate, with one branch continuing to the north to the hypothesised location of the nearby deme and another branch circumventing Elias hill heading westwards to Phyle following almost the same course as modern Trassivoulou St., should not be ruled out.

In the following few paragraphs an attempt will be made to contextualise this road chronologically. As noted, the above-mentioned remains of the road east of Elias hill are those of an αμαξιτός οδός (cart road). This road stretch is not marked as 'ancient' in the *KvA*, yet this is most certainly a section of the ancient Phyle road coming from the deme of Acharnai. Its considerable age is unmistakable, not only by its overall appearance and obvious long exposition to the indignities of time, but also by the presence of the wheel ruts themselves. In fact, the usage of carts (both two and four-wheeled), and therefore the maintenance of an efficient cart-road network, was gradually abandoned after the fifth century AD, when pack animals gradually took over the cart as transport system.[15] Generally, determining the precise chronology for the construction of a road is difficult (if not impossible) in the absence of diagnostic artefacts; however, a rough dating for this road can still be attempted, on the basis of its construction. The chiselled wheel ruts themselves indicate that the construction of this αμαξιτός οδός most likely predated Roman times. In fact, the Roman cart road was not based on the carving of the wheel ruts. When Romans built a road

[15] PIKOULAS 2008, p. 81; LOLOS 2011, p. 94.

ex novo, especially a wagon road, attention was particularly paid to its layout and to the construction of all its elements, of which careful paving was a foremost characteristic. In short, Roman cart roads did not require the chiselling of grooves to facilitate the transit of wagons across their surface. Therefore, if the Phyle road had been built first as a cart road only in Roman times, it would have been constructed according to Roman road building methods.[16] This is certainly an ancient Greek road.

Section II

After reaching the northern slope of Elias hill, the ancient road proceeded westward, most likely traversing the northern area of modern Phyle. Here, it possibly passed close to a water source that, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, was still known as '*palaio pigadi*' (the old spring).[17] Past the village, travellers could use three main routes to reach the only direct road pass connecting this area of Parnes to Skourta that is, the saddle located roughly midway between the fortress and the ancient deme of Phyle (fig. 31).[18] The many paths which traverse these routes are traced both in the *KvA* and in the topographic diagrams of the Hellenic Military Geographical Service. However, they are plotted with different degrees of precision and accuracy, according to the different scales of representation employed (*KvA* 1:25,000, Greek ordnance survey 1:5,000). The three routes are as follows:

1) a route that proceeds 1.5 km westwards along the lower course of the Janoula (or Goura) River north of the Vouno Chassias, then heads north all the

[16] On these aspects, see PIKOULAS 2008, p. 81.

[17] WREDE 1924, p. 159. Unfortunately this reference eludes the memories of today's local residents, who cannot indicate the location of the ancient spring anymore. Indeed, when asked about the whereabouts of the *palaio pigadi*, locals point at the ancient source of the river Phyle, where the ruins of the ancient deme of Phyle lay (about 4km northeast of the modern village as the crow flies).

[18] This saddle is the most direct and accessible way into the Skourta plain from southwest Parnes.

way the length of the valley of the Phikti river (also referred to as the Theodora after the ridge of hills which borders it to the east, Section IV).[19]

2) another route that traverses the eastern length of the hilly Theodora ridge (Section III).

3) a final route that follows the course of the Janoula River almost up to the monastery of the Virgin Kleiston, then continues to the northwest, flanking the southwestern fold of Harma (Section II).

All three routes converge roughly in the same area southeast of the Phyle saddle. However, computer-generated least-cost path analysis indicates that, of the three proposed, the route along the Janoula River towards the monastery is the easiest to follow. For this reason, the following description will consider the road along Janoula first.

Section IIa. The data

At the northwest outskirts of modern Phyle the course of the ancient road coincides with, and was covered by, Phyle Avenue and the several constructions that border it (fig. 49). From the combined examination of satellite imagery of the area with topographic diagrams and the path marked in *KvA* (fig. 50), it is possible to reconstruct a 110m long road stretch extending from the west of modern Phyle towards the Janoula; this would not be easily identifiable as such otherwise. However, at the exit of the village, where the gully of the Janoula becomes steeper, the old thoroughfare is traceable again through ground observation, 45m west of Phyle Avenue. The hillside east of the river is traversed

[19] The Goura River was also called Janoula in its stretch close to the village; however in antiquity the river was probably called Keladona (see MILCHHOEFFER 1895, p. 10). As far as the river name in recent times is concerned, E. Dodwell recounts that the river was called Janoula '*from a real or imaginary lady of that name, who they say constructed an aqueduct to convey the stream to her olive groves in the plain*'. (DODWELL 1819, p. 505). Throughout this chapter, numerous water courses are referenced. One in particular, originates by the Phyle spring at the ancient deme and is divided from north to south into three stretches (I sometimes refer to these using the general term 'river'), where each water course with its valley are separately designated: 1) the Phyle, that flows near the ancient deme; 2) the Theodora, named after the hills that border it to the east (see also p. 244, n. 85); 3) the Phikti, the southern segment of the water course before its juncture with the lower Janoula generating the Dipotami (see p. 244, n. 85; p. 241).

by a series of terraces that become narrow as the slope becomes more precipitous further north. One of these turned out to be part of an old road; as observed in Section I this road is plotted in both the *KvA* and the military topographic diagram (sheet 6434/7), but no further information nor description is provided. As one proceeds along the east bank of the river, the broad terrace surface gives way to a 4m wide road bed (fig. 51). The main road components are well preserved, and can be easily tracked along the same contour line, for approximately 90m. On the downhill side, an impressive and continuous retaining wall prevents the road surface from collapsing. Unlike that discussed in Section I, this retaining wall is well preserved. It is made of rough local stones of varying sizes; the largest are set in the lower tiers (fig. 52). On the other hand, the uphill side is largely made up of solid outcropping rock; there is no sign that the rock was carved or cut back to enlarge the road. The road bed itself is partially covered by vegetation and deposits, and it does not present any obvious sign of stonecutting or wheel ruts. Proceeding to the north, the hillside slope increases to a point where the course of the road along the east side of the Janoula has to stop as the flank of the hill becomes inaccessible. The route crosses the river by means of a modern wooden bridge (fig. 53) and resumes its route along the river's west bank. The current bridge replaced a cement one, which in its turn had a stone predecessor, as suggested by the cement chunks and worked stone blocks scattered on the riverbed below.

Section IIb. The data

The west bank of the Janoula accommodates the continuation of the road described in the previous section (figs. 54–55). Although its course can be identified with certainty, this stretch is in general less well preserved than Section IIa. This becomes visible as soon as one crosses the river, where along the downhill sides of the road there is a clear difference between the modern retaining wall (built in connection with the bridge) and the older one. Furthermore, this segment appears narrower than Section IIa, but it is clear that this was not its original width, which most likely shrank because of erosive phenomena along its downhill side. On the uphill side a terrace wall flanks the way for a long stretch. At about 50m from the bridge (fig. 53) an outcropping rock sticks out from the road bed. This is traversed by a couple of straight

parallel grooves (fig. 56). The western groove is slightly less defined than the eastern one and does not appear to completely cross the whole length of the rock. On the other hand, the eastern groove is more interesting. It is about 0.15m wide and 0.50m long, and no tool-marks are immediately observable; however, it is difficult to give a better description as it has not yet been totally cleaned of the surface deposit which partially covers it. The direction of the grooves does not perfectly follow that of the road as it is oriented today, but is turned slightly to the west. This last aspect leads to the hypothesis that either these straight marks on the rock are a natural formation or that, if related to wheeled traffic, they might indicate the orientation of the road in antiquity. Although the question remains as to whether the presence of such a 'wheel-rut-shaped' feature in the centre of an ancient road can be considered merely coincidence, first hand observation suggest this is likely to be a natural formation.

Continuing northward, the road retaining wall is more easily visible and can be tracked along the east side for several hundred metres (about 700m); however, this includes many gaps of various lengths, which affects our evaluation of the average road width. In fact, in the current state of preservation the road bed dimensions do not appear constant throughout. One of the best-preserved parts is found 100m north of the bridge. This is also the spot where the road first bifurcates (figs. 57–58); in this area the distance between the hillside to the west and the preserved wall along the east edge must have had a 4m maximum span. However, as shown in figures 57–58, the actual road surface here is partially covered and engulfed by the hill slope; this makes it difficult to draw certain conclusions. The road stretch which branches from Section IIb climbs the hills towards Mount Theodora and follows a generally northwestern direction; this path coincides with the second of the above-mentioned routes to ancient Phyle, and will be treated separately as Section III.

On the other hand, the course of the road described in this section continues its journey following a route parallel to Janoula. The road becomes narrow in some segments, and it appears obvious that the flow of the Janoula, which runs just below and to the east of the road, must have had (and it still has) a continuous, ruinous effect on the road's retaining walls, shaping and eroding much of the road. Moreover, the course of the river itself has probably shifted over the centuries. The effect of river erosion is particularly evident where the

road bed stretches across particularly steep and unstable hillsides, leading in some places to the almost complete destruction of the road, and of course the total obliteration of any trace of wall structure (fig. 59). Indeed, traces of the wall become visible again as the course of the road diverges slightly from that of the river, and as the hill slope becomes gentler (fig. 60). Therefore, the road was certainly renewed and reshaped multiple times over the centuries. In fact, different types of retaining wall along this same road section possibly bear witness to some of the restoration stages; early phases are probably characterised by the employment of larger stones (figs. 61–62). Nevertheless, this should not have affected its route, which must have followed the bank of the Janoula. Moreover, the solid limestone rocks which still constitute the western limit of the road in different segments must have delimited and determined the course of the road throughout antiquity as well.

About 400m from the wood bridge, the road bed was widened in recent times to a width of at least 4m. This is a frequent occurrence in mountainous areas today, where certain segments of many old roads have been turned into dirt tracks to allow emergency vehicles to reach otherwise inaccessible zones. However, as far as our road is concerned, old dry masonry walls which delimit it on both sides indicate that the original width was not too much narrower than this modern rearrangement. This is particularly visible towards the very last part of this section where the old road is literally cut by the modern (fig. 63). Traces of the ancient road can be identified across the modern road; these are described in Section II c.

Section IIc. The data

The road continues its course along the west side of the Janoula but across from the modern road which cuts it. The first segment runs lower and closer to the river than Section II b (figs. 64–65); it extends along the 25m wide strip of land between the river and the modern road which runs almost parallel to it (fig. 66). The area is covered by dense vegetation and the western side of the old road has been disturbed by the construction of the modern one; this makes it difficult to track the old course with absolute precision. However, the few preserved stretches of the retaining wall and the flat and wide walkable surface

which parallels the river to the west indicates the route of the old road, the width of which appears similar to that of the previous stretch; the route of the old (probably ancient) Moni Kleiston road is also indicated here by the location of abandoned circular structures (fig. 67). After 300m from the beginning of Section IIc, the road diverges from the course of the Janoula and starts to climb the hill slope on the west, following the same route as the modern way. A modern hikers' path cuts down this road, rejoins the Janoula and crosses it before entering the river gorge between the craggy and precipitous slopes of Harma and Tamilthi. This section can last be tracked in close proximity of the modern road to the monastery of the Virgin Kleiston, which clearly follows the course of the older predecessor up to the sanctuary. Along the small valleys which abut this road to the west several paths make their way north and northwest (figs. 64, 68). One path in particular still preserves parts of a slender retaining wall but its width and its very tortuous route indicate that, in spite of its chronology, it could not be part of a major road. This latter was to be found in another part of the mountain, possibly ascending to the Theodora ridge through a further route which may have departed further to the south, from Section IIb.

Section II. Discussion

Judging by its construction and width, this is a large and well-engineered road. Even though the presence of wheel ruts is to a certain extant disputable along this Section, this road was certainly used by carts in the first decades of the twentieth century, as recounted by Theodoros N. Konteri who describes it as καρόδρομος ('carriageable' or suitable for carts).[20] Given the fact that, as discussed in the following paragraphs, its route and characteristics should have remained very similar throughout antiquity, it is reasonable to infer that this road was probably 'carriageable' in the past as well. In the next paragraphs an attempt is made to contextualise chronologically this road.

No evidence allows us to assign a definite date to its earliest phases, but to judge by the morphology and the archaeological indications in the region, it is very likely that this must have been, even in antiquity, one of the routes which led to inner Parnes. As often occurs when discussing ancient routes, it is not

[20] KONTERI 1938, p. 105.

possible to establish how old it actually is, but some educated hypotheses can be advanced on the grounds of the location of the archaeological remains in the region. By and large, the most precise assumptions can be made for the last phases of use of this road. Following a note by Andreas Skias, it is possible to infer that this road segment was chiefly meant to serve two main destinations: one that connected modern Phyle (Chassia) with the monastery of the Virgin Kleiston and one that made its way to the fortress. As we will see, a third possibility was to reach the fortress directly from the monastery, but the paths departing from the southwest and the west of the monastery to the fortress appear today to be of limited accessibility and rather unsuitable for intense traffic (figs. 64–65, 68).[21] With the construction of the modern thoroughfare to Skourta, after 1924, regular traffic was diverted from all roads remaining in the area, which only stayed in use to serve shepherds and farmers. Indeed, this road must have continued to be maintained over the centuries, as it was the main way to the monastery of the Virgin Kleiston until the first two decades of the twentieth century. This would explain the good overall state of preservation in its first stretches at least. However, and surprisingly so, the continuation of this old road to the monastery is not fully marked on the topographic diagram (fig. 64), while it is featured in the *KvA* (fig. 65). The monastery was established between the end of the twelfth century and the very beginning of the thirteenth century AD, which also gives a late chronological indication for the road that served it.[22]

Having determined a reasonably accurate chronological context for its latest usage, it still needs to be determined whether this medieval road was built in the place of a more ancient predecessor. Judging by the data available, the answer to this issue is a positive one. It can be hypothesised that this route was a very early one, which was also possibly connected with the Cave of Pan or with a shrine preceding the construction of the monastery (fig. 69). Furthermore, and most relevant in the frame of this research, this route probably played a role in the ancient road network connecting the area to Skourta via Phyle; it has already been observed that the Phyle road continued its course to the fortress after branching from Section IIb.

[21] SKIAS 1901, p. 49. This is also confirmed by MILCHHÖFER 1887, p. 324.

[22] On the chronology of the foundation of the monastery, see IOTAS 2004, pp. 67–72.

The Cave of Pan must have been reachable through a extremely ancient web of trails, as archaeological excavations showed that the Cave was in use since prehistoric times.[23] Skias mentions a road developing along the deepest valley of Janoula (Goura) where the cave is located, but this road is described as absolutely inaccessible in 1900, and it is not certain if an actual road could ever have extended along the very unfavourable terrain of the inner Janoula gorge.[24] In this respect, Konteri notes that the Goura (Janoula) can only be traversed by swimming; this was certainly the case during rain-season.[25] Today, a series of paths and simple tracks lead to the Cave from the area of modern Phyle, through Harma from the west and Mount Tamilthi from the south and east (fig. 69).[26] A modern track diverges from the course of the ruined Section IIc; this heads towards the northeast, crossing the Janoula and making its way along the Janoula gorge up to the Cave; but this certainly belongs to the number of modern trails leading to the Cave. The lively depiction that Menander's *Dyskolos* offers of the area which surrounds the cave shows that several paths must have led to the Cave in ancient times as well. However, the final approach to the Cave, whether from west, east, north, or south, is a matter for goats; and so it was in antiquity. We reached the Cave from the east, via Mola and Tamilthi; near the Cave, the lowest parts of the mountains slopes, almost at the bottom of the gorge, are very steep on both sides, and whoever wants to get to the Cave from either the east (via Mola and Tamilthi) or the west (via Harma, fig. 70) has to face an almost vertical rock climb (figs. 71–72). Edward Dodwell, who visited the Cave at the beginning of the nineteenth century, describes the approach to the area as '*one of the most difficult places I ever passed*'.[27] He portrays the visit as an extremely wearisome journey of five hours, but this reported time appears too long for an one-way

[23] SKIAS 1901, SKIAS 1902.

[24] SKIAS1901, p. 47.

[25] KONTERI 1938, p. 106.

[26] Maps of the hiking tracks across western Parnes are available online at http://www.Parnes-np.gr/xartes/monopati6.gif. Some of the paths were recently traced but a good number of them must have had older predecessors.

[27] DODWELL 1819, p. 506. On the paths leading to the Cave, see also MILCHHOEFFER 1895, p. 10.

(partial) horseback journey, considering he left from Chassia (modern Phyle).[28] It is today possible to make a round-trip walk from Phyle to the Cave and back in about three hours. Judging from Dodwell's observations, he must have used a roundabout way (still usable nowadays), leading around the plateau of Harma from the west and reaching the Cave from the north or northwest.[29] Most striking is Dodwell's note on the total absence of roads or even paths on that part of the mountain; an absence which has not lasted, as can be seen by visiting the area today. This can only mean that, at that time, the paths were in such a state of abandonment as to be unusable. In fact, the western slopes of Harma and the eastern slope of Tamilthi do have a system of old paths (one of them is very well engineered) that pass through the mountains. Of course the location of the Cave and the road to it were always meant to be fairly secluded (definitely a place well-suited to a half-goat deity) but Dodwell's complicated route to the Cave might lead to the wrong conclusion: that no well-defined paths had survived from antiquity, and that the Cave was not easily reached either along the gorge of Janoula or via the western slopes of Tamilthi by any trail departing from the course of Section IIc. This seems very unlikely. The explanation probably lies in the fact that the local guide, who (according to Dodwell's detailed account) abandoned them in the Cave after taking their money, had purposely chosen a complicated and particularly tiring path so that they could not make their way back.

The most intriguing problem lies in understanding the relationship between this relatively easy route along the river (Sections IIa–c) and the ancient route to Phyle. In fact, whereas a connection between Section II and the Cave since prehistoric times is merely hypothetical, it can be assumed more confidently that this particular road track was already in use at the beginning of the fourth century BC. This is suggested by archaeological evidence. A boundary

[28] SKIAS 1901, p. 38 reports that the cave was one hour away from Phyle fortress. That implies that between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the paths network west and north of Harma was well treadable.

[29] This is clear as he specifies they had to cross the stream Alonaki (another name for the Janoula) which borders the cave to the west. Dodwell's route to the cave roughly corresponds to one of the modern hikers trail; one of the longest. A version of it is available online at http://www.Parnes-np.gr/xartes/monopati8.gif.

stone marking the edge of a plot of land was found alongside the road in a flat rocky area approximately 10 minutes' walk from the village of Chassia (modern Phyle).[30] No information is given on whether the stone was displaced or found *in situ*, but it is possible that its original location would not have been far from the road, from where it could be seen by many. Furthermore, another element concerning the topography of the area should be considered. The monastery itself could have been built on the site of a previous ancient shrine (this was not an unusual practice); in fact, a couple of ancient (probably Roman) statues reportedly from the monastery, as well as a dedicatory inscription re-used in the construction of one of the monastery chapels and dating to the year 165/6 AD, might bear witness to a more ancient cult centre existing on the same spot as the Byzantine structure.[31]

Whatever its function in antiquity, it is almost certain that in the nineteenth century this road stretch close to the monastery was not the first choice for travellers heading for Boiotia. In fact, in spite of its width and careful construction, early nineteenth-century maps show that the road along the Janoula was not the main route to Thebes across Parnes, as only a very short stretch of it was used to ascend the Theodora ridge;[32] generally another, more direct route was preferred, which is identified and described as Section III in this work. Nevertheless, the route to Phyle via the monastery was still a practical one until

[30] SKIAS 1901, p. 49–50. The inscription is IG II/III^2 2, 2711, ὅρος χωρίο/υ πεπραμέν/ου ἐπὶ λύσει/ ⊚ HHH/H.

[31] This inscription is IG II/III^2 3, 3013. The inscription commemorates the dedication of a torch on the part of the Gymnasiarch Proclos, and it cannot be omitted in this context that the torch and (more generally) the lamp, apart from featuring prominently among the finds in the Cave of Pan (called in fact λυχνοσπηλιά), was also the votive symbol of Hestia (this is discussed in the chapter about the urban course of the Pythaïs). On the ancient finds from the monastery, see IOTAS 2004, pp. 68–69; MILCHHÖFER 1887, p. 324, no. 460. Whereas the find-spot of the inscription is certain, the statue fragments reported by Iotas probably were not found in the monastery. They should be identified with the two statue fragments (a late Roman one and possibly a more 'archaic' one) found in the whereabouts of the ancient deme of Phyle and bequeathed to the monastery before being brought to Athens, see SKIAS 1901, p. 45, n. 1.

[32] See for example the map drawn by Jean A. Sommer for August F. Stademann's *Panorama von Athen* of 1841. This map is available from an electronic source at http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/stademann1841/0032/image?sid=2b5d46be9aa7c93c6e496f8265ffab6a

the end of the nineteenth century as confirmed in a note by Milchhöfer, who refers to the monastery as being '*am Weg nach Phyle*.'[33]

Past the monastery, the segments of the road which connected the monastery itself to the fortress and the deme of Phyle are hardly detectable on the ground. The *KvA* shows a path that diverges from the course of the route 200m south of Moni Kleiston (fig. 65). The path heads to the northwest, where it meets Section III (possibly the main Phyle road) from the south at a large intersection. From here the Phyle road makes its way to Skourta towards the northwest; another route continues north-northeast and climbs the western slope of Harma. Both routes are described in Section III.

The relationship between the first segments of Section II and Section III (for the stretches located south and southeast of Theodora) cannot be described with absolute certainty. In fact, even though the current appearance of Section II mostly developed in relation to its accessibility to the monastery, it is possible that this road had a fourth-century BC predecessor, which in its turn was probably built on the routes of much older previous paths into the mountain. However, judging by the data and the observations made in the field, I propose that not one but two roads could have been used simultaneously in antiquity. Of these two routes, the one described in the following section was probably the first choice for most travellers heading to Phyle.[34]

Section III

A direct north bound route steers clear of the more 'comfortable' riverside course of Janoula, and crosses it in the area of the modern wooden bridge (figs. 31, 73). As discussed previously, among the possible routes via Phyle, this northward track follows the route indicated as the chief axis into Skourta and Boiotia, according to, for example, Sommer's nineteenth-century map and the early twentieth-century Greek military map; whereas a second route, that described in the previous section, proceeds in the direction of the Monastery

[33] MILCHHÖFER 1887, p. 324. According to a note by Wrede, this road was in use until circa 1924, see WREDE 1924.

[34] Although water streams valleys constituted a relatively easy access into a mountainous region, often times ancient roads were tracked much higher along mountains watersheds, see for example LOLOS 2008, p. 123.

of the Virgin Kleiston flanking the river. They both were in use at the same time, certainly in the last two centuries, and most likely in antiquity as well.[35] Eventually, these roads lost their primary function with the construction of the modern thoroughfare to Boiotia. The analysis of the data collected for Section III, along with some complementary information, will help understand the relationship between these two roads, and can at least help reconstruct the course of the ancient Phyle road up to the plain of Skourta.

Before describing the field data for Section III, it is worth presenting a preliminary discussion of the principal routes that converged towards the area of the fortress and the deme of Phyle (fig. 31) from different directions. All of the following had predecessors in antiquity. Ancient Phyle could be reached from the southwest along the valley of the river Phikti (Section IV); from the north via the continuation of the Phyle road; from the south and southeast via two ways passing across the modern village of Phyle and the monastery, respectively; and from the east via Harma (modern Kalamara). With the exception of the Phikti route, all the above-mentioned converged at crossroads located 1.5km southeast of the fortress. The paths joining this point come together around Hill 612.90 (figs. 89–90). This area most likely played a relevant role in antiquity as well; for this reason it is worth discussing it further by means of old topographic accounts and legacy cartography.

In the past, travellers and scholars did not usually indulge in detailed descriptions of the routes or the roads they used, and, as already observed, our reconstructions often have to rely upon old cartographic sources as well. As far as the road to Phyle fortress is concerned, Wrede is one exception to this tendency, being among the few to provide some relevant information on his route as well as on the roads to the fortress. On his way to ancient Phyle, he came into the aforementioned crossroads. Wrede describes it and explicitly mentions all the roads that converged to that point: '*die Wege nach Chassia* (modern Phyle), *dem Kloster, hinauf in den östlichen Parnes und der zum Kastell*'.[36] This description helps clarify the possible routes of the nineteenth-century Phyle road, and it

[35] This area is located in the whereabouts of a rocky spur (indicated with the elevation of 612.9m in the military topographic diagram 6434/5).

[36] WREDE 1924, p. 160.

confirms the co-existence of two different roads from Chassia (modern Phyle) at least until 1924 (Sections II–III). These observations constitute, more generally, an important piece of information for the analysis of the ancient roads in the area. For example, Wrede comments on the section of road from the monastery to the crossroads (almost completely lost today) as being particularly steep.[37] It is probably due to this steep ascent that the route to Phyle through the monastery (Section II) was a secondary one, as it had been the antiquity as well. In fact, the direct Phyle road bypassed the area of the monastery, and so did its ancient precursor.

This crossroads area constituted a vital communication hub between Athens and Thebes throughout antiquity. During Turkish domination, inns for travellers were built near the ruins of the deme of Phyle, and it is here that the Turkish public postal service and the courier system (*ulaklik*) had an important horse changing station (*menzil*).[38] It can be inferred that if the centralised Ottoman Empire preferred the Phyle route for its communication links between Attica and Boiotia, this must have actually meant that the extant (and pre-extant) road assured the most direct connection between the two regions.[39] The role of the Turkish exploitation of the ancient road system calls for a short digression. Skias suggests that one of the roads, the one described by Wrede as '*hinauf in den östlichen Parnes*', which departed from the crossroads towards the central and the eastern part of Parnes, was first built in Turkish times.[40] This was probably an extensively used path, very well engineered and laid out as a *kalderimi* (a Turkish cobbled road), as attested by the badly preserved segments of paved surface (figs. 75–76).[41] This path ascends to Harma along its western slope. Today's walkers still use almost the very same course to reach the summit,

[37] WREDE 1924, p. 160, n. 1.

[38] SKIAS 1901, p. 43. IOTAS 2004, pp. 67–68, n. 40. Before the advent of motorised traffic, the speed and the means of ancient overland travelling did not change for millennia; therefore it is reasonable to suggests that the deme of Phyle must have been an important stop on the Athens-Boiotia road throughout antiquity as well.

[39] The Phyle road has always being known as the quickest Athens-Thebes route; see for example KONTERI 1938, p. 104.

[40] SKIAS 1901, p. 43, n. 2. WREDE 1924, p. 160.

[41] SKIAS 1901, p. 43, n. 2. This cobbled stretch is marked in the *KvA* (sheet XXIV = Phyle) and indicated as '*Gepflasterte Strasse*.'

but with some minor differences as far as the track is concerned. We noticed that the course of the current path (which lies on the ancient route) tends to cut through some of the sharp turns that characterise the ancient precursor. The ancient course of the road (still perfectly traceable for long stretches through the long retaining wall on the downhill side) had a system of sharp turns to ease uphill travel.[42] Often, when we were short of breath, we realised that we were following the modern version of the path; and often, too, upon checking more carefully, we were able to retrace the switchbacks of the ancient course, with immediate diminution of walking effort. I am inclined to believe that this track has a much older history than that proposed by Skias. In fact, this route is the best one from the western slope of Harma towards eastern Parnes. It passes near the top of Harma and continues further into central Parnes and beyond. Furthermore, it is by this route that the Cave of Pan is reached from the area immediately south of ancient Phyle (fig. 69). Of course, this very route was also traversed in the opposite direction by travellers coming from inner Parnes and heading to Skourta and Boiotia via Harma. Therefore it is reasonable to argue that its track must have long preceded the Turkish period.

Section IIIa. The data

This route differs from Section II in that it does not follow the Janoula's valley, and it does not seek the monastery of the Virgin Kleiston on its way to the fortress; it ascends the hills southwest of the Theodora peaks instead (fig. 73). In particular, Section IIIa presents the first and most difficult of three topographic challenges that the ancient Phyle road encountered on its way across Parnes. In this section, in fact the road had to rise by 200m over a distance of 900m as the crow flies, from an elevation of 280m up to a height of about 480–90m on the southernmost edge of Theodora (figs. 77–78). The evidence in fact suggests that after a quite demanding rise from the bifurcation by the Janoula, the path gets to the undulating plateau east of Theodora from which it continues its course northwards in the direction of ancient Phyle. Therefore, Section IIIa starts at the

[42] Often times, when we were short of breath we realised that we were proceeding on the modern re-arrangement of the path; and often too, upon checking more carefully, we were able to retrace back the switchbacks of the ancient course.

bifurcation discussed in Section IIb (figs. 54, 57–58), from which it is possible to reconstruct its path. A shallow retaining wall on the downward side indicates the track of today's path, which is a bit larger than 1m in its present appearance; however, its width and characteristics are not consistent throughout. The path gets around the west slope of the hill indicated by the elevation of 393m in the Greek military topographic diagram; this hill corresponds to that located at the lower right corner of the map provided (fig. 73). It reaches the abandoned structures of what was probably a farmstead; past this area it continues its course along the flank of the hill, towards the northwest, to reach the ridge of Theodora from the southwest. This path is marked in the detailed topographic diagram but does not feature as an important trail in the *KvA*, in which another path reaches the top of the hill a bit farther to the east, in a less circuitous way (fig. 74). It was then decided to leave the path near the abandoned houses and to follow more closely the course of that indicated in the nineteenth-century *KvA*, further uphill. The path is shown on the map as cutting through the southeastern slope of the hill, in its first stretch, with an almost straight and predictably steep track of which little remains today; in fact, the military topographic diagram records it only partially. In antiquity, and probably even recently, the gradient was certainly lessened through a system of switchbacks.

In the first sections very little has survived but a shepherds' trail; this climbs up to the top of the hill for around 100m; the hill slope has a 30–40% gradient, but the path meanders a bit to reduce the rise. Following the nineteenth-century track, traces of its ancient predecessor can be found at about 80m from the bifurcation. A stretch of road is partially preserved; its course can be tracked for about 50m. It consists in one of the switchbacks that in antiquity served to mitigate the rise of the rather steep slope. The course of the road can be identified through the scant interrupted remnants of the large retaining wall, which has an average thickness of circa 0.5m (figs. 79–80). These wall remnants are definitely larger and more imposing than the other walls along the aforementioned trail that leads to the farmstead. In the middle of the badly preserved track and very close to the sharp turning point, traces of a groove extend along the length of the road axis. This has a maximum width of 0.35m; together with another separate section, the length adds up to about 2m (figs. 81–82). However, it is hard to get precise measurements as the groove on the outcropping rock is very worn. This

resembles closely the grooves described in Section I as running along the western portion of the road – they can be interpreted as an εκ χρήσεως wheel groove, determined more by the usage than actually carved**.** This groove in Section IIIa is located in a particularly difficult stretch of the road: a rise almost corresponding to a sharp turn. In this regard, Iannis Pikoulas has observed how wheel ruts marks get particularly noticeable in difficult, steep passages and in correspondence to curves, where the wheels' attrition is enhanced.[43] However, it is not easy to determine whether this groove is natural or is the result of human action. The groove appears today as a small, badly preserved furrow, worn into the outcropping limestone. No toolmarks are visible, and it is not clear if this trace resulted from the frequent usage of the road by carts.

A few metres towards the north, a relatively large mound of limestone rubble indicates the completely ruined remnants of a collapsed roadside structure; this suggests we are on the right track. Whereas the path indicated in the *KvA* proceeds along the walkable ridge-top of the hill, the line of the ancient retaining wall indicates another path that originally went around the hill from the east; this is of very high elevation and close to the rounded back of the hill. The two paths run parallel to each other towards the north, the eastern one being the ancient course (fig. 73). We decide to keep tracing the path along the eastern portion of the hill; on this track, a pottery cluster (fig. 83) bears witness to regular ancient use of the path, suggesting that we are following the right direction.

As one keeps walking the route of the path, nothing stands out as being part of an ancient road at first; but at about 125m from the switchback the narrow path suddenly opens up to a width of 5m for a length of just a few metres. In this spot, both the rocky surface of the road and the ancient large retaining wall are preserved (figs. 84–85); it is in fact clear that we came across the remnants of the ancient road. It seems that this stretch of the road has been adapted to the outcropping limestone, and the rock has probably been worked both along the uphill side and on the road bed. However, no obvious tool-marks are visible. The preserved retaining wall is constituted by a short line of a few large, rough stones

[43] PIKOULAS 2012, pp. 34–36.

set perpendicularly; this is a particular building technique that appears only here among the entire remaining Phyle road.

This large stretch of road gives way again to the narrower path, but proceeding on our route for only a few dozen metres, the course of the path is no longer readily detectable by ground-level observation, as a group of pine trees conceals it. It was impossible to track it any further, and to verify whether the ancient road actually continued in its course along the eastern flank of the hill or if, shifting westward, reached the ridge-top, as was the case with the nineteenth-century path in the *KvA.* To judge from aerial imagery (fig. 86)**,** a track indeed proceeded northwards along the path indicated by the scant remnants of the wide ancient road. In fact, the aerial image shows that multiple tracks proceed along the top of this hill and even flank it. Among the number of possible routes, this appears to have been the most likely given the fact that there is a gentle ascent along the ridge of the hill, which has an average rise of about 10% along most of its length.

Both the hill and the tracks that traverse it are cut across by the construction of the modern road at an elevation of approximately 390m. Indeed, the course of the modern asphalt thoroughfare to Boiotia follows a much longer and winding course, which turns around Hill 501.50 and offers a spectacular view onto the valley of Phikti. In short, before the advent of the mechanised excavators that allowed for the construction of the modern road, travellers took advantage of the smooth, elongated southern fold of Theodora, which constituted the most favourable route for ascending to the hill chain of the same name. The old path used this route, as, most likely, did the course of the ancient road. However, as we proceed along the ridge, no visible traces of wheel ruts or other features are apparent, except for the trail of some paths. The old path continues along the same hill; in fact, across from the modern road it is possible to retrace the line of the tracks that climb the slope as they continue their course northward. After 180m, north of the bend of the modern road, the old path makes a sharp turn to the east as the ascent becomes steeper. As noted, the aerial imagery very clearly shows the route of the path, as it meanders on its way up (fig. 86). The path probably sought the summit of the Theodora peaks with one or two more sharp turns; from there, through more traversable terrain, it continued towards Phyle on a less circuitous, and definitely easier to follow, course.

Section IIIa. Discussion

As observed, this was the route followed by most travellers heading into Boiotia across Phyle until the first decades of the twentieth century. Confirmation is also provided by Wrede's description of his route to the fortress. Certainly he ascended from the valley of the Janoula up to the elongated hilltops by Theodora, through the same tortuous route described in Section IIIa. Indeed, this first stretch is referred to by Wrede as a steep '*Zickzackpfad*', which climbs the mountain-nose '*Bergnase*' separating the river Janoula from the Phikti. His description matches our field observations and our interpretation, but in his opinion the ancient road avoided the slope north of Chassia (modern Phyle) and followed the course of the Janoula river instead.[44] Indeed, it is definitely possible to ascend to the Theodora ridge by using a number of distinct paths that may have diverged from the course of the Janoula road, well before reaching the vicinity of the monastery. Nonetheless, judging from field observation, it is possible to infer that the ancient road, or at least a stretch of it, made its way to the fortress and the deme via the hill route described in this section. In fact, the track indicated by the large retaining wall and the groove is in all probability to be interpreted as part of the ancient Phyle road. The aforementioned worn-out groove might suggest that this road was used by carts as well, although the appearance of the groove itself makes any interpretation very uncertain. For the contemporary observer, the carriageability of this stretch of road might seem unlikely, given the scant remains and the unsuitability of the terrain today. However, it is important to bear in mind the following assumptions, which apply to the study of ancient cart-roads in general: if a wheel rut is a definite indication of a cart-road, the absence (or faint presence) of wheel marks on the ground does not necessarily imply that a road could not be used by carts as well. Besides, there are numerous instances in which well-documented wheel ruts alternate with completely obliterated sections of road along the same route, these latter 'void' areas being the vast majority. More generally, the remains of ancient road still identifiable today are only very small part of the original extent and appearance of the road network.

[44] WREDE 1924, pp. 159–160.

With regard to field data interpretation, some further considerations still need to be made. First, the already discussed switchback must have being part of a more complex system of sharp turns, which enormously reduced the effort of travel – this was a common solution in ancient road building in Greece and elsewhere. Second, as Pikoulas has shown, steep ascents did not prevent roads from being used by carriages, the road-width being the main perquisite for a cart-road.[45] Several attempts have been made to classify roads according to their various qualities, using a classification of the breadth of each road to distinguish cart-roads from simple paths**.** Understandably, a tendency has emerged in the research to associate larger roads with wheeled traffic and narrower roads with pedestrian and pack animal traffic. However, the remains of roads and paths in the plains and mountainous regions present such a rich variety of cases that it becomes arduous to classify cart-roads and non-carriageable roads on the basis of road width, and only more general observations can be made. As Giorgos Steinhauer summarises, the average maximum road width in Attica fluctuates between 3m and 3.5m, with exceptions for the most frequented and substantial road axes, such as the cart-roads to Piraeus, the Eleusinian *Hiera Hodos*, the *Steiriake Hodos*, and the road to Sounio; on certain stretches, they can reach widths of between 4m and 6m. On the other hand, the width of simple paths used by foot travellers and pack animals varies between 0.80m and 1.20m.[46] It has been shown that, whereas this classification may work to a certain extent for flat terrains, it certainly does not for mountains; in the mountainous countryside, geographical constraints and ancient road building technology did not usually

[45] PIKOULAS 2012, p. 405. Even a transverse inclination of the road bed is not infrequent in the mountainous countryside; see PIKOULAS 1995, p. 22. According to STEINHAUER 2009, p. 66, roads could be built along steep hillsides, with a 30% transverse gradient. I am given to believe that for short stretches, roads could be built along slopes with transverse inclination exceeding 40%. As for the breadth of the road bed, it has been convincingly shown that a road larger than 1.5m is sufficient for allowing cart transit. Whereas the main thoroughfares were quite wide (more than 3m), road width is almost never consistent along one length. Even very important road axes in Roman times had variable widths, an example being a stretch of the Via Egnatia in a section south of Radožda; see LOLOS 2008, p. 124; on the gradient of mountain stretches of the Via Egnatia, see LOLOS 2008, pp. 21, 123.

[46] STEINHAUER 2009, pp. 64–65.

allow for the construction of very wide roads.[47] More generally, cart-roads in the mountainous regions tend to be narrower than their counterparts on flat terrains.

That said, interpretation of the particularly worn groove along the ancient route to Phyle is possible not only on the strength of its position in the middle of the path, but also by comparison with similar features discovered elsewhere in Greece, in very similar contexts. In this regard, a very useful repository of information on ancient roads, especially cart-roads, was compiled by the aforementioned Pikoulas. In Pikoulas' work, wearing marks from wheels, similar to those described in this section can be seen for example in a spot on the Sparta-Geronthrai route – although this is smaller than our specimen (fig. 87), and Loggari, by Karitsa, on the Geronthrai-Kynouria route (fig. 88).[48] Upon comparison with the above-mentioned cases and if we want to interpret this groove as a wheel mark, it can be concluded that its evident wideness (0.35m) and its extensive wearing suggest that traffic on the ancient Phyle road was frequent, and that, at least in this spot, the passage was used by carts for a very long period of time.

The collapsed structure was probably a relatively small observation-platform or signal-spot (*phryktorion*); in fact, shepherds' structures, including those long abandoned, are usually found in a much better state of preservation. This very dilapidated structure almost on the summit of the hill, has a good view to the south and west. To the south, it covers the village of Phyle (Chassia), most of all the junction between the road from the east along the Janoula valley and the Phyle road itself; to the west the view includes other tracks that could probably have been followed northward, up to the fortress.

The 5m-wide area on the track should be interpreted as a genuine remnant of the ancient Phyle road. This one stretch is the best preserved in this area, as it was partially adapted into the outcropping rock on its uphill side and its road bed. This has allowed for reduced erosion on the road, and has ensured the general stability of its features, including the retaining wall. A few more words are useful on the exceptional 5m width on this stretch of the road. First of all, although no

[47] An exception could be the Velatouri road; see VANDERPOOL 1978**.** On the mountain cart-roads see the many examples provided by PIKOULAS 2012.

[48] PIKOULAS 2012, pp. 167–169, 229–231.

wheel ruts are visible on the road bed, its width in itself and the particular care of the building technique suggest that this was engineered so as to accommodate wheeled traffic as well. In fact, it can be suggested that either the ancient Phyle road had a similar breadth throughout, or that this segment in particular was purposely levelled and laid out with a widened span to allow the passage of two or more vehicles coming from opposite directions.

As mentioned in the data description, the course of the road continues northwards for the length of the hilltop; when the rise becomes too sharp, it turns east to reduce the effort of travelling and continues in its route to the more traversable terrain of the Theodora ridge.

Section IIIb. The data

Section IIIb extends for about 1.6km from the southernmost edge of the plateau (its southeastern corner is marked by Hill 517.40 on the military topographic diagram) to the so-called crossroads area centred around Hill 612.90 (figs. 89–90). This section yields a number of relevant elements, both for the study of the ancient road's the course and its chronology; these elements are ancient roadside structures, of which there are at least two in this section, but more roadside features can be seen further north along the same road. Some of them can still be detected along the course of the ancient road, one exception being a feature recounted by Wrede; this structure has not been identified on the ground during our surveys.[49] As for all finds and road elements, these monuments are described according to their position along the route.

Once the path reaches the plateau near Theodora, its course proceeds unhindered for 1.6km along uneven, slightly hilly but generally favourable terrain, almost as far as the crossroads area. The track of the old path is still visible on the ground and can be followed for most of its length in this section. The modern asphalt road runs very close to the east, almost perfectly parallel to it; it is clear that both were closely adapted to the morphology of the area.

[49] This monument was either destroyed by the construction of the modern road, which closely follows the route of its ancient predecessor here, or we simply missed it, the first possibility being the most likely.

The old path traverses today's farmed fields, which were probably exploited for cultivation in antiquity as well, as this is one of the largest cultivable areas of the region, which are very few in number due to the rough, craggy topography of Parnes. That notwithstanding, as we will see in the description of Section IIIc, the mountainous Phyle region was intensively exploited in antiquity, and the impressive remains of old terracing are still visible today.[50] Furthermore, the woodlands of Parnes were an important source of wood and resin and were renowned for the production of charcoal.[51] As far as the road is concerned, the topography of the plateau being not too steep overall, retaining walls were not necessary for the length of this section, and in fact no visible traces are found along the path but the track itself. This latter is strongly indicative of what might have been the course of the ancient road as well, according to the well-demonstrated practice of laying a road out along the easiest route over the centuries, which often results in a perfect superimposition of several roads along the same route. Besides, even along Section IIIb, the route of the modern road is very close to that of its predecessors.

Following the trace of the old path, which is about 3m wide, it is possible to cross almost the entirety of the undulating plateau (fig. 91). As one approaches the northern extremity of the area, the topography starts becoming more rocky. Here, on the western side of the path, a few building blocks can be made out, emerging from a mound of dirt that closely borders the path on the left (figs. 92–93). Of the blocks, only one is exposed enough to evaluate its appearance and take precise measurements. The rest lie almost completely buried and partially covered by the vegetation; a cleaning operation would be desirable to obtain a better understanding of the actual size, shape and nature of this structure. The exposed block is of polygonal masonry, set in the wall as an inverted trapezoid, and all its faces appear quite rough, with the exception of the outer face, which is less rough then the others. It is a relatively small block measuring 0.74m x 0.44m

[50] It is well known from Pan's proemial note in Menander's *Dyskolos* that the inhabitants of ancient Phyle and the people in the area were '*able to farm the rock*' (Men. *Dys.* 3–4), this being a reference to the extensive terracing works on the steep slopes of the hills surrounding the ancient deme.

[51] As an example, charcoal making was among the principal economic activities for the inhabitants of Parnes and Acharnians at the southern mountain folds (Ar. *Ach.* 34, 332, 348).

x 0.47m. As noted above, the current condition of the structure does not allow an overall assessment, but its length was probably no longer than 4m. All that can be said is that the wall facing the road seems to be straight; judging from the remnants of the front wall, the plan of the structure should have been rectangular, and it would probably not have been very wide. An interpretation of the structure is attempted in the paragraphs discussing the data for Section IIIb.

Past this structure, the path proceeds to the north; the terrain becomes steeper and increasingly rocky as it passes east of peaks 534.10m and 573.90m. This area is supposed to be the location of another roadside structure, which Wrede saw but which we have not seen on the ground. Therefore, a digression is necessary here to discuss this information, the structure, and its possible location.

On his way to the fortress, Wrede came across what he describes as the remains of a round funerary monument (*Grabbezirk*), which he seemed to recognise with a good degree of confidence. This is described as perfectly fitting the bend of the road, and it is due to this find that he first affirms with certainty that the road he was following to the fortress was, indeed, an ancient one.[52] Wrede does not provide precise information about the location of the monument, and following his notes its whereabouts can be reconstructed only roughly. We read that the monument bordered the right side of the road (as one goes northwards) after a relatively flat stretch of the route (past the switchbacks), where the path reaches the narrowest surface of the top of the ridge. Indeed, the rolling plateau east of Theodora, the shape of which roughly resembles that of a triangle, gets narrow and more rocky at its northernmost vertex. According to Wrede's note, the monument's spot is about an hour from Chassia and only a few minutes away from the crossroads area mentioned in the introductory paragraphs of Section III. This is possibly among the first places along the route where the fortress starts to become visible as one approaches it from the south along the road described. Wrede accompanies the description of the monument's whereabouts with a drawing of the area. However, this drawing is not terribly precise, and establishing the positioning of the monument in the field on the basis of this drawing remains difficult (fig. 94). The question may arise as to whether the structure identified with our survey is to be interpreted as that seen by Wrede.

[52] WREDE 1924, p. 159 ...'*wir uns auf einer antiken Straße befinden*'.

This uncertainty can be eliminated for the following simple reasons: Wrede describes the structure as a circular foundation wall on the right side of a bend of the road (as one moves towards the fortress); on the contrary, the other roadside structure identified with our surveys is constructed of straight walls, and it borders a rectilinear stretch of the road on the left (proceeding to the fortress). Therefore, judging by the data available it can be concluded that the monument mentioned by Wrede is a distinct structure. This must be located a bit north of the polygonal-masonry roadside monument a few hundred metres south of the crossroads area.

In the very same area a few more circular structures can be identified. Some of them most certainly constitute the remains of simple shepherds huts; but one of them, a limekiln, is of particular relevance (fig. 95). A very similar case has already been discussed in Section I, where a limekiln to the east of the ancient road bears witness to the presence of the ancient deme and the necropolis between Elias hill and the foot of Tamilthi. This limekiln closely resembles that mentioned in Section I, and both present the same difficulties discussed in Section I as far as their chronology is concerned. Even in this case, the presence of a limekiln in proximity to clearly identified structures confirms a concentration of readily available masonry material. Possibly several monuments flanked the road on both sides in this stretch. Furthermore, another limekiln is among the few identifiable remains found on the site of the ancient deme of Phyle, 1.5km to the north (Section IIIc).

The path proceeds northwards, to Hill 612.90. South of this hill, there is a place at which different routes converge, and which can be interpreted as a sort of crossroads. This has already been discussed in the introductory paragraphs of Section III. The modern road bypasses Hill 612.90 on the left, and so did the ancient main route to the fortress. As previously discussed, from the crossroads it was also possible to reach the summit of Harma (and eastern Parnes), to head back sowthwards to the valley of the Janoula and modern Phyle (through the monastery of the Virgin Kleiston), and it was further possible to follow a secondary path up to the area of the deme.

Section IIIb. Discussion

At the outset it should be stated that, while very little evidence for an ancient road has survived along Section IIIa and the first stretch of Section IIIb, the monuments described along the end of Section IIIb certainly indicate the route and the chronology of the road more precisely. Indeed, if the morphology of the hilly region suggests that the ancient road probably followed the path described, the only real evidence for its course is provided by the above-mentioned roadside structures. To judge by the polygonal shape and size of the blocks, one of the structures could be dated to, generally, the fourth century BC. However, this chronology is merely indicative as no dignostic material is readily found in the surroundings of the structure. As far as its function is concerned, there are only a few possibilities: it was either a tower or a funerary or religious roadside monument. Of these hypotheses, the first should be probably ruled out on the grounds of the few remains which indicate that the building was probably quite small. Furthermore, a simple computer generated view-shed analysis shows that the visibility from the monument's spot is very limited: the fortress is barely visible, whereas the main routes across Phikti and Janoula are completely out of sight (fig. 96). In addition, at a very short distance from the monument there are higher and much more favourable observation points that would have a provided a much more fitting location for the erection of a tower in this area. Therefore, it can be concluded that the monument was, in all probability, a roadside shrine or a funerary *peribolos*, as this is also the case of the nearby structure seen and described by Wrede. Furthermore, similar religious and funerary roadside structures are attested along the same road closer to the area of the deme and the fortress.

Section IIIc. The data

As the route approaches the valley and the saddle which separate the fortress from the deme of Phyle, evidence for the ancient road and other structures which flank it becomes more conspicuous. After leaving the 'crossroads' area on the right, the main course of the ancient road seeks a rock-cut passage down the gorge of the river Phikti (known as Phyle in this course near the deme), in the narrowest point of the dell, which is very deep in that

stretch (figs. 97–98). Two different routes met together and merged into one before joining this rock-cut road segment: the above-mentioned ‘main’ road (here referred to as Section IIIc) and another parallel route coming from the south which makes its way through the course of the Phikti for almost the whole length of the valley along the west foot of Theodora. This other route will be referred to as Section IV and discussed later.

However, this road was certainly not the only possible one among the paths that could have led to the deme from the crossroads area, and on this subject a brief digression is here necessary. One path in particular runs midway across the hill slope, very close and parallel to the course of the modern road. This does not feature in the *KvA*; nor it is marked, along with its branches, in the detailed topographic diagram. Most importantly, the evidence discussed in Section IIId indicates that its course was likely an ancient one. The following paragraphs resume the description of the data and the course of the main Phyle road.

The construction of the modern asphalt road has cut through, or at least certainly disturbed, the course of the ancient one (fig. 99). However, the course of the ancient road may still be reconstructed here, as it must not have been very different from that of the nineteenth-century route; this older route is indicated in the *KvA* and is still used today by hikers and emergency vehicles (figs. 97–98).

Today its course can be followed along a wide dirt track which departs from the modern road and heads down towards the Phikti valley. On this route, the paths coming from the south along the Phikti valley join this segment in at least two different points. Along the segment here described, the very scant remains of some dry masonry walls can be discerned on both sides; in one stretch in particular, the wall seems to be certainly part of the road as it borders it closely on its downhill side, as observed for most of other road segments described so far (figs. 100–101). This stretch of wall is very short, and made of rough large stones which give it a thickness of about 0.50m. As with most of the features described along the road, no diagnostic element can help us assign it a specific chronology, as dry masonry techniques did not change much throughout the centuries.

Nothing stands out as archaeologically noticeable as one walks this path for a length of 800m from where it leaves the modern road until it reaches the deep and narrow gorge of the Phyle between Hill 652.20 to the east and the hill

surmounted by Phyle fortress to the west. Here, the wide dirt track of the path gives way to a road stretch almost entirely cut into the steep limestone slope of Hill 652.20, and flanked at determined lengths by a retaining wall where packed dirt and rubble are used to widen and secure the road.

Today's dirt path lies at a lower level than the rock-cut segment. The difference in elevation measures about 1.20m (fig. 102). This is one of the most interesting examples of the effect of erosion along this road. In fact, in antiquity both segments most likely lay on the same or similar levels. In the first tract, on the left side of the road, an area has been enlarged, supported with a tall retaining wall constituted of small rough stones and cobbles (figs. 103–104). This preliminary observation clearly indicates that the ancient road was probably used in Turkish time as a *kalderimi* for pack-animal traffic.

This τεχνητή οδός (artificial road) extends for about 100m until it reaches the same level as the river Phyle, and (as observed in a segment of Section I) it probably took advantage of the riverbed itself to make its way through the narrowest and very last stretch of the gorge. This rock-cut part presents at once many elements of Greek road building technique, and it also bears witness to the diachronic employment of the same road.

As mentioned, a cobbled surface welcomes the traveller on the west side of the road, in a flat area supported by a high retaining wall made of small rough stones. In Turkish times, this artificial road was approached from the west, whereas in antiquity, transit was probably more direct. Along the whole length of this section, cobbled stretches alternate with bare rock, in the spots where the rocky road bed remained deliberately exposed or where the cobblestone paving had deteriorated. In antiquity, the uncovered limestone itself probably constituted the road bed, and only in later times, possibly under the Turks, was its surface cobbled to prevent animals from sliding.

Apart for the work (itself impressive) of cutting back the hard limestone hillside and levelling the road surface, one of the first features that stands out is a carving that runs for 16m in the first stretch. This is cut closely against the uphill side, so that it leaves most of the road surface free for use (figs. 105–108). In most cases, the cut-back uphill roadside also constitutes the eastern wall of the carving. Other sections of a similar carving (most likely its continuation) can be identified along this same road stretch, but they all appear today as separate

segments rather than parts of the same work (fig. 109). These carved segments vary somewhat in terms of width and depth: at its widest, the 16m long carving measures 0.65m, at its narrowest around 0.40m. The depth, measured against the western side towards the centre of the road, fluctuates between approximately 0.15m and 0.20m. As observed, the opposite side of the carving coincides with the cut-back uphill side of the road; this is taller than 1.20m at one of the most vertical and measurable points. However, this height along the uphill side is not functional to the carving, but rather results from the widening of the road. The actual functional depth was generally limited to the 0.15–0.20m measured on the preserved western side of the drain. In fact, on a narrow portion of the road, where the continuation of the cutting is towards the centre of the road surface, its depth measures around 0.20m (or slightly greater) on either side. It is important to observe that this carved channel went out of use at some point in antiquity, as it was cobbled along with the rest of the road bed, meaning that it did not serve its primary purpose any longer (fig. 110).

Stretches of retaining walls are preserved along the downhill side. At certain spots, they help determine the original width of the road (figs. 111–112). This fluctuates between 4m at the widest part and 1.20m at the narrowest, but the latter was not the original width because, as the illustration shows, the retaining wall collapsed, leaving most of the road bed exposed to erosion (fig. 113).

As mentioned before, the ancient road surface was most probably constituted by the levelled limestone alone, with no need to offset any particular roughness with packed dirt or wooden planks, as for example is the case with other carved roads; indeed, the preserved road bed is quite even with the exception of a very short stretch. However, it is clear that the original road surface is not completely preserved, as the erosion has altered its appearance; this is particularly noticeable in the most unstable segments, where the collapsed retaining wall must have left the road more exposed to wearing. However, a very good indication of the ancient road level in particular stretches is provided by traces of possible wheel marks that are preserved on separate outcropping rocks, elevated on today's walking path by around 0.50m. Indeed, this observation leads us to discuss another important feature of this road, indicative of its use and its importance in antiquity: on the surface of the road, marks comparable to wheel ruts are preserved. The construction of the aforementioned larger channel makes

it difficult to distinguish it clearly from the possible wheel marks at certain spots. Furthermore, the state of preservation of the road does not allow to draw unmistakable conclusion about its carriageability.[53] Nevertheless, in the following description, these marks are referred to as wheel ruts. This is to distinguish them from the larger and deeper cutting which was certainly designed to allow the flow of water; furthermore, at certain sections these marks are parallel and, as discussed in the next paragraph, their distance comply with the characteristics of ancient vehicles.

The presence of the channel on the uphill side does not allow for a clear evaluation of the wheel rut measurements along the eastern side. However, to judge from the observation of the best-preserved wheel ruts, the eastern one appears to be chiselled in a L-shaped manner, and in one case the chiselled rut on the uphill side appears double, with two ruts closely flanking one another (fig. 114). On the other hand, the western wheel rut, towards the centre of the road, seems worn by actual wheeled traffic (εκ χρήσεως, that is by usage) rather than the result of carving or chiselling (fig. 115). Similar observations were made for the wheel ruts discussed in Section I. Just like the axle gauge referred to there, the gauge measures around 1.40m; this is generally in line with the standard gauge of ancient cart axle width (μετατρόχιο).[54]

Towards the end of the gorge, where the road meets the course of the Phyle stream, the remnants of the road become increasingly faint. Obviously, the river itself has washed away most of visible traces, and some large boulders that fell from the hill slope have partially covered the path. As mentioned in Section I, riverbeds could be used as roads; a few deep, narrow marks on the surface of some stones in the river might be the result of wheeled traffic, but this is not certain as the water flow itself could have caused them.

The carved road exits the gorge after crossing its narrowest part and it opens up into a much wider valley. A few metres away from the end of the narrow pass, the traveller is confronted with a monumental building that closely abuts the road on the east. This appears today as an imposing structure built with

[53] I am grateful to Iannis Pikoulas who, after personal careful observation, suggests caution in the interpretation of these carvings as certainly related to wheeled traffic.

[54] On the average measurements of ancient carts' axles, see PIKOULAS 2012, pp. 36, 38–43; STEINHAUER 2009, pp. 66–67, n. 112.

large polygonal blocks measuring about 1.5m in height and slightly more in width (fig. 116). The complete measurements of the construction cannot be taken today as most of it lies buried or ruined. Further information on the building and its dimensions are provided by Wrede, who describes it in detail for the first time, when evidently more of the structure was visible. According to his measurements, the base of the monument is at least 6.5m long; whereas the sides are at least 7.5m long; but he does not give a definite figure as these walls seem to peter out on the hill slope. Today, the site is covered by the vegetation and largely buried. Close by, building blocks and architectural remains are scattered all over on what might have been the course of the ancient road and beyond (fig. 117). Among these blocks, Wrede noticed one that had a circular engraving embedded, probably for a funerary *lekythos*; whereas, in the area above the monument he saw another block carved to support a *stele*. This area deserves a thorough archaeological investigation as the vast majority of these remnants are almost completely buried; therefore our measurements, description, and interpretation are limited to few visible remains and old information not otherwise verified. The function of this monument and the interpretation of some of the features observed on the carved road are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Section IIIc. Discussion

The road stretch presented in Section IIIc is certainly ancient and it is obviously the continuation of the segment described in Section IIIb. They were both part of the main road axis connecting Athens to Boiotia via Phyle. This is suggested not only by the morphology of the area, which does not leave much alternative for the route of a northbound major road there, but it is mostly indicated by the conspicuous remains of the road itself, and by the above-mentioned roadside structure.

Data discussion starts here with the interpretation of the latter. In the *KvA* the construction is indicated as being a tower. In fact, a defensive structure there, in addition to the fortress, would make sense, as it lies exactly on the access point for the road. This road was in antiquity the gateway to Athens from Boiotia and Skourta; therefore, controlling and securing it was of paramount importance. In case of a threat from the enemy, blocking this major road would have impeded

any invasion by large armies. Indeed, it is by the Phyle road that Thrasyboulos invaded Attica in 404 BC, and this was also probably the road taken by Demetrios Poliorketes a century later when chasing Kassandros.[55] In fact, our surveys showed that the narrow Phyle gorge in this point was the only possible passage into Attica from the north in this area of Parnes. Some scholars hint at a passage across the deep dell west of the Phyle fortress, but I am convinced that this could not be used by any traveller, as it presents some serious topographic obstacles, such as almost vertical climbs and high walls of rocks (figs. 118–120).[56]

To continue the discussion of the monument's function, it should be noticed that an analogous purpose could have served another building that lies rather close. Its traces are found at the end of the ancient engineered path that ascends the western slope of Harma from the crossroads area. This was built practically on the road, in the narrowest part of the way between two steep rock cliffs. Shutting this passage down would mean closing access to central, eastern Parnes and beyond.

That notwithstanding, Wrede's interpretation of this building is very precise, and different from any military reading: '*kein Turm*', he writes, referring to previous scholarly hypotheses.[57] In Wrede's opinion, the structure has to be interpreted as a funerary *peribolos*, as suggested by the *lekythos* bedding and the stele socket; he dates the monument to the fourth century BC. There is no reason to doubt Wrede's analysis, since when he saw the building, it was considerably more exposed than today. Still, it should be observed that the block carrying the circular engraving was found displaced, and could theoretically belong to a further structure in the area, where there are many other architectural remains. Furthermore, neither the actual funerary *lekythos* nor any other diagnostic element have yet been found. However, similar structures from other parts of Attica, such as for example Vari's funerary monuments, indicate that Wrede's interpretation is most likely correct;[58] his hypothesis should be upheld, even though more structures with different functions might have populated the area

[55] OBER 1985, p. 116, n. 15. Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.2,5.; Plut. *Demetr*. 23.1–2.

[56] OBER 1985, p. 104, map 3.

[57] WREDE 1924, p. 161, n. 2.

[58] WREDE 1933, p. 36, figs. 9, 98–99.

that opened up onto the valley. Nevertheless, any theory needs to be clarified by excavation of the monument and the area surrounding it.

The discussion will now concern the road itself and its characteristics. It has already been observed that this presents some interesting elements, in addition to the fact that it is almost entirely carved into the limestone. To be specific, these elements are: the possible wheel marks, the interrupted carved channel (which runs for most of its length along the uphill side of the road), the presence of an imposing retaining wall, and the cobbling on the surface of the road, which must have occurred in one of the last phases of use for this route.

As noted, there is no absolute certainty that in antiquity this was an αμαχητή οδός; however, judging from the evidence, I am inclined to believe that this section of the Phyle road was in fact built for carts' use as well. The suitability of this road for wheeled traffic was already suggested as early as the first decades of the nineteenth century, and then again by Milchhöffer at the end of the same century.[59] The analysis and measurements provided with our surveys would confirm this hypothesis. It seems more difficult to assign an absolute chronology to the construction of the road. This stretch, and most likely the whole length of the Phyle road, must have been in use since early antiquity, but certainly was subject to better upkeep with the construction of the fortress as it appears today, which dates to the beginning of the fourth century BC.[60]

Although the existence of the possible wheel ruts is the only evidence for the presence of carts along this ancient route, another line of reasoning can be followed, even if no wheel ruts had been found. The main argument is represented by the construction of the fortress itself, built with blocks weighing up to several tons (figs. 121–122). Thousands of architectural blocks were employed for its construction, and during our surveys (however targeted), no quarries were found in the vicinity of the fortification (with the exception of a very small, modern quarry near the ancient deme). The implications of this observation are limited: either we missed the quarry areas, or the blocks were extracted from a place rather distant from the fortress hill. The large quantity of blocks utilised in the construction suggests that a local quarry would have

[59] MILCHHÖFFER 1895, p. 12.

[60] On the chronology and the history of the fortress, see WREDE 1924, pp. 220–224.

certainly left visible marks somewhere in the hill's surroundings. Since no ancient quarrying activity is identifiable nearby, I am inclined to believe that most of the blocks came from other areas. Moving large and heavy construction material from the quarry to the fortress hill would have certainly required the use of carts and a well-built road system, in addition to wooden ramps, ropes, levers, and other temporary structures. This train of thought leads to the hypothesis that an actual carriageable road system might already have existed in the fifth century BC, before the construction of the fortress, and possibly received more care during these works. Similar reasoning was also followed by Skias on the grounds of a couple of Roman statues (larger than life-size) found in the area of the ancient deme of Phyle, and a couple of marble columns re-used in the construction of the Church of S. Nikolaos, 1km northeast of the Cave of Pan. As these items were too heavy for any pack animals to carry on their backs, Skias concludes that there must have been a set of cart roads leading to Phyle and central Parnes.[61] In this regard, and as a complement to the evidence collected during our surveys, Maria Platonos mentions the presence of wheel ruts in the whereabouts of the village of Klementi, north of ancient Phyle, most likely in relation to the same road system across central Parnes.[62]

A peculiarity of the carved road, which is the primary object of discussion here, is represented by the channel that runs along its uphill side; however, its function, relationship and chronology relative to the wheel ruts are uncertain. As with similar features elsewhere in Greece, construction methods remain identical throughout the millennia; therefore determining their absolute chronology is impossible, especially in absence of other diagnostic elements. The only certainty is that, whatever its primary purpose in antiquity, this channel fell out of use when the road surface and the channel itself were covered with cobbles, probably during the Turkish period, as was the case for many ancient roads in Greece. At the outset, the width of this carving suggests in its present appearance that it may have been primarily to allow the flow of water; however, it is not obvious if it served as a simple road drain, or if it was part of a more

[61] SKIAS 1901.

[62] PLATONOS 2009, p. 145. Our surveys did not cover the area of Mount Klimenti; therefore the presence of ancient road remains there should be verified by conducting targeted field surveys.

complex system of water canalisation, such as an aqueduct. Close parallels are to be found in other areas of rural Greece. For example, next to a stretch of the main road axis from Kleonai into the central and southern Peloponnese, a similar channel running along a section of this road (on its uphill side) has been thoroughly described by Jeannette C. Marchand.[63] Both channels are comparable in terms of dimensions, the one illustrated by Marchand just slightly wider on average but definitely deeper in certain parts (up to 0.55m). Both channels are carved on the uphill side of the road, but they present some fundamental differences: Marchand's channel is preserved for long stretches parallel to the road (except for one section) but is still distinct from the wheel ruts and the carriageable part of the road. On the other hand, the channel described in this section of the Phyle road appears almost integral to the road itself. To sum up, its characteristics are as follows: it runs for a very short length of the Phyle road, part of the surface of which it definitely occupies; furthermore it seems to intermingle and combine with the wheel ruts. This last characteristic in particular adds to the complexity of interpretation. Marchand interprets her channel as part of an aqueduct, ruling out the possibility that it might have served to drain the road thanks to its position and orientation.[64] Indeed, as far as the interpretation of our channel is concerned, remnants of a possible aqueduct are actually found in different parts of the Phikti valley at a lower elevation than the Phyle road. However, interpreting the channel along this road stretch as definitely belonging to an aqueduct is less easy than it seems. In fact, field observation and measurements cast some doubt on its primary function. This argument, and an unbiased interpretation of the Phyle road channel, require a brief digression on the water ducts present in the Phyle area.

The natural resources in the territory of Phyle were intensively exploited in antiquity, and in fact Menander's *Dyskolos*, as already mentioned, praises the people of Phyle for being '*able to farm the rock*' (Men. *Dys*. 3–4). The mountains surrounding the deme were covered by dense vegetation and dotted with springs and ancient wells that in many cases are still in use today; the valleys are traversed by seasonal streams that grow enormously during the rainy

[63] MARCHAND 2002, describes this road and its characteristics in Section L of her dissertation.

[64] MARCHAND 2002, p. 87.

season. Whereas these water supplies may have sufficed to fulfil the needs of nearby farms and supply travellers journeying along the Phyle road (many wells and springs are actually positioned along the road), a system of conduits was required to bring water towards the lower areas of the valleys, where it must have been scarce during the dry season. In this regard, it cannot be a coincidence that an important local myth revolved around the construction of a water conduit on the part of the aforementioned fictitious character of the 'archontess' Janoula, who had it built for watering her olive groves.[65] According the *KvA* and the information provided by Milchhöffer, this aqueduct should be identified with that visible on the western slope of Tamilthi and Mola (across from the monastery of Moni Kleiston), which conveyed the water to the north of Chassia, ending its course in the valley east of Elias hill (figs. 54, 64). This channel supposedly started a little further north of the Janoula gorge in an area called Kokkini Laka.[66] Its chronology is uncertain, most probably Roman or later in its later phases, as a section of it is described as being part excavated into the rock and part built of '*κέραμοι και οπτόπλινθοι*' (tiles and bricks).[67] Indeed, there is no evidence of any relationship between this conduit and the remnants of other water ducts identifiable in the surroundings of ancient Phyle, which related to different watersheds (those west of Harma and Theodora). In fact, it is along the valley of the Theodora stream, west of the course of the main Phyle road, that most of the ancient aqueduct remains can be found (they are more precisely described in Section IVc).[68] What is most striking from our preliminary observations is the complexity and diversity of the elements identified. Some sections are deeply carved in the rock (width 0.55m, depth 0.5m), with their inner flanks carefully chiselled to create steps on both sides (fig. 123), possibly to accommodate cover

[65] DODWELL 1819, p. 505.

[66] MILCHHÖFFER 1895, pp. 9–10.

[67] MILCHHÖFFER 1895, p. 10, suggests that this structure was not ancient, or at least neither Greek nor Roman. However, it should be observed that according to Milchhöffer's information, this channel ended up in an area probably occupied by an ancient deme. Therefore, it would not be surprising to discover the existence of a similar facility in antiquity as well.

[68] A systematic survey and study of all its features in the Phyle region still needs to be undertaken, but this could not be carried out in the context of this research, as part of it extends far from the roads.

slabs (or tiles); others segments appear as simple wide cuttings (fig. 124) that go through an outcropping rock (possibly to enable the passage of a terracotta pipe). At certain places the limestone in which the carvings are dug is deteriorating to the point where only few traces of the channel remain (figs. 260–263). In the same area, other possible channel sections appear as more isolated remains, as in the case of a 0.35m-wide groove dug across a shallow rock on the Theodora riverbed (fig. 125). These remains are not the only ones that probably relate to complex canalisation work; it is also possible that two badly preserved bridges in the area (one of them already marked in the *KvA*, the other surveyed by us) might have been part of one duct system, perhaps allowing for the terracotta conduit sections to cross the valley from one side to the other (figs. 249–251, 256–257). In this regard, another datum adds to the complexity of the overall reconstruction of the water supplies in the area: a fair quantity of large tiles (or at least terracotta tile-like components) can be found in specific spots, close to these channels and even north of the fortress, along a possible continuation of the aqueduct (figs. 126–128). If we hypothesise that these tiles were integral to the duct system (possibly a terracotta channel alternating with the already mentioned rock-cut stretches), we should expect that parts of this channel might still lie underground. This may be indicated by the fact that some of these tile clusters are actually found in closest proximity to modern pits or particularly eroded slopes. Even though no actual terracotta duct has been found, the profile of the tiles recovered indicates that this hypothetical conduit would have had a rectangular cross-section.[69] Apart from the tiles, very little can be inferred as far as the chronology of the carvings is concerned. Milchhöfer suggested that this whole conduit system was possibly built under Hadrian, and it was not primarily meant to meet the water demands of the Phyle region, but rather stretched across the Thriasian

[69] Examples of other similar rectangular terracotta conduits can be found in the territory of Sikion; see LOLOS 2011, pp. 571–581. The biggest difference between the two cases consists in the amount of calcium carbonate deposits on the terracotta elements (very conspicuous at Sykion, faint at Phyle). Lolos notices that such rectangular tile ducts are quite a rare feature if compared with the number of cylindrical pipes from all regions of the Roman empire (LOLOS 2011, pp. 579–580).

plain supplying Eleusis, where part of it can still be found (figs. 129–131).[70] More cautiously, given the variety and appearance of these remnants, it can be concluded that either different sections belonged to different conduits of different periods, or that the same conduit was maintained and refurbished over time using different construction methods.

It is in the context of the diversity of these remnants that the Phyle road and its carved channel come into play. The *KvA* marks it as *Wasserleitung* along with the other carved conduits that extend lower down the valley (fig. 98). The map shows it as stretching along a continuous red-dotted line, as if to imply that the above-mentioned sections were part of the same conduit. However, from the examination of the remains in the field, this very carving along the uphill side of the rock-cut road differs from the best preserved aqueduct parts in terms both of dimensions and appearance, having an average width of 0.4m (up to a maximum of 0.65m for a very short stretch) and a depth of circa 0.20m. On the other hand, the larger carved duct section is 0.55m wide and as deep as 1.5m, which implies the two channels were meant to carry two different amounts of water. The logical conclusion is that the shallower channel on the road probably did not belong to the same conduit as the other sections, being more similar to another carved drain found further to the south, on the Theodora riverbed (fig. 125). Rational interpretative implications are twofold: this was either a drain, functional only to allowing water to run off the road surface to ensure the safety of hoofed and cart traffic even in the rainy season, or this was part of a distinct water conduit of smaller proportions than its 1.5m-deep counterpart. However, the two options do not necessarily exclude each other, and a diachronic shift from one function to another would not be too surprising. Furthermore, with regard to the existence of an aqueduct in the area, we should expect to find a collecting basin (or basins), that has not been identified yet. This leaves open the option that uncovered stretches of the conduit might have served as water collectors themselves, receiving the water that poured directly down the steepest hillsides across which the channels were carved. However, this solution would not have assured a

[70] MILCHHÖFER 1895, p. 12 proposes an association between the water channel segments recovered along the Phikti valley and other aqueduct sections identified on the right bank of the Dipotami river, and across the Thriasian plain as far as Eleusis. This segments are indicated as *Wasserleitung* in *KvA* VI, XXIV, XXVI.

constant influx of water. In fact, an actual functioning aqueduct requires either a water tank on its highest section, a connection with a water stream flowing all year round, or an active spring to feed the duct.[71] Indeed, in the area of ancient Phyle, northeast of the necropolis, there is a spring, homonymous with the deme, which attracted travellers in antiquity as it still draws visitors and shepherds today. If the aforementioned remains were actually part of an aqueduct, its main source should be found in this very spring, as it could have fed the channels all year round.

After discussing the Phyle channels as a whole, more can be said when analysing the road channel in detail. A close observation of it might help understand its relationship with the Phyle road, and especially with the possible wheel ruts. From preliminary observations, it appears probable that this carving was made by taking advantage of the pre-existing chiselled wheel ruts on the uphill side. This leads to the logical conclusion that, with little regard for its function in respect to the road and the remains of other waterways across the region, this specific channel was constructed after the chiselling of the wheel ruts, deepening and widening their marks.

A further prominent element of this road stretch is constituted by the surviving cobbles. The evidence provided clearly shows that, at some point in its history, this road stretch was paved, covering the channel and most of the road surface. It is generally believed that the paving (more specifically the cobbling) of ancient Greek roads occurred largely during Turkish domination, as this was tightly related to a change in their function from wheeled traffic to hoofed traffic. However, this conclusion does not seem so evident here, since the data indicate that some of the possible wheel marks, especially those towards the downhill side of the road, are actually visible directly on the cobbling. On the other hand, most of the wheel ruts along the uphill side are unmistakably cut into the bare bedrock. It can be concluded that, most likely in Turkish times, only certain parts

[71] These observations may be also valid for the interpretation of another large carved waterway found on the ancient road north of the fortress, which will be discussed in Section IIId, but which is at a much higher elevation than the Phyle spring.

of the road were cobbled (those closer to the steep ravine), leaving much of the bedrock on the uphill side exposed, as in earlier antiquity.

This evidence adds to the complexity of interpretation, making speculative any inference about the absolute and relative chronology of the paving on this road stretch; in particular if considering that the road cobbles here might relate to long-term vehicular usage of the road, possibly spanning from antiquity into the era of Turkish occupation. Therefore, as when analysing the function of the channel above, a very brief digression is here required on the transition from the Greek wheel rut system into Byzantine and Turkish road paving. In a recent contribution, Pikoulas elucidates the main characteristics of Greek, Roman and later road buildings techniques, focusing on the differences between Byzantine and Turkish road remains in Greece. With very few exceptions (mostly in *intra muros* contexts), ancient Greek roads were not paved, and it is well known that road paving was a typical feature of roads constructed or refurbished during Roman times.[72] This tradition of actual paving with large stones was maintained in Byzantine times, then, during Turkish domination, the paving gave way to cobbling, generally characterised by the employment of rough stones stuck into the surface of the road.[73] Of course, there were exceptions for many different reasons, such as for example the re-use of an extant road, or the particular characteristics of the road surface. As far as this road stretch is concerned, a complete examination of the evidence would call for the removal of the cobbling, which covers a great part of the bedrock's surface and the channel. However, judging from the evidence in relation to the features described above, this road stretch as it appears today seems to match the characteristics of Turkish *kalderimia.* Apart from the cobbling, other elements point to this rough chronology as well. First of all, it seems clear that the road surface in its later phases was much narrower than it had been at earlier stages. This is noticeable in several parts of the track, where the road shrank due to partial collapse, and the original retaining wall must have been replaced over the centuries. The extant retaining wall, several metres tall at the steepest part of the ravine, appears to be made mostly of small rubble; furthermore, the wall is

[72] PIKOULAS 2008, p. 81.

[73] PIKOULAS 2008, pp. 81–82.

definitely slender when compared, for instance, to the massive kerb wall described in Section I, which is made up of blocks as thick as 1.5m, and which was most likely built much earlier. In short, the remnants both of the cobbles and the appearance of the retaining wall strongly indicate the refurbishment of the road during Turkish times.

Determining the absolute chronology for this road is impossible; yet the analysis of the data presented, and careful observations in the field, are sufficient to propose a preliminary relative chronology for the elements that characterise this stretch. The earliest phase obviously consisted in the construction of the road, involving the carving and opening of the passage on the flank of the hill, the flattening of the road surface, the construction of a retaining wall and the subsequent chiselling of the wheel ruts. As noted in Section I, there must have been at least one shallow wheel groove along the uphill side. The carving of a first water channel was either contemporary with the cutting of the wheel ruts, or closely followed their construction. In this phase, the channel probably followed the line of the wheel groove, deepening it in certain parts. This served both as a deep, 'safety' wheel rut, and as an actual road drain. Subsequently, the channel was probably enlarged, affecting the chiselling marks in certain parts of the wheel ruts. The appearance of this road stretch probably did not change much until the earliest stages of Turkish domination, when the road was cobbled; the paving still did not represent a dramatic change in the function of the road, which was probably used by small carts even after it was cobbled. Indeed, the presence of possible wheel marks in the cobbled surface of the road indicate a protracted usage of carts along the road axis even into Turkish times, in a period, when the employment of animals was gradually becoming more common than carts.

In the final leg of this stretch, at its narrowest part, the road meets the course of the stream, as it certainly did in antiquity as well. However, it is not clear whether the road actually took advantage of the streambed or if it closely bordered it to the east, this latter being the possible solution. A very few metres ahead, the road is bordered on the east by the funerary monument already described. Past the rock-cut segment and the monument, the road fully enters an ample valley that roughly separates the fortress from the deme. This valley is traversed right in the middle by the southernmost fold of the Megalo Vouno; this

actually divides the upper part of the valley into two smaller dales.[74] In the following section, the evidence is presented for the possible route of the road that crossed it on its way to Skourta.

Section IIId

This section concerns the route extending from the carved road stretch described in Section IIIc to the summit of the saddle between the hill peaks near the fortress (*Gastron Ylis*) and the southwestern slope of Megalo Vouno (fig. 132). In short, this pass is the only means by which the Phyle road could directly proceed towards the plain of Skourta. In this stretch, the road had to overcome the second of three major topographic barriers on its way to the north; the first has been described in Section IIIa; the third will be discussed in Section IIIf. The second is that the level of the ancient road had to rise by about 100m from an elevation of around 580m on the carved section up to around 680m on the pass across the saddle. This stretch probably extended for at least 800m along the valley, gradually climbing the southern fold of the Megalo Vouno; it probably took a very open north-northwestern arc up to the aforementioned pass. Indeed, from the rock-cut road stretch, travellers heading directly into Skourta and Boiotia would certainly have continued straight along the valley, and ascended the southern ridge of the Megalo Vouno, reaching the saddle via the easiest possible route. This latter route is traced in the *KvA* (fig. 133), and it is almost certain that the main course of the ancient road passed through this passage point as well, some 550m northeast of the fortress. The route of the ancient road, from the lower part of the valley up to the summit of the pass, was probably not too different from that traced in the *KvA,* and it is generally suggested by the morphology of the terrain. Indeed, the *KvA* indicates that the nineteenth-century road climbed the lower ridge of the Megalo Vouno, forming a sort of natural ramp – as in Section IIIa, where we hypothesised that the ancient road gradually climbed the southernmost fold of the chain of Theodora peaks (defined as a 'mountain-nose' by Wrede).[75] At an elevation of about 615m on the Megalo Vouno 'ramp', the road started to turn towards the west, following the flank of

[74] The area of the deme is identified with the ruins around the area of Agia Paraskevi.

[75] WREDE 1924, pp.159–160.

the slope. The remnants of some retaining walls on this slope still indicate this route.

Section IIId. The data

About 500m from the turning point, the path reaches the pass. Indeed, the only certain evidence for the course of the main ancient road in Section IIId is to be found on the pass. Here, at an elevation of about 680m, a roadside structure, definitely ancient and built in close proximity to a short rock-cut passage, indicates the place at which the road took the passage that separates the valley to the south from the eastern slope of the Kounizos gorge. The nineteenth-century road should have closely followed the same course as its predecessors, at least in this part of the saddle. From this point, the road headed northwards, but it is possible that in antiquity another route went towards the west to reach the lower valley of the Kounizos stream. Description of the data for Section IIId begins with this structure and the rock-cut passage very close to it.

The structure on the pass is indicated as a tower (*Thurm*) in the *KvA*; however, it was most probably not a tower. Part of the building is hidden under a thick bush today, and it would need to be exposed further in order to obtain a comprehensive assessment of the remains (figs. 134–136). Wrede provided an accurate description of the structure accompanied by a plan, from which the size and characteristics of the construction can be readily understood (fig. 137). The following description is thus, largely based on Wrede's. The building has a rectangular plan measuring 4.5m x 3.9m. The walls, 0.65m thick, are constituted of small and medium blocks that vary in appearance, being left rough or only barely worked. The walls rest directly on the ground without foundation trenches nor apparent signs of levelling.[76] The function of this structure is indicated by its plan and by some finds recovered inside and around it. The entrance is preceded by a 0.80m deep vestibule, flanked by two projecting *antae*. Inside lay the remnants of a limestone base, most likely a support for the cult statue, which is no longer inside the structure.[77] In addition, during our survey, we found fragments of three marble items in the immediate vicinity of the building that

[76] WREDE 1924, p. 163.

[77] WREDE 1924, p. 163.

probably escaped Wrede's observations; one is a possible marble revetment that measures 0.40m in length, 0.25m in depth, and is about 0.06m thick. Along its preserved edge, the slab presents three flanges of decreasing thickness from the outer to the inner; they are spaced around 0.01m from each other. To judge from these partially preserved flanges, they would have been at least 0.06m deep (figs. 138–139). In spite of the careful carving of these projections, this side appears slightly rougher than the other face, which is carefully worked but not polished, with the chisel marks very visible on its surface. A second marble fragment, which was found 3m south of the structure, is a block that measures 0.32m in length, 0.12m in height, and it is 0.15m thick. Two faces of this are very smooth and almost polished; the other sides are broken all around (figs. 140–141). A third marble object, identified within a 10m range of the structure, resembles a fragment of a bowl or probably a deep small basin (figs. 142–143). Only the bottom and a concave carving inside are partially preserved; all other sides are broken. It is 0.22 m high, 0.17m long and has a maximum thickness of about 0.12m. The concave surface is polished, and the underside appears very smooth as well, but its appearance and a series of cuttings in the outer flanks, possibly made with a modern saw, indicate that the item was probably re-used. These finds, which were likely related to the building, are generally indicative of a particular function for the building itself. That is to say the marble architectural parts and the possible basin do not really belong in a military structure or a simple house; they would be more fitting for a religious or funerary construction. These marble objects had to have been deliberately conveyed there, the Phyle area being characterised by abundant limestone, rather than marble. In short, to judge from all the elements described, Wrede's suggestion of a religious function for this structure is valid. Furthermore, the location of the building itself, very close to the rock-cut passage of the road, is of particular importance. It is very likely that this structure served the specific purpose of a road-side *naïskos* (a small shrine).

The rock-cut passage across the saddle lies some 5m north of the structure (figs. 144). Here, the outcropping rock appears to be deliberately worked to allow crossing of the road. The surface of the fragile rock appears heavily battered today, but it is possible to identify its course and to assess its width, which is around 2.5m at its narrowest part. This passageway was probably

used for centuries in antiquity, as the scant traces of cobbling on the nearby road surface suggest (fig. 145). From the passage, the ancient road probably bifurcated, with one branch of it continuing to journey to Skourta.

Prior to resuming the description of what can be defined as the 'main route' from Phyle to Skourta in Section IIIe, attention should be given to the connection between the course of the road and the actual deme. Given that Phyle was certainly one of the possible stops on the way to Boiotia, as well as the last of the demes before leaving Attica, access to it should obviously have been possible from the Phyle road in antiquity. Moreover, it has already been observed that the area of the ancient deme (which developed in the surroundings of Ag. Paraskevi and the Phyle spring, fig. 132) was occupied throughout antiquity, even in Turkish times, when it became one of the hubs of the Ottoman postal service.[78] Today, a secondary road departing from the main motorway makes access to the Ag. Paraskevi area and to inner Parnes quite easy; however, this secondary road is a relatively recent one, and at least other two ways provided access to the deme in the past. These two approaches are described in the following paragraphs.

It is possible that from the area of the pass, which as noted is located 500m northeast of the fortress, the way into the deme ran for a short stretch to the north and then turned towards the east across the southern slope of the Megalo Vouno. This would run parallel to the asphalt road, but several dozens of metres north of its modern counterpart. A path is actually indicated in the military's topographic diagram, although it is not marked in the *KvA* (figs. 132–133). Furthermore, judging from aerial imagery of the region, it seems that several parallel paths cross the mountain slope, and it is not easy today to identify the main road axis; besides, this could also have shifted over time. One of the possible ancient roads to Phyle can best be tracked from the vicinity of the deme, as one proceeds westward back to the pass. The first stretch of the path that probably accessed the deme from the west is identifiable. In fact, the course of this path was enlarged and taken over in modern times by the conspicuous remnants of a large road, measuring almost 4m in width in its best-preserved

[78] For the identification of the deme, see SKIAS 1901. For a discussion of the role played by this area as a post station under Turkish domination, see IOTAS 2004, pp. 67–68, n. 40.

parts; this section has also a massive retaining wall on the steep downhill side (figs. 146–149). This broad stretch of road seems to end near a large space, as wide as 7m, and the reason for this widening is clear. Indeed, the space can be identified as a local quarry, exploited recently, and the aforementioned road was most probably built to serve the quarry. As noted, it is probable that this road took advantage of the route of an early path to the deme entering near its necropolis and proceeding straight up to the aforementioned Phyle spring. More sections of this very path can be followed for about 200m, but the terrain then becomes suddenly very rough today, and the overgrowth does not make tracking its complete course easy, especially as one moves from the deme to the west. The deme was not isolated at all, and from its vicinity, a series of paths, most likely ancient, made their way northward and eastward, into the heart of the mountains, including Harma. From here, a network of pathways, the remnants of which can still be spotted on the ground, led to central and eastern Parnes. It can also be suggested that an actual road, not just a web of paths, continued towards the northeast, in the direction of central Parnes and even farther.

The deme was also reached more directly from the south as well. In fact, from the southern part of the valley, right after exiting the stretch of road with the carved channel (Section IIIc), travellers had various options other than proceeding north to the pass and the roadside shrine. A path possibly departing from the main road traversed the length of the dell shaped by the Phyle stream, the eastern slope of which is characterised by impressive old terracing work (identified by the *KvA* as ancient). Down the dell, along the course of the streambed and 500m southwest of the church of Ag. Paraskevi, lie the scant remnants of what seems to be a carved path surface, of which only a short section is preserved. On the uphill side of this path, a rectangular shaft can be spotted, although it is today almost completely hidden by dense shrubs (figs. 150–152). The shaft is built from pieces of rubble of various sizes, although some of the larger stones seem to have been roughly worked. The shaft is about 0.5m deep, its sides measure around 1m each; it was built against a steep limestone rock wall, below a large overhanging boulder. Inside, tiny fragments of black-glazed pottery are to be found. It is possible that the shaft constituted part of a well or at least a water basin that collected water spouting from underneath the projecting limestone. This possible basin was also conveniently located along the

aforementioned path, which probably continued northwards and climbed the hill slope south of the deme. However, it must be observed that the incline of the slopes in that part of the valley and the topography of the dell appear so pronounced today as to make it difficult to imagine that a proper road ascended the mountain from that side. Therefore, any path originating in this part of the valley was probably only useable by pack animals (if not goats) and pedestrians. It is important to note that this part of the stream (and the related path that stretched along it) might actually have belonged to a more complex pathway system, obliterated by the debris falling from the steep slopes and, wherever still exposed, destroyed by intense erosion. In addition, the construction of the modern motor-road cut through the flank of the mountain has certainly obliterated some of the traces of the path, in this part and in other portions where the modern and the ancient roads meet. Also to be considered is the fact that the dell of the Phyle stream and the path that probably stretched along it, which is very narrow and apparently of little strategic importance today, was overlooked by at least two ancient structures facing each other from opposite heights; these visually controlled the Phyle dell and the path from both west and east. Of the structure on the east, only a few isodomic building blocks remain, along with some clearly visible cuttings on the outcropping rock for the setting of other blocks (figs. 132, 153). Part of the structure may lie buried in the slope, and it was not possible during our expedition to determine its actual dimensions; the scant remnants suggest it may have had an almost rectangular plan with sides measuring around 5m x 4m. This building lay at the outskirts of the ancient deme, and very little is known about its function. Given its location (it overlooks the main road and is in view of the fortress), it was most likely a tower or even some sort of roadside monument, like the others discussed in Section IIIb and Section IIIc. Only a few metres from the ancient structure (about 8m) lie the remnants of another limekiln; this is similar in appearance and, possibly, chronology to the other limekilns previously discussed from Section I and Section IIIb. This explains why only a few blocks of the ancient structure (and the deme) have survived, and it also indicates that the path must have been in use for a long time, maybe serving the deme throughout the centuries (fig. 154). On the other hand, the remnants that pertain to the other structure on the west (on the top of the southern Megalo Vouno fold, fig. 132) are better preserved, and clearly

define the perimeter of a nearly perfectly square structure, as each one of the four sides measures 10m (figs. 155–156). Only the first tier of the walls is preserved; this comprises large blocks that are not uniformly worked. The thickness and appearance suggest this was probably a tower, or more generally served a defensive function, rather than being a mere enclosing wall. None of these structures is indicated in the *KvA* nor, to my knowledge, are they specifically described elsewhere. Even though the actual purpose of the two constructions can only be understood hypothetically today, a military function cannot be ruled out for either structure, due to their prominent location. Both buildings definitely face onto the narrow dell of the stream, controlling it throughout its length. In short, it is possible that the deme could probably be accessed by the course of this stream as well, using a rather demanding path that bordered or maybe even coincided with it. The course of this path is not marked in the *KvA*, but part of it is featured in the topographic diagram, as illustrated in the map provided (fig. 132).[79] Furthermore, the presence and orientation of the structures described in relation to the path, the square shaft with the black-glazed pottery, and the location of the deme all show the antiquity of this pathway along the course of the Phyle stream. Yet a question arises about the relationship between this way and the actual route of the main ancient Phyle road. Is the path a secondary branch diverging from the road, or is it part of the road itself? As noted, the latter should have continued more towards the centre of the valley, ascending a short part of the Megalo Vouno to reach the pass and the roadside shrine. From there, ancient Phyle could probably be reached by the already described road segment that entered the deme from the west. Nevertheless, our hypotheses on the actual course of the ancient road and its branches are challenged by the rough appearance of the terrain today, and by the effects of erosion, which has greatly transformed this and other areas traversed by the road.

To complete the discussion of the paths that branched from the course of the road, mention should also be made of those heading up to the Gastron Ylis hills. The fortress lies on the westernmost of these peaks. In fact, one possibility was to reach the fortress directly via a path (or multiple paths) that still go up the hills that border the Phyle valley on the west. The current trail, the course of

[79] The topographic diagram from which the path for fig. 132 is traced is sheet 6434/5.

which is probably not much different from the ancient, starts a few dozen metres from the rock-cut road. On the path, no elements indicating its chronology are evident today, but next to its steep course, 300m east of the fortress, appear the remnants of a possible wall built of ashlar limestone blocks. This structure is almost entirely buried in the flank of the slope; therefore, it can be neither measured nor interpreted in its current state. It is possible that the course of the path met this construction even in antiquity, confirming an early chronology for the path as well. This wall (and the possible related structure) are not featured in the *KvA* nor are they described anywhere else, and only excavations will clarify whether this is part of an actual building rather than an anomalous natural formation.

Having presented the evidence for the road and its branches in Section IIId as far as the pass on the saddle, attention will be now turned to the last mountainous stretch of the Phyle road across Parnes, before it approached the Skourta plateau.

Section IIIe

Continuing from the pass, two main routes were possibly used throughout antiquity. One headed towards the west, across the edge of Hill 677.10, seeking the Kounizos stream and following its course for a short stretch in the direction of the Koutroulieza mountain.[80] Another route proceeded towards the northwest, cutting through the western slope of the Megalo Vouno for a length of about 1.8km up to the northwestern edge of the mountain (figs. 157–158); the evidence shows that this latter, which is the most direct route to the plain of Skourta from the pass, was certainly the route along which the Phyle road continued throughout antiquity and more recently; even today, as the modern asphalt road closely follows the same direction and orientation as the roads that preceded it.

Section IIIe. The data

The course of the paths originating in the rock-cut passage near the *naïskos* are well marked on the ground by the remains of retaining walls that indicate their directions. As noted, one route made its way towards the west, in

[80] Today's Mount Koutroulieza is referred to as Moungoultos in the *KvA.*

the general direction of the Koutroulieza mountain, but the main road continued its course heading north.

The data for the western route are briefly presented first. As we will see in the description of the following sections, the western route may have divided at this point; a branch of it could have followed the Kounizos streambed and joined the course of the main artery further north (Section IIIh). This western route is clearly indicated in the *KvA* and today its traces are still largely visible on the ground, where large stretches of retaining wall and worn-out bedrock surfaces indicate precisely the route of the road (figs. 158–159). A segment of this route crosses the Kounizos where the streambed appears suitable to modern travellers. While today the southern extent of the stream is barely accessible even to goats, its northern course (from the crossing of the old road) generally seems to be more suitable for a road or path. Indeed, long stretches of the streambed are rather flat and very wide, suggesting it may have been used as a path in the dry season (fig. 160). A possible streambed road would have only used one side of the stream, in our opinion the western bank. Here two parallel lines might suggest the passage of carts, however only very tentatively, as similar features are often created by water flow (fig. 161); in this case the marks are most certainly natural. Further upstream, some possible wheel marks can be found, in a stretch where the Kounizos flows along the northern fold of the Megalo Vouno; even in this case, these marks may be natural formations, but only a focused inspection of the whole length of the streambed further to the east will help clarify their nature. In short, the course of the Kounizos stream could possibly have been used as an alternative to the main course of the road for a length of about 2km, most probably for pedestrians and animals only.

After this digression, the evidence will be now presented for the main course of the Phyle road. This runs upward from an elevation of about 680m, then followed the southwestern and western flanks of the Megalo Vouno tis Phylis. Stretching over a length of more than 1km, it reached the height of around 730–740m in its most elevated parts. Therefore, in this section, the road ascended by around 60m. This is definitely a much less dramatic and more gradual climb than the almost 100m difference in elevation between the first and last stretches of Section IIId, and especially the climb described in Section IIIa,

which rose by 200m; all three routes extend across a similar distance of around 1km.

Of the paths departing from the saddle, the focus here will be on the main course of the road to Skourta. Beyond the pass, the remains of the way, certainly the nineteenth-century route marked in the *KvA* (which most likely followed a much earlier one), are easily recognisable on the ground. This route constitutes the continuation of the pathway that crosses the rock-cut passage by the roadside shrine, at an elevation of around 680m. In its first stretch, which is less than 100m long, its surface appears quite rough today and is characterised by exposed limestone, worn out in several places by the traffic. Several loose rocks of various sizes are scattered on the downhill side of the road surface, next to the remnants of the retaining wall, and the part of the road close to the rock-cut passage yields the remains of the aforementioned cobbled surface (figs. 145, 162–164). Two parallel lines of pine trees flank the path on both sides for a few dozen metres; these trees, along with the remnants of the road itself, indicate the course of the nineteenth-century road, both here and in the other stretches north and south of it. The trees delimited the course of the road and their roots fulfilled the same function as the retaining walls, as well as providing shade and protection for travellers. After about 100m, the course starts veering to the west, following the natural curvature of the mountain slope; the modern road runs parallel, as it follows a very similar route.

The continuation of the road can be followed through the faint traces of its surface and more of the retaining wall, only fragments of which are preserved. Even in this case, the pine tree lines help identify its course. It proceeds to and passes through a large open area, characterised by a number of low, wide terraces, defined by thick and low walls. All over the terraces' surface lie a conspicuous amount of broken tiles; nearby, the remains of two possibly ancient constructions are to be found, along with an ancient built spring.

The most noticeable building has a roughly rectangular plan, measuring 12m x 5m (figs. 165–166). In its southeast corner, it has a small projecting element that measures 2.5m x 2m. Meanwhile, the southwest corner is missing or has been built towards the inside of the structure on purpose, leaving a 2m x 2m space. The building is partially covered by vegetation and its own debris, so only careful cleaning and excavation would reveal its characteristics. Nevertheless,

some elements can be readily made out. First of all, in the southeast corner a worked limestone block, certainly ancient, is to be found (fig. 167). It measures around 0.70m x 0.40m. This block's outer face features a number of parallel vertical lines. It rests on another ashlar block or a perfectly levelled rock outcrop that is only partially exposed. It is not clear whether this block was originally meant for this structure or if it comes from the nearby fortress. In fact, most of the exposed walls seem to be constituted of rubble or poorly worked stones. Some parts, such as the sub-square element in the southeast corner that appear to be later additions are made of smaller stones, bricks and cement; there are also some traces of plaster here. Next to the building, a circular brick, a hypocaust-like tile, is found, along with a stamped tile (or other terracotta fragment, figs. 168–169).

Very close to this building, just 10m northeast of it, there are the remains of a further structure, much smaller in scale so far as it is currently observable. This is largely buried, and only few rough stones constituting part of the south wall are visible (figs. 157, 170). Southeast of this latter structure, 43m away from it, there is the aforementioned spring. The water spouts from a short overhanging limestone fracture, and a well-like structure was built around it against the natural rock, almost so as to create a fountain basin (figs. 171–172). The 'well' has a diameter of about 1.60m, and is carefully made, with stones of various sizes. Some of them in the upper courses are ashlar limestone blocks, while the lower courses (as far it is possible to see, since the spring is still active) seem mostly to be constituted of rough stones. Some of the rocks, certainly the most exposed, have been recently secured by the use of modern cement. The most noticeable characteristic is that the edge of the spring is raised on two sides by 0.40m, so as to create a sort of parapet. The spring's southern edge is lower, almost at ground level, probably to allow animals to easily reach its water.

It is possible that the main course of the road bifurcated 30m north of the spring. One stretch climbed and crossed the top of Hill 721.90 from the north. In fact, a 15m-long retaining wall, which can be found north of the spring, constitutes a sort of ramp that gradually ascends the hill slope (fig. 173). It is oriented along a northwest to southeast direction, and it is almost perpendicular to the modern road, which cuts across it. The surface delimited by the retaining wall is not immediately identifiable as pertaining to a road, but it is clear that this

is indeed a branch of the old road; however, this diversion is not marked in the *KvA*. On the other hand, the other stretch of road (probably the main) continued westward, running perfectly parallel to the modern road, a very few metres lower than it. Unlike the aforementioned diversion, this segment is indicated in the *KvA* and traceable on the ground by its still identifiable surface and retaining wall, preserved in a few stretches. Both stretches of road joined together again somewhere on the northwestern flank of Hill 721.90.

Section IIIe. Discussion

The first observation is that it is clear that, even though the scant remnants of the road do not yield any evidence for a specific chronology, the ancient road probably crossed this area, which was so densely exploited in antiquity. Indeed, the possibly ancient remains bear witness to intense agricultural activity, which as observed, could have best been practised in the most open and shallowest slopes of the mountainous Phyle region. Sources such as the previously mentioned *Dyskolos* of Menander attest to the antiquity of this land use; yet determining its chronological terms is difficult. In this regard, while the life-span of the structures is difficult to ascertain, it can tentatively suggested that the larger building was used in late antiquity, and that the buildings probably served agricultural activities, as their location respective to numerous terraces in the area seems to indicate. It should once more be noted that there is a great necessity for carrying out a thorough cleaning and possibly a targeted excavation to shed light on the chronology and function of these structures, as with the other possibly ancient structures identified by our surveys. As far as the course of the ancient road is concerned, it is very likely that it would not have stretched too far from this agricultural area and (most importantly) from the ancient spring that, along with the other springs and wells, dotted the course of the road.

As noted, the old road most likely bifurcated; the 15m-long retaining wall mentioned in the concluding paragraph of the data description belongs to either the main old Phyle road or one of its branches, this latter possibility being the most likely. This heads to the northwest, and its orientation roughly indicates the point where the nineteenth-century road started to climb the western slope of the Megalo Vouno. This diversion from the main course of the road can be accounted for by the need to reach and exploit the higher part of the terraces;

therefore, as the remains in the area indicate, it is reasonable to believe that its ancient counterpart might have followed a very similar route, possibly one that was used by other, later roads, except for the modern asphalt one. The other slightly more direct stretch was probably used by the majority of travellers, and it begins its gradual ascent of the Megalo Vouno hill slope 500m northwest of the ancient spring. In fact, the nineteenth-century road and its predecessors, and – as we will show, other paths that crossed the western fold of Megalo Vouno continuing to Skourta – had to start to ascending the slope in this region of the mountain in order to cross the more inhabited zones and, in particular, to keep to a minimum the road incline by distributing it along the longest possible stretch. The stretch of road, that we interpreted as possibly diverging from the main course, is presented, along with its features in the following paragraphs as Section IIIf.

Section IIIf

The modern road divides a gradually sloping part of the mountain horizontally into two halves; in both halves, the landscape is typified by numerous deep terraces (fig. 174). From the area of the structures described above in Section IIIe (which can be referred to as 'farms' for their suggested agricultural function, see fig. 157) and the spring, the route of the old road also divided into two stretches. One part probably crossed the area north of the farm and the ancient spring discussed in the previous section; the other continued to the northwest, parallel to the modern road but a few metres lower, keeping largely to a more comfortable gradient. The two parts met and merged again into a single stretch, where the route to Skourta traverses the steepest incline of Megalo Vouno's western slope (described as a distinct part in Section IIIg). While the evidence for the nineteenth century road is still identifiable in the field, the reconstruction of the ancient route here is not only made from the visible remains, but also, largely, from the analysis and interpretation of the topography it traversed. Indeed, two ample, gently sloping moorland areas here (separated by Hill 721.90) enable a gradual ascent of the mountain slope (with a limited and almost constant 10% gradient) up to the point where all routes into Skourta had to converge, at the gorge of the Kounizos river.

Section IIIf. The data

The first section constituting the northern continuation of the road can certainly be found north of the ancient agricultural structures and the spring described in Section IIIe. The modern motorway that is dug through the flank of the mountain cuts the course of this branch of the road at an elevation of about 690m. Today, a wide dirt road ascends the gentle incline bordering the terraced area on the west. Some structures that may date from antiquity, located very close to this path, might indicate the course of the ancient road here. These structures are almost completely buried, and only a few large, rough limestone blocks are visible through the overgrowth. From a preliminary observation, a square or rectangular plan structure can be made out, with at least one very thick wall along the southeastern side (fig. 175); but nothing more can be said given the limited exposure of these remains. However, there is little doubt that the course of the road over the centuries would have sought to pass over Hill 721.90, possibly climbing it in this very area, with a more gentle path than the one traced in the topographic diagram, the line marked in the *KvA* being a more suitable candidate for the course of the ancient road as well (fig. 158). On its way up to the precipitous section, this branch of the road ascends the ridge of Hill 721.90 (fig. 157). It is here, northwest of the terraces, that its traces make themselves more evident. On this part of the hill, today covered by dense vegetation, the trail of the old road is perfectly visible, together with its surface and the traces of a long, ruined and interrupted retaining wall on the downhill side; this wall can be followed in small stretches for some 150m (fig. 176). The road surface appears well preserved and its width exceeds 3m in several places. The surface mostly comprises trodden earth, in which outcropping limestone appears in a few spots, mostly in the centre of the road. Nothing seems particularly relevant other than its width, and the fact that, judging from the appearance of the compacted dirt surface, it seems to be divided into two lanes in some areas, with a slightly higher part in the middle, as if created by the wheeled traffic that most likely traversed it. At the very beginning of this part, we retraced the road, and adjacent to it, there are the remains of a further wall, 15m long, perpendicular to the road axis described (fig. 177). This wall, built from large rough stones, could either belong to a second path, or to a roadside construction, the latter probably being

the correct interpretation. From this point, the roads heads northwest and gradually starts descending the western slope of the hill. About 180m from where we started tracking the road, it exits the forested hill at an elevation of around 710m and enters another open area, where it gives way to a modern dirt road. This ample, open area is characterised by a rounded hill in the middle (Hill 729.90). Some terraces were probably built on the sides of this low hill; furthermore, to the east, there are the remains of what can be interpreted as an ancient building, although very few blocks of it are apparent today (figs. 178–179). The most visible measures 0.75m x 0.44m, but it is clear that it is not an isolated element as the whole place is characterised by clusters of rough stones that could well have belonged to a building, or several, in the area. Stretches of dirt road skirt the hill from the north and east. These are rather wide, and are currently used by shepherds and emergency vehicles; it is easy to suppose that these tracks are actually the continuation of the two branches of the old road that merge again in this region. Indeed, upon entering this open space, the road coming from the ridge of Hill 721.90 bifurcates; part of it continues to the northwest; this certainly follows the course of an old road, as its actual remains resume opposite the open area, following a 250m-long segment of the dirt road. Another stretch instead bends to the south, and joins the course of the modern asphalt road after 140m. It is possible that this latter track constituted the continuation of the other branch of the nineteenth-century Phyle road, which is still today identifiable next to the modern road along its downhill side. The remnants of the main old route are still identifiable on the ground where there are long stretches of its retaining wall, the best preserved measuring about 30m in length (fig. 180).

Section IIIf. Discussion

As we have observed in the previous section, these stretches of road do not yield much information that helps us understand their chronology, which is better comprehended through their topographic contextualisation and the consideration of other elements. This wide, open area was inhabited and possibly exploited for agriculture in antiquity, just as we saw in similar nearby areas typified by the terracing (or what is today left of it) associated with ancient structures. The ancient road certainly traversed all these zones, where long-

distance travellers could have also found shelter, rested and refreshed themselves. The possibility that some of the remains described here and in other sections could have served as inns, apart from possibly fulfilling other functions, cannot be ruled out. The area that ideally represents the northern continuation of that described in Section IIIe is still currently being used by shepherds, and maybe was perhaps used by farmers as well until recently; this is suggested by the presence of some isolated and poorly built modern houses or sheds/tools-stores. Therefore, ploughing and other agricultural activities must have contributed to obliterating most of the remains of the ancient road.

Section IIIg

This section is certainly one of the most interesting and puzzling among the ones surveyed by us. In this segment, the ancient road stretches horizontally along the steepest incline of the western flank of Megalo Vouno; on its way into Skourta, the mountain side becomes so precipitous that the route chosen becomes the only possible one (figs. 181–182). Indeed, evidence indicates that several paths from different periods flank each other, separated by only a few metres along the same sector of the mountain side. The continuation of the particular route into Skourta we are concerned with traversed a length of the northwest fold of Megalo Vouno, where the hill slope incline reaches a figure higher than 70%. For this reason, the road had to engage the transversal incline horizontally and from the highest possible elevation (above 700m) in order to cut across the steep slope in the easiest possible way and with the least travelling cost. The course of this road section can be tracked for a length of about 1km. In fact, at least two distinct major paths (in addition to the modern one and other secondary paths) can be tracked securely along this section, both of which followed the same route very closely: the ancient one and a later one, this latter probably being the nineteenth/early twentieth-century one. The distinction between an ancient road and a later one in this section is conventional; both paths, which are discussed in detail below, may have been used in antiquity as proper roads. I refer to one path in particular as ‘ancient road’, as this is associated with a securely ancient feature (a finely carved aqueduct) flanked at certain spots by stretches of retaining wall that may constitute the remains of a very battered road. The track of the later road – which I refer to as the ‘nineteenth/early twentieth-century’ road or ‘old

road' – seems to have been used until a more recent time than the other, as shown by the different states of preservation of the remains described. To be more specific, the ancient road probably followed the direction of a contemporary aqueduct that traverses the slope with a very regular and minor rise in its first part, reaching a maximum elevation of about 740m; after this it gradually descends down the mountain to the 700m contour line, where the northwestern extremity of the Megalo Vouno meets the Kounizos stream. On the other hand, the course of the later road, which, I suggest, runs parallel to the ancient one a few metres lower, starts from a slightly higher elevation and seems to traverse the whole stretch with a gentle constant downwards incline, from a height of 730m down to the 700m contour line. Our field survey indicates that, past the mountain, the course of the two roads converged towards the same spot near the Kounizos streambed.[81] Therefore, the two main segments, however different and certainly built or maintained in different times, will be presented as part of the same section, but will be described separately.

Section IIIg. The data

The evidence pertaining to the nineteenth/early twentieth-century road in this section is presented first. It has already been observed in Section IIIf that the old road probably bifurcated before facing Hill 721.90 and that the two segments merged together again past the hill (probably somewhere near Hill 729.90). The segment under discussion is most certainly a continuation of the old road, after the two branches converged again into one. The road stretch crossing Hill 729.90 resurfaces again 130m northwest of the above-mentioned ancient building block (fig. 179), identifiable through its wide, well-tamped earth surface and the remains of a retaining wall on its downhill side (rather scant in this first stretch, fig. 183). This road presents a wide surface, as large as 4m, which stretches for 70m up to where its course encounters that of an ancient aqueduct, which may also indicate the course of the ancient road (fig. 184). The aqueduct lies to the right of the old road, both lying almost along the same route, but with opposing slopes (fig. 185). The main course of the old road continues its route at a mere

[81] However, the tracks plotted in the military topographic diagrams (sheet 6434/3), merge into one, several hundred metres before.

20m south of the ancient one and almost parallel to it; then the two roads diverge a bit and run at a distance of up to 50m from each other, before converging again as they descend the Megalo Vouno. Given the fact that the two roads run so close to each other, data description will continue here with presenting the nineteenth/early twentieth-century road first, whereas the description of the certainly ancient remains will follow afterwards.

From the spot where the old road encounters the ancient one, the newly-joined road continues along the flank of the mountain, where it can be traced for about 500m along a very steep and dangerous length. Here, as the slope increases, the 4m wide road surface gives way to a narrower pathway, which nevertheless is never less than 2m wide throughout its length (fig. 186); it widens once more up to almost 2.5m as the incline decreases again (fig. 187). However, as observed when describing other road sections, precise measurements of the original road span are not possible as the uphill side is largely covered by the debris that has tended to accumulate along the uphill side. Even across this particularly precipitous leg, the rocky uphill side does not show any sign of cutting back or levelling, nor any attempt to artificially enlarge the usable surface of the road. Therefore, a retaining wall would have been needed in order for the way to reach the minimum necessary width to facilitate traffic. In fact a carefully built side wall, measuring over 1m in height in certain spots, borders the road on the downhill side, and can be tracked all the way throughout its length, up to where it has been cut by the construction of the modern thoroughfare to Skourta (fig. 188). The wall is not upright but slants slightly inward to improve its stability; it is made up of small and medium-sized rough stones (some of them look roughly worked) set together as to leave a minimum space between the interstices; most of them appear flat and are put in place horizontally while others are wedged in vertically as needed. The road bed is probably constituted by dirt and crushed rocks of various size, kept together by the wall (although no sections of the road bed are exposed enough for careful assessment). After 200m from the point where this segment encounters the ancient road, the old road meets a further path which joins it from the south; this path probably headed down directly to the Kounizos stream, but it is not possible to track it completely as it is interrupted by the modern road in its lower part. The main course of the road can be followed for 500m until its remains are obviously interrupted and cut

by the construction of the modern road, to which the old road ran almost perfectly parallel. Therefore, it is possible to imagine that the course of the modern road coincides with that of its predecessor in this stretch. It also possible that in this final part a second path diverted from the course of the old road and climbed the hill slope for a few metres. In fact the remains of a further engineered pathway, the narrowest part of which measures about 1.60m, can be traced 50m ahead, only a few metres apart from the ancient road which will be described in the following paragraphs.

Having presented the data for the remains of the nineteenth/early twentieth-century road, we now turn to the description of securely ancient remains along the route of Section IIIg. As later explained in the discussion paragraphs for this section, the view is here upheld that these remains indicate that an ancient road coming from ancient Phyle towards Skourta may have stretched along the western flank of Megalo Vouno. It has been observed that the course of the old road meets the remains of what seems to be an even earlier feature, certainly an aqueduct with which the ancient road was probably associated. This point is indicated clearly in the military topographic diagram, and the remains that will be presented in the following paragraphs are interpreted as a path by the military geographers as well. On the other hand this feature does not appear in the *KvA* (fig. 182). Among the most noticeable characteristics is a carving which runs the length of the path for a long stretch. Today it is the first evidence to be found as one walks northwards along the uphill side of the old road, some 1.20m above the current old road surface. This carving has been realised on the solid outcropping bedrock. The first stretch to be discovered has a L-shaped section, measuring about 1m in length, but part of it is clearly missing. What is left of its surface, which is broken into several parts, appears very smooth, and it has a maximum preserved width of 0.30m. The angle between the bottom and the vertical side of the carving is slightly rounded. The uphill side is inclined, and it was probably worked as well but its surface is rather rough (fig. 189). It appears that this is not an isolated example of this type of evidence. At a distance of 7m from this carving the old road passes a large, very battered limestone ledge (fig. 184). Its surface is elevated above the later old road by about 1.20m, and, indeed, the approach to it is closely similar to that described when discussing the rock-cut road in Section IIIc, where the level of the later dirt

path currently lies at a much lower level than its ancient predecessor (figs. 102–103). Proceeding along this new rocky pathway, there are more remnants of several more carvings cut into the uphill side of the limestone path. It appears obvious that these cuttings are not isolated finds, as they seem to have been carved along the same line, and most likely belong to the same broken-up feature. By observing the first carving sections it seems that they all follow a similar incline, the first one described being the lowest. This clearly indicates that the channel kept the same gradient as the road, which is today interrupted or completely covered by the deposits. Very close to the spot where the two roads meet, there are the remains of one of the best preserved of these carved sections. This appears as quite a large channel, only a few metres long, with rectangular section and rounded corners; it measures approximately 0.85m in width; both sides are almost vertical and preserved enough to allow measurements (figs. 190–192). Toward the downhill side, roughly along the hypothesised centre of the road, the carving suffered the consequences of erosion, and it is only partially preserved; it measures about 0.25m in depth. The other side of the channel is definitely higher and measures over 0.80m, but the height of the uphill channel wall is not homogenous throughout as it varies according to the quantity and the height of the bedrock into which is excavated. For this reason it is not perfectly clear what the functional depth of the channel might have been, the very much eroded outer side being the only reference for reconstructing its depth. Overall, in this section the channel is particularly well preserved and clearly shows the smoothness of its floor and of the lower parts of both sides. Continuing along the course of the path, several more interrupted parts of the channel can be identified, stretching for a total preserved length of approximately 250m (figs. 193–194). Nevertheless, of particular interest is the fact that these various channel sections differ in some characteristics, such as maximum width (which varies from 0.83m to 1.05m), inclination of the floor (horizontal in most sections, slanting towards the uphill wall in others), and inclination of the uphill wall (vertical in some spots, leaning outward in others, figs. 195–196). Furthermore, the overall measurements and first-hand assessment of this channel indicate that the sections have been affected differently by erosion (figs. 197–198). In determined segments only a minimum part of the carving is preserved (always that on the uphill side), casting some doubt as to whether the supposedly missing

piece was actually part of the channel, or whether some of the uphill remains were wheel ruts, as it appears in certain segments (fig. 199). Indeed, the whole rock-cut section resembles that described in Section IIIc but on a larger scale. The interrupted carved sections, which are obviously part of a single water duct, occupy a large part of the survived walkable surface. This duct suddenly ceases to exist, but the path continues its course northward along the flank of the mountain, as indicated by the remains of the surface of the path and its retaining walls.

Attention has already been put on the erosion that has heavily affected the remains of this section. Although erosion has greatly compromised the downhill part of the road, certain portions have been spared enough as to show traces of the retaining wall that had to flank the road throughout its length (figs. 200–202). Even the width of the road that flanked the aqueduct can be estimated with a good degree of likelihood, albeit in only a few spots. Interrupted retaining wall sections show that this was made of large rough rocks in the steepest parts; smaller stones were also used towards the last stretches of this road section. Here, there are still the remains of a 12m long retaining wall delimiting the last identifiable fraction of the road, which descends down the 710m contour line (figs. 203–204). In this part, the road has a width of at least 2.5m. Indeed, the span of the road is never narrower than 2m, with stretches where it measures 3.5m and even 4m (fig. 205). In determined areas the road seems to have been paved. However, after protracted observations and a close examination of the evidence, it can be concluded that the road was probably neither paved nor cobbled, ruling out any continuous, intense use for this section during the Turkish occupation. Indeed, however close the resemblance might be to cobbling, some of the allegedly cobbled road sections are actually the result of the wearing and fracturing of the exposed limestone (figs. 198, 206). Nevertheless, other sporadic and more ancient artefacts were found in several spots (fig. 207). Along the course of the road quite a few tile fragments and a pottery cluster were identified 0.50m from the retaining wall; further down the valley, rather close to the streambed, an isolated black-glaze potsherd bears witness to the use of this route in antiquity (figs. 208–209).

Section IIIg. Discussion

Both the track of the nineteenth/early twentieth-century road and the remains along the carved acqueduct may have served as the path for the main ancient Phyle road to Boiotia, stretching along the most direct route. Surprisingly, the remains of the path along the carving and the carving itself are not mentioned in the extant literature, but there are indeed conspicuous traces of them on the ground. These remains deserve the greatest attention. The first consideration is the paramount role played by the erosion, which is in this segment of the ancient road greatly noticeable. As noted, retaining walls and kerbs characterise almost all Phyle road segments across the mountains throughout the centuries; however, they are most noticeable in particularly steep parts, where greater care and solidity is required in the construction to fulfil at best their function. Thus, it is not surprising to realise that this further stretch of the old road and its wall traces become noticeable again just in the spot where the west slope of the Megalo Vouno increases its incline.

Along the Kounizos route, from the low level of the streambed all the way up to the 740m contour line, this is in fact the only certain evidence for an ancient feature across the whole western flank of the Megalo Vouno. Indeed, whereas other paths can be found closer to the top of the mountain, it is very unlikely that the main course of the road stretched to a higher elevation than the evidence above describes. First of all, a more elevated route was not necessary to transverse the path; second, and even more important, this would have entailed an unnecessarily complex engineering effort, and probably resulted in a steeper slope for the travellers to climb. It has been mentioned and shown how different roads of different periods followed this general route; their courses run parallel to each other across the mountain slope at different heights, developing from the lower elevation of 680m of the modern road up to the 740m of the ancient one. The old road runs at an elevation comprised between the modern and the ancient. Judging from field observation, this seems to have been used more recently than its possibly earlier predecessor, without taking advantage of the track of the ancient road. Along the whole flank of the mountain, in this stretch, the other possible alternative for the course of the ancient road is the same course followed

by the modern thoroughfare. However, no evidence whatsoever supports this hypothesis, and the rock-cut section remains the only valid option.

The ancient road is in a bad state, as it was abandoned for centuries and probably never regained the status of main road again, likely being used only by shepherds thereafter. The ancient road was probably abandoned when a reduction in traffic required a smaller road, easier to maintain than one three or four metres wide, which probably necessitated constant care to maintain and replace the retaining wall in certain parts. The tracing of the other road, a few metres down, fulfilled the same function as the ancient, in an environment which has also changed over the centuries. Indeed, even if no unmistakable wheel ruts have been found along this stretch, it is possible to claim that the ancient road may have been used by carts; this is mainly suggested by its width (up to 4m) and careful planning. In addition, we have shown that its southern stretches (Section I; Section IIIa; Section IIIf) were probably carriageable as well. Unfortunately, as noted, in addition to the road and the carving themselves, it is the effects of erosion which catch the attention of the observer. It is very clear that at least half of the road has been erased over the centuries in several segments. Furthermore, in the spot where the first carving remains are visible, it is clear how later road tracks must have taken over the course of the ancient road, from where (I estimate) a great amount of limestone has vanished. This is indicated by evidence showing how the continuation of the rock-cut road and a stretch of a large water duct once extended along a length which is today occupied by the remnants of the later dirt road instead. The question then arises whether the bedrock was quarried away or if natural factors led to its disappearance. No clear signs of quarrying is immediately detectable; there are no neat cuttings on the edges of the bedrock which appears rough and battered. However, it cannot be coincidence that the larger missing portion of the ancient road coincides with the very stretch where the two roads encounter. Furthermore, they meet at a point where their courses are in counter-slope – that is, the roads have two slightly opposite and converging inclinations. This observation is particularly relevant if an attempt is also made to make sense of the destination and purpose of the carving.

A separate discussion should be devoted to the large channel. This is beyond doubt a water duct; its size and careful workmanship suggests it may

have been part of an aqueduct, a very ancient one to judge by the poorly preserved condition of its remains. Its continuation can be only hypothetically reconstructed. It seems that a projected reconstruction of the water channel and the ancient road would today end up underground, against the course of the later road. There are only a few possible solutions to this complicated topographic riddle: the channel may have stopped before going underground or actually continued into the hill (maybe by means of a terracotta pipe). Another possibility is that its course completely changed direction, but there is no evidence suggesting this. The third, most likely, solution is that the hill slope (or artificial embankment) from which the later road comes is the result of depositional actions (human or natural) which occurred over a long time. This activity would, over the centuries, cover a section of the duct which was not originally buried. Of course these hypothesis can only be verified by means of archaeological excavations. A similar feature, comparable in terms of measurements, was described by Marchand along the north side of the Vrysoules stream, in the territory of Kleonai. At the outset, it should be considered that in this case (just as it was the case for the channel along Section IIIc), the wide channel described in this section seems to have been closely related to the ancient road, whereas the carving presented by Marchand appears as a feature distinct from the road.[82] However, the details of this relationship are not determinable, as a thorough cleaning, at the very least, of the remains is necessary. In both cases the channels start abruptly, but the continuation of the carving in Section IIIg probably still lies underneath a later embankment traversed by the old road. In fact, this feature might be considered related to the other water duct segments discussed in Section IIIc. However, while a continuous water source for these latter ducts may have been identified as the Phyle spring, a further collecting basin or other water influx still needs to be identified for this large aqueduct section: this, starts abruptly at a height of nearly 740m along a mountain flank, where no spring or other water source can be recognised today. Therefore, it is possible to hypothesise that the aqueduct was fed by a source located at a higher elevation, which still needs to be identified. A targeted field survey may solve this issue. Furthermore, along the route of the road it is possible to find several terracotta

[82] MARCHAND 2002, pp. 94–96; 662–663.

fragments that, considering the presence of the aqueduct, may have been part of it, possibly representing distinct terracotta sections.

Section IIIh

The steep west flank of Megalo Vouno was the last major topographic obstacle that the ancient road encountered on the way to Skourta across Parnes. As the ancient road (and really all roads of different periods in this area) probably descended to the level of the Kounizos stream on the northwestern edge of the mountain, the geomorphology of the hillside becomes much more favourable for the construction of a road. The main road extends to the northwest along the narrow yet comfortable valley that opens up between the Kryou Pigadiou ridge and Hill 772.20 (one of the hills southeast of modern Moungoultos). It is possible that, as indicated by the line marked in the military topographic diagram, the ancient road turned away from the lower part of the valley and proceeded along the eastern flank of the Kryou Pigadiou ridge, still running in the same direction as the valley. In the following paragraphs evidence is provided for the continuation of the ancient road (and the later ones) across this section.

Section IIIh. The data

In the last part of the Megalo Vouno route, several paths go down to the Kounizos streambed and traverse it on their way into Boiotia. Both the ancient road and the old *KvA* road probably crossed the river in a similar spot, whereas the modern throughway crosses the Kounizos further to the west by means of a concrete bridge; the construction of this bridge also demanded the destruction of the remains of some previous roads. Before descending the last edge of the mountain, a wide flat section of the slope, which exceeds 5m at its maximum width, suggests this may have been part of the ancient road; it is possible that both the ancient and the latter roads converged and merged into this segment (fig. 210). However, the actual relationship between this spacious area and the roads is not clear because, as noted, erosion and the building of the modern road have destroyed a long section of the old ones. From this wide flat stretch the course goes down to the river; a shaved rock section on the uphill side and traces of a retaining wall (made of large rough stones) indicate the continuation of the route

(figs. 211–212). This has a width of at least 2.5m and descends to the streambed. The ancient road probably crossed the stream near a point where a mound of large rocks may have constituted a sort of possibly natural bridge or dam (fig. 213). However, the course of the stream itself was most likely used as a road for long stretches; this may be indicated by the aforementioned possible wheel ruts found on the rocks along the stream surface, which follow the same orientation as the stream (figs. 214–215). However, only a targeted survey of the course of the entire eastern stretch of the Kounizos can shed better light on this data. More possible wheel ruts can be found in another stretch of the Kounizos, some 500m to the south, but in this case the marks spotted on the streambed are most probably natural. Therefore, it is probable that after crossing the stream travellers had the option to move upstream eastward into inner Parnes, and also to follow the Kounizos in the opposite direction back towards the fortress.

Moving to the north along the main route to the Dervenochoria region, the remains of at least two different roads, continuations of the ancient and the later one discussed in Section IIIg, can be tracked clearly again. The route traced in the *KvA* certainly refers to one of these roads. However, the military topographic diagram indicates some of the tracks that traversed this part of the route without a clear distinction between the course of the two above-mentioned roads. Indeed, right across the stream, near the possible dam (fig. 213), there is a bifurcation from which at least two different paths diverge. These likely belong to the ancient road and a later one; the remains likely associated with the ancient road are presented here first. These are rather well preserved for a short stretch that follows the intersection between the Kounizos and the Kryo Pigadi valley. As shown in fig. 181, after crossing the Kounizos, the ancient road runs parallel to it for a very short stretch along the direction of its flow; a tall retaining wall which separates the road from this river rises above the stream level by about 1.5m at its highest part. This is made of rough stones of various sizes; the largest ones measure up to more than 0.50m in diameter (fig. 216). In this stretch, the road surface appears rather flat with some low outcropping rock; it is at least 3m wide in this segment (fig. 217). The road bends gently toward the north; a rock-cut passage measuring roughly 2m in width was probably part of the road. The road certainly proceeded towards the northwest along the valley as indicated by further segments of a massive retaining wall that are still visible along the scarp

of the modern road (figs. 218–219). This is made of rough stones similar in appearance and size to those in the previously mentioned wall section. Part of the ancient road course probably lies underneath the modern road's eastern scarp. However, the general direction of the ancient road can also be reconstructed through other evidence. In fact, a still-functional well, which is today known by the name of Kryo Pigadi, certainly indicates the direction of the ancient way, as this must have been also a stop along the course of the road until the construction of the modern throughway. This is most probably an ancient well, as indicated by its construction and general appearance. It is made of large stones, some of which seem to have been roughly worked (figs. 220–222). The well lies on a kind of terrace, the top surface of which is elevated by more than 2m above the lowest level of the hypothesised ancient road. This elevation difference was not due to recent erosion, but appears to be an ancient arrangement. In fact, 10m southeast of the well, one encounters a large and tall retaining wall built right across the route of the valley. This is made of large rough stones, some of them with maximum length of more than 1m (figs. 223–224). It is clear that the ancient road skirted it from the west along the stretch today obliterated by the modern road. From this spot the ancient road either continued its journey along the lower part of the valley, or ran the length of the Kryou Pigadiou ridge, still parallel to the valley, as with the path indicated in the military topographic diagram and the modern road.

As already mentioned, from the junction opposite the Kounizos, the track of another road, most likely that marked in the *KvA*, runs parallel to the ancient road, albeit along a more uphill route (fig. 182). Its course can be followed for about 150m. A long retaining wall made of smaller stones than its allegedly ancient counterpart borders the road along its downhill side; its width is never narrower than 2m, but it never broadens to the same degree as the ancient road (figs. 183–185). This road seems to branch for a very short stretch; two wide and flat open areas are accessible from one of the segments (figs. 186–187). The two segments unite again and probably join the course of the ancient road. Both roads continued their course along the Kryo Pigadi valley for a length of 1.5km, possibly along the same route. At this point two distinct routes headed into the southern and the southeastern parts of Skourta respectively. The first route took the main course to the Asopos river valley and headed towards Thebes, following

the same general direction as the modern road; the other path crossed the western flank of Moungoultos, entering the plain in the region of Ag. Demetrios. As summarised by Munn (1989), after crossing the plain, the route to Thebes descended towards the Asopos river valley through the low pass at Pyli, in the northwestern edge of the plain. Side routes headed to Tanagra, via the village of Skourta in the northeastern part of the plain, and through a path further to the east, across the area of the Tsoukrati tower.[83]

Section IIIh. Discussion

The road remains described in Section IIIh are the last data collected with regard to the ancient and old main routes to Skourta. It has already been observed that the two road tracks presented here are likely to be the continuation of an ancient road and another pre-modern road, this latter being that indicated in the nineteenth-century *KvA*. This was in use well into the twentieth century, when the modern road and its developments over time replaced it as the main artery into the Skourta plain.

Even in the case of this last stretch the difference between the two roads can mostly be seen in their suitability to wheeled traffic. The ancient road appears larger than the later one, measuring 2m in the narrowest segments, but having an average span of at least 3m in the segments described here. In particular, the possible wheel ruts found across the rock-cut passage and those marked on the streambed indicate that in antiquity carts were a common feature along these roads – not only along the main route, but possibly also the length of arteries such as the Kounizos river route, which appear today as secondary but must have had an important role in the road network of mountainous Parnes. In short, the physical features of this ancient road stretch suggest it was probably carriageable.

On the other hand, the remains related to what has been here defined as the nineteenth-century road are narrower throughout, not only in this segment but along the entire length of the Phyle route, with the exception of the Moni Kleiston road. An aspect common to both tracks was the general direction of the route, which in certain stretches almost overlap; and as a consequence the

[83] MUNN AND ZIMMERMAN MUNN 1989, p. 79.

gradients are also similar, which would translate into a similar travelling effort for both pedestrians and animals.

Section IV

The route which develops throughout Section IV follows the lower course of the Janoula towards the west, then veers to the north, following the length of the gullies of the Phikti and Theodora rivers. Eventually, it ends up in the narrow rock-cut road stretch described in Section IIIc, but its course may have merged with that of the main road a few hundred metres before reaching the rock-cut passage. The northern sections of this route may have overlapped with a segmented water conduit carved into the rock and possibly partially realised with underground terracotta pipes and other built parts. This conduit is described in Section IIIc; therefore only cursory mention of it is made here, when the discussion requires it.

Section IVa

Section IVa branches from the reconstructed course of the main ancient road (Section IIa) and follows the Janoula along the northern flank of the Vouno Chassias for 1km; then it crosses the Janoula and proceeds for another 500m where it encounters the Phikti (or Theodora) stream, which flows into the Janoula from the north (fig. 225). At this point two different routes may be followed by the traveller. It is possible to continue to walk towards the southwest along the course of the Janoula (which in this stretch is called Dipotami, after the Janoula and the Phikti merge into one). The other possibility, which is described more in detail in Section IVb, is to head north, along the valley of the Phikti. The first route ends up into the Thriasian plain, the second one leads to the fortress.

Section IVa. The data

A path indicated both in the *KvA* and in the military topographic diagram (sheet 6434/7) here departs from the modern asphalt road (figs. 225–226). Its course can be tracked easily by the retaining walls that in the first part delimit both sides of the way (figs. 227–228). The surface of the path has an average width of 2.5m in this first segment, and wider at certain spots. Several terraces are present in the landscape on the path's uphill side, whereas a torrent, which

meets the Janoula 700m ahead, flows along the other side parallel to the path. The road's retaining wall on the downhill side is constituted of rough limestone rocks of various sizes, some of them as large as 0.50m as with the stones belonging to the walls of the ancient road as seen for example in Section IIIa, IIIg, and IIIh. At a certain point (around 600m from the modern asphalt road) the path bifurcates (fig. 229). One branch heads downhill, closer to the streambed, whereas another, which today appears as a modern, narrow and rougher dirt track, continues its journey slightly more uphill. Both paths run along a similar general direction. As the old path descends towards the torrent, it narrows to a minimum width of about 0.80m at its steepest stretch (fig. 230). A few metres north of the old path, along the course of today's track, there is an old (possibly ancient) well, completely dry and partially ruined (fig. 231). Both the lower path and the modern dirt track meet again before crossing the Janoula. As the route traverses the stream, the old path proceeds its course on the Janoula's right bank (fig. 232).[84] Traces of the downhill retaining wall are visible and traceable throughout; it measures about 1.5m in width. At a distance of 45m from the crossing of the Janoula, another narrow and steep trail branches from the main course and climbs the southernmost fold of Theodora, cutting across it in a southwest direction, before veering gradually westward and then proceeding northwest (fig. 233). Its first segments are marked by a retaining wall. This path leads to a series of shallow caves that opens in the limestone cliff; they were used or re-used by shepherds as suggested by the remnants of a ruined house (fig. 234). From the house, one stretch of the trail went down, whereas another continued near the limestone cliff. Close to the other two caves, the simple dirt path meets a rocky ledge; here a flight of stairs carved into the bedrock takes over the route for a dozen metres (figs. 235–237). Interestingly, the part of the Janoula stream in this section is also known by the name of Skaleza, this name probably including the root of the modern Greek term *skala* (stairway), possibly in relation to these steps. Past the caves and the stairway the path continues its journey northwards. In this stretch north of the carved steps, the rocky path surface seems to have been levelled and it is partially carved into the rock for a

[84] As previously noted at p. 69, n. 34, in this work the terms 'right bank' and 'left bank' are conventionally used in relation to an observer looking downstream.

length of around 120m (figs. 238–239). The course of the main old path instead proceeds along the Janoula until it crosses it again, shifting its course from the right to the left streamside. After a few dozen metres, the path encounters the junction between the Janoula and the Phikti. The route extending from the stream intersection to the north is described in Section IVb.

Section IVa. Discussion

The path described in this section cannot be contextualised chronologically to any degree of accuracy. This is indicated in the nineteenth-century *KvA*, but it is possible to hypothesise that it followed a much earlier route (fig. 226). Even in this case the topography suggests that an ancient pathway between the Vouno Chassias and the Theodora could have followed a different route only with difficulty. In general, this route must have certainly been used since antiquity, as it connects western Parnes to the Thriasian plain to the southwest, and also constitutes the first branch of the secondary route conducting to the fortress and farther north. Indeed, the surveyed retaining walls and their appearance certainly identify the course of an old pathway (maybe even an ancient one); furthermore, the presence of the abandoned well is a strong indicator of the precise direction of this very route. However, the Vouno Chassias north slope presents other possibilities for the location of a road in a few particular areas. In fact, further remains (possibly ancient) on this slope are more difficult to interpret. Before the path section crosses the Janoula for the first time, the whole northern flank of the mountain presents a rather gentle, constant gradient and the course of the path in antiquity (or even a larger road) could have extended across it easily. On this slope, at an elevation of around 255m, a large rectilinear retaining wall built at a higher altitude than that of today's path can be followed for about 50m; its stones are larger and its construction looks more ancient than the path (figs. 240–241). The wall seems to stop against a rocky ledge of the mountain, and both ends suddenly fade away. However, the nature and function of this wall should be still investigated, as no other terraces are today visible in this area, which suggests that its function may not necessarily have been agricultural.

Apart from the route itself, Section IVa yields other information. The most interesting observation here concerns the flight of rock-cut steps parallel to

the last stretch of this segment. In fact, whereas a trail or a simple path could easily have been made by farmers or shepherds to serve the need of limited local traffic, a rock-cut stairway is not a common feature in the Greek countryside. The careful construction of the stairs, along with the levelling of the path surface, may indicate a particular importance of this path possibly in relationship to the caves. It can therefore be hypothesised that this path was made in antiquity to access the caves, which may have served religious purposes.

Section IVb

As seen, the route of Section IVa makes its way through a valley (figs. 242–243). Section IVb can also be defined as a valley route, as the northward way to the fortress takes advantage of the Phikti dell first, then that of Theodora (Section IVc), until its course probably merged with the course of the main Phyle ancient road (see Section IIIc). In the very first segment of Section IVb the main course of the path crosses the Janoula and enters the Phikti gully by leaving the southernmost cliff of the Theodora ridge to the east. On the other hand, the above-mentioned secondary path with the carved steps cuts directly through the Theodora's southern ledge at a higher elevation. The courses of the two paths meet again near the Phikti bed, 700m from the start of this new section, and proceed until they meet the Theodora stream.[85]

Section IVb. The data

As one approaches the lower course of the Phikti, a large dirt track is noticeable on the gently sloping western side of the stream. This track joins the large dirt road which comes from the southern slope of Daphna Mountain and runs almost up to the Phikti cistern, following the contour of the eastern folds of Daphna and Kamariza (figs. 244–245). The road comes from the southwest (along the Dipotami valley) and is mostly used today by emergency vehicles and pedestrians; it follows the course of its nineteenth-century predecessor as indicated in the *KvA* and in the military topographic diagram (6434/7, figs. 242–

[85] This torrent is today commonly referred to as Theodora after the hill ridge that delimits it to the east. Its course joins the Phikti which takes over its name. However, the Theodora stream is referred to as Phikti in the *KvA*, including the lower and the higher courses of the stream under a same name.

243). From field observation, this dirt road seems to be the only clearly visible evidence for a major track along the west side of the valley. On the other hand, traces are visible of other narrower paths which follow the same general direction as the dirt road, but along the eastern side of the stream. All these paths can be tracked through the shallow retaining walls that border them (figs. 246–247). In the first segment of Section IVb, one of the paths climbs a short stretch of the Theodora slope and joins with the carved-steps path (fig. 248). It then passes some abandoned houses before descending again to the level of the Phikti stream. Another segment continues northward at a higher altitude. A series of closely spaced retaining walls on different levels (slightly inclined) indicate that the path probably had a zigzag course as it traverses this steep part of the Theodora slope: indeed, the pathway has to meander a bit to lessen the mount gradient.

The dirt road from the west and the lower part of the above-mentioned path from the east join together in the middle of the valley, close to a crossing point in the Phikti bed. The main route continues its journey up to a ruined bridge (part of the water duct system); its characteristics too have already been described in Section IIIc (figs. 249–251). From the bridge, the path bifurcates. One branch of the dirt road follows the contour of the Kamariza's northern fold almost up to the Phikti cistern, whereas another branch heads north, crossing the Phikti and proceeding through the valley of the Theodora stream comprised between the homonymous ridge of the hills to the east and the Kasoubi Mountain to the west. This latter route is described in Section IVc.

Unlike Section IVa, the topography in Section IVb offers more opportunities for a path (or several paths) to cross it, both sides of Phikti possibly having been traversed by a road or a path in antiquity. As noted, the course of the main dirt road develops along the western length of the stream, running parallel to it the entire way; however, we also walked the course of the stream itself and its eastern bank, in order to figure out if another path could have extended there in antiquity. The eastern side of the Phikti is generally steeper than its western counterpart; in certain areas the effects of erosion are constant and very visible, as shown by recently collapsed portions of the dirt hill. Therefore, some of the paths run north at an elevation higher than the less unstable edges. However, a series of old retaining walls characterise the eastern bank of the Phikti in some

parts, mostly near the level of the stream (figs. 252–253). We followed the lowest one, which closely borders the stream, but it is not clear whether this interrupted wall indicates the course of a path along its entire length. In one spot the wall is interrupted by a couple of closely spaced walls perpendicular to it. Proceeding upstream, other retaining wall sections are visible, almost up to where the stream meets the Theodora; 50m further to the west, the stream is crossed by the remains of the above-mentioned bridge.

Section IVb. Discussion

The eastern slope of mount Daphna certainly offered a comfortable solution for a northbound road along the Phikti valley. In fact, today's dirt road still follows the route of its predecessors, and there is no reason to believe that, over the centuries, its course may have shifted much from the current one. It is clear that the route must have been used in antiquity, as it was one of the ways to reach and exploit the inner regions of western Parnes. Conversely, from the area of ancient Phyle, travellers could reach the Thriasian plain across the route of Section IVb and then southwest through the route defined by the Dipotami valley. As far as the precise route of the ancient track is concerned, it can be hypothesised that a possible ancient road would have followed the same (or a similar) course as the modern dirt road, as the western Phikti bank generally offers a more favourable terrain than the opposite side. The stream's eastern bank, on the other hand, was probably mostly traversed by a web of secondary paths used by shepherds and farmers, as its slope appears rather pronounced as well as unstable. Some of the retaining walls encountered along the length of its eastern bank probably had as their main purpose to contain and channel the flow of the stream in a particularly unstable part of its course; probably only short stretches of it relate to a built pathway. As noted when describing Section IIb, it needs to be kept in mind that in such an unstable environment, the topography may have changed due to the flow of the stream itself (the course of which likely has shifted over time) and the accumulation of debris fallen from the steep western flank of Theodora. In short, the eastern side of the Phikti appears in these areas as a continuously transforming landscape; therefore, the track of any possible ancient path along its eastern side could easily have washed away over the centuries.

Section IVc

The track of a possible ancient path across this section is one of the most difficult stretches to reconstruct, due to the difficult topography of the Theodora valley. The easiest natural route is the Theodora streambed. In fact, a path can be followed today which stretches for around 1.5km the length of the gully, shifting from the west to the east bank of the stream according to the roughness of the terrain; it follows a very similar route as that indicated in the *KvA* (figs. 254–255). Indeed, the mountainous and very rough topography of this area does not leave much choice for a route to the fortress and the deme of Phyle, other than the Theodora banks, for most of its course. The lower south segment of the path elevates from 250m to about 350m over a distance of 1km, and can be traversed with ease. However, around 1km southeast of the fortress the path diverges from the lower gully and becomes extremely difficult to traverse. This stretch ascends the west flank of Hill 580.70, moving from an altitude of 350m to almost 600m, along precipitous slopes. It is at this altitude that this route probably joined the course of the main ancient Phyle road that came from the east (Section IIIc).

Section IVc. The data

Past the bridge described in Section IVb, the path continues its course to the north along the Theodora stream. This path stretches along the west side of the stream in its first segment; it is quite large and comfortable to traverse, with a width greater than 2m. According to the topographic diagram, the route continues northward on the same side of the Theodora stream; however, after 160m the path encounters a ruined structure which may have been a bridge, suggesting that an older path may have crossed the stream and continued its route on the east side from that point. The potential bridge is built directly onto a projecting limestone outcropping; it is mostly made of stones and cement, but scant fragments of tiles have also been used in its construction (figs. 256–257). The external sides are made of larger and roughly cut stones, smaller rough stones are used in the middle, to fill the space between the two external walls. Its maximum width measures around 2m, whereas its preserved height its around 3m from the level of the streambed, at a much higher level than the modern path. A ruined building lies 60m northeast of the bridge; this building is made with

rough stones and cement, and the bridge may have been connected with this construction (fig. 258). Near the bridge, a more recent and narrower path makes its way along the eastern side of the Theodora stream up to the ruined building. Past this structure, the path near the building and the one indicated in the topographic diagram converge into one on the Theodora streambed (fig. 259).

Here the first traces are visible of a carving, probably part of an ancient aqueduct (fig. 260), whose description was already provided in Section IIIc. The aqueduct is marked in the *KvA* with the exception of this particular stretch (fig. 255). This first segment of the aqueduct can be seen for a mere 7m on the right side of the modern path; it has an average preserved width of around 0.50m (figs. 261–263). Less than 4m northwest of this carving, another carving is visible on a limestone outcrop on the streambed of Theodora (fig. 125). This is most probably another water channel that may have brought water to the aforementioned aqueduct. However, in spite of their closeness, the two ducts have totally different orientations, and can possibly be interpreted as separate channels or separate branches of a same duct system.

As one proceeds to the north, the path still appears rather large and comfortable for a few hundred metres (fig. 264); but it becomes gradually narrower and steeper as it approaches the hill south of Hill 580.70 (fig. 265). Indeed, the gorge of Theodora is progressively more precipitous on both sides here, leaving few options for alternative paths (fig. 266), and an even more difficult route along the streambed is the only un-recommended possible choice. From here, the path climbs the hill south of Hill 580.70 where, at an altitude of around 420m, there are the remains of the best-preserved part of the aforementioned ancient carved aqueduct, the length of which can be reconstructed for around 130m. At this place, the aqueduct is made of two apparently different segments, of which, one, running down the steep slope, is more than 0.50m wide and 0.40 deep (figs. 124, 267–268). The other segment, carved horizontally, is more elaborate. The bedrock on the hillside has been shaved back by a minimum of 0.80m to a maximum of around 1.20m to make space for the actual channel, which is in turn dug to a depth of at least 0.50m as far as it is possible to see today (figs. 123, 269). The aqueduct continues its course up the south slope of hill 580.70, but it is partially hidden under deposit

and its extent cannot be readily assessed (fig. 270). To take precise measurements of the entire aqueduct, a thorough excavation is necessary.

The path continues to the north, climbing the southwest slope of Hill 580.70. Here, the track becomes so demanding that at one point it requires the use of metal handles attached to the bedrock to facilitate the climb at a spot (fig. 271). This route meets the possible course of the ancient Phyle road 400m north of the aqueduct described above, at an altitude of around 560m.

Section IVc. Discussion

The route of any path through the Theodora valley was, and still is, strongly determined by the jagged topography of the terrain; therefore, the course of a possible ancient path along the Theodora cannot have differed much from the modern path. Still, due to erosion on both sides of the stream, part of the modern web of trails may have diverted a bit from its predecessor, making its way through the Theodora valley even more demanding than the ancient road. However, it has been observed that the first stretches of this path are rather broad and comfortable enough for pedestrians and pack animals. This path possibly developed for the exploitation of this densely vegetated region, most likely for timber and resin extraction, rather than as a much-trodden route to the fortress and the deme.

As noted, the path used today coincides in certain stretches with the carved ancient aqueduct that characterises part of this route; therefore, the question of the relationship between this aqueduct and the route of the ancient path still remains. Generally, any pathway diverging from the Theodora streambed had to be thoroughly laid out in antiquity to minimise the very tiresome ascent of Hill 580.70 and the hills around it. Therefore, the co-presence of a modern path along the line of an aqueduct may not be merely coincidental and possibly reflects the course of the trail in antiquity as well. A similar arrangement has been described in Section IIIc, where the carved stretch of the ancient Phyle road is flanked by a channel (possibly part of this same aqueduct). Similarly, it has been noted in Section IIIg that the aqueduct in that section most probably flanked the course of the ancient road as well. It is possible to hypothesise that the path of this secondary route to Phyle may have developed close to the aqueduct, at least at certain spots where the channel was meant to be

covered and was large enough to be walked upon. That said, the steepness of the route in certain stretches of Section IVc, mostly in the area of Hill 580.70, appears so pronounced as to cast serious doubt on the frequency of its use in antiquity for everyday traffic. Therefore, to judge from the characteristics of this route as it appears today, I suggest that this was never meant for regular traffic to the fortress or the deme of Phyle, most of these paths being suitable for pedestrians only. The route described in Section IVc cannot be considered a real alternative to the main ancient Phyle road that coincided with the route presented in Section III.

4. The Phyle road: conclusions

In conclusion to this long discussion of the ancient routes to Skourta via Phyle the following statements can be made:

1) The main ancient Phyle road did not stop at the fortress, as suggested by some scholars, but extended further north to the Skourta plain.[86] Indeed, the course of this road can be followed for most of its length across western Parnes, and its route can be reconstructed with a high degree of accuracy. The main course of this road can be precisely identified in Sections I, IIa, and IIIa–h.

2) The ancient Phyle road was carefully laid out and built; it was large enough to accommodate wheeled traffic. Most importantly, evidence of wheel ruts was found in Sections I and probably Section IIIc; however, we cannot be absolutely certain that this road was carriageable in its entirety.

3) The route of the Phyle road was laid out so as to be approached from the south/southeast, most likely as a continuation of the road axis linking Athens to Acharnai. The topography of the region certainly indicates that travelling on the Phyle road was not a comfortable journey. However, it was used throughout antiquity and until recently, and certainly supported frequent traffic.

4) The identification of a new funerary (or religious) roadside structure (Section IIIb), located with similar monuments at a relatively short distance from the church of Agia Paraskevi, may confirm the location of the ancient deme in the whereabouts of the church, as suggested by Skias.

[86] OBER 1985, p. 185.

5) Along with the main ancient Phyle road, other routes can be followed today; these can be used to reach the fortress and the deme, and may have served the same purpose in antiquity as well. These routes are described in Sections II and IV. The main Phyle road and the secondary routes that departed from it provided access to the Phyle fortress, the deme, and the farms in the area surrounding the fortress. Further defensive structures such as the fortress at Panakton, and the towers of Limiko and Tsoukrati were easily reachable via the Phyle road and its branches.[87] However, this road certainly had a religious function as well, as it gave access to all religious sites that probably developed in western Parnes (in caves and certain mountains, such as Harma). More specifically, the route of Section II may also have lead to the Cave of Pan and the Nymphs, the southern fold of Harma and inner Parnes. As for Section IV, this route was not only a potential path to the fortress, but it also connected the Thriasian plain to western Parnes through the Dipotami Valley (through the western continuation of Section IVb). However, the last stretch of Section IVc was not even suitable for pack animals, and it probably joined the course of the main Phyle road only indirectly.

More generally, the field observations conducted have provided evidence for the following broader conclusion: the road network across western Parnes was far more developed than previously thought, and the data indicate that this network likely extended across other areas of the massif. Indeed, the hypothesis of a cart roads system unwinding across the mountainous region of western Parnes, which was only theoretically proposed by Skias and suggested by Maria Platonos Iota, finds new support in the wheel ruts identified along the route of the Phyle road, in its width and careful layout. Further field surveys along the routes across Parnes would be desirable to fully understand the extent of the road system across Parnes. With specific regard to the Pythaïs, the identification of previously unknown roadside religious (or funerary) structures and the relationship of the Phyle road with the surrounding religious landscape certainly hightlights the importance of this communication axis that transcends the military function alone. However, no superficial find can be associated with either Apollo or to the Pythaïs, and more comprehensive data collection can only

[87] For more on forts and towers in the Parnes region, see OBER 1985, pp. 145–152.

be achieved through excavations of the identified structures. That notwithstanding, I suggest that the Phyle road may have been used by the pilgrims to reach Boiotia. This is not only indicated by the general religious and practical reasons discussed in chapter six, but is also suggested by the characteristics of the road itself: the Phyle road was a proper road that, however uncomfortable, was certainly suitable for the large number of pilgrims. These aspects related to the road and the result of the entire data analysed throughout this study are discussed in the next, concluding chapter.

VII
Conclusions

This study has primarily offered new insights into the Pythaïs, with regard to both the cultural and chronological context where it developed and the space in which it may have taken place within Athens and Attica.

One of the purposes stated in the introductory section of this work was the intention to contribute, through the discussion of the road of the Pythaïs, to the more general subject of Greek sacred roads as well. In conclusion to our analysis, the first remark is the confirmation of the difficulties in identifying physical elements which are exclusive to sacred roads and useful in characterising the entire category.[1] A road is primarily a means to enable communications and movement of people and goods, and any more specific purpose of a road lies in its contingent functions. In short, the definition of a road as exclusively sacred rather than military, political or economic, will always fall short of comprehensive. In fact, roads are not meant to fulfil an exclusive purpose but multiple, and modern scholarship is now inclined to transcend these restrictive distinctions that often appear in the study of ancient roads.[2]

It has been noted that the road of the Pythaïs was certainly known as the Sacred Road to Delphi along its length; this was one of the few religious roads textually referred to as *Hiera Hodos.*[3] Accordingly, a section of this study has been dedicated to the issues of the ancient and modern terminology relating to sacred/processional roads. However, this work has shown that the use of a single descriptive term to refer to the road of the Pythaïs, as well as other processional

[1] These issues are discussed, together with the specific terminology, in the second chapter of this work. As shown, it is clear that architectural elements such as the *pompeia* (for the ordering of the procession) or facilities like inns for pilgrims (for long journeys) cannot be taken as elements characteristic uniquely of a sacred road. These elements could have been used for other celebrations, including non-religious functions as well.

[2] For a discussion of roads in Attica and the need to transcend distinct functional classifications, see FACHARD AND PIRISINO 2015.

[3] Agora 19, H 34. Ὅρος ἱερᾶς ὁδῶ δι’ ἧς πορεύεται ἡ Πυθαὶς ἐς Δελφός. *Marker of the Sacred Road by which the Pythaïs proceeds to Delphi* (trans. PARSONS 1943, p. 237). For the stone’s find context, see SHEAR 1939, pp. 212–213.

roads, is limiting. The establishment of a relationship between the term *hiera hodos* and a road whose specific function is determined to be processional proved to be ineffective. Although perceived as sacred, the road of the Pythaïs (which was actually a combination of several stretches inside and outside the city) did not distinguish itself from other roads, and it served regular traffic as with any other road within the city and outside the city's territory. It was the route of the pilgrimage itself, its founding myth and its religious function that determined the sanctity of this route; indeed, its sacredness must have been particularly enhanced in close connection with the conduction of the procession and the carrying out of other rituals related to the Pythaïs. The case of this road, as with most other sacred roads, shows that the religious relevance of a road outside of a shrine's precinct was mostly limited to the time during which the procession took place. As a point of illustration, consider the aforementioned road from Miletus to Didyma, the sanctity of which was re-affirmed with the setting and the consecration of the *gylloi*, the movable stones that marked the route of the processional way.[4] The route of the Pythaïs had all the characteristics and functions of any other urban road in its stretch across Athens, as much as it adapted to the landscape in its extra-urban course. Indeed, the case of the road of the Pythaïs shows the necessity to embrace a definition of 'sacred road' that transcends a specific terminology; this is supported by the fact that, as we have shown, in the ancient Greek world only a handful of processional roads were known as *hiera hodoi*.[5] Multiple factors need to be considered when determining the sacredness of the road, accounting for the interaction of human agents, the rite, and its physical context. Indeed, in conclusion to the analysis of the road of the Pythaïs, it seems particularly appropriate the definition of 'sacred road' that I have already proposed in the second chapter of this work. I have emphasised that *a sacred road is primarily perceived as such by the community/ies to which it signifies a link between the community itself and a determined sacred/traditional topography*.[6] Therefore, the nature of a road as sacred is mostly determined by its relationship with specific rituals and the religious topography involved, rather

[4] Milet I 3 133, ll. 25–27.

[5] See the second chapter of this work.

[6] The full definition is in the second chapter of this work.

than depending on it being referred to by particular terminology in the historical records. Indeed, one of the most important conclusive remarks to this research is the importance of considering religious topography as a paramount element of the reconstruction of a sacred road.

1. Final remarks on the route and spatial context of the Pythaïs

In this research, the Pythaïs has first been discussed in its urban spatial context. The initial segment of the urban stretch of the Pythaïs has been hypothetically and partially reconstructed based on the religious topography of the city and our knowledge of the ritual practices carried out for the Pythaïs. It has been observed that the rituals of the *tripodephoria* and the *pyrphoria* (as part of the larger context of the celebration) and the buildings connected with these rituals probably determined the course of the procession within the city. Furthermore, the ritual was probably considered complete when the Delphic tripod and the sacred fire were brought back to Athens, into the Pythion and the Prytaneion respectively. Therefore, it has been proposed that the Pythaïs started from the shrine of Apollo Pythios, near the Olympieion, and headed to the area of the Classical Agora, via the Prytaneion. The direction of the procession within the city was most probably related to its course outside of the city. It has been shown that the course of the procession across Athens may have followed different paths within the urban street layout. In fact, we are not aware of the actual complexity of the ceremony, which may well have touched several parts of the city related to the cult of Apollo; the Cave of Apollo on the north slope of the Acropolis probably had a share in the ritual, and so did the temple of Apollo Patroös in the Classical Agora. Once outside the city the sub-urban road network may have served the Pythaïs from different points of the walls, since the extra-urban route of the *theoria* was also related to the location of the city gate from which the pilgrimage exited Athens.

While the reconstruction of the urban course of the Pythaïs suggested in this work can be considered probable at least up to the area of the Classical Agora, the continuation of the pilgrimage route across Attica remains difficult to pin down with absolute certainty. Indeed, from the examination of the elements

available regarding the possible routes of the Pythaïs, no possibility can be either completely rejected or proven certain, although a route across the Marathonian Tetrapolis seems the least probable (as this is the longest among the routes discussed). However, from a thorough multidisciplinary analysis of all data related to the Pythaïs, it can be suggested that a route through western Parnes, via Harma, is possibly a more likely candidate than the Eleusinian sacred road.

As far as the conduction of the Pythaïs outside Athens is concerned, it can be concluded that the span of the religious landscape probably involved in the ceremony in Attica was greater than that usually assumed by the scholarship. In fact, in this work it has been shown that a simplistic association between the route of the Pythaïs and the Eleusinian *Hiera Hodos* is inadequate to understand the relationship between the rite, its ritual space, and its founding myth.[7] Indeed, the Pythaïs is best contextualised spatially in a wider scenario that encompasses other areas that probably had a share in the ritual: primarily Parnes, and even possibly the route to Prasiai, through which a branch of the Pythaïs may have reached Delos. Mount Parnes, and specifically Harma, is referred to in close relation to the Pythaïs by Simonides and Strabo, whereas the connection between the Pythaïs and Prasiai can only be reasonably inferred. In fact, it is probable that the Pythaïs also included offerings by pilgrimage to Delos (birthplace of the god).[8] Sacred delegations to the island traditionally set off from Prasiai. Therefore, the route from Athens to Prasiai may have also been used for the Delian Pythaïdes; the return journey from the island to Athens via Prasiai would have been a fitting re-enactment of Apollo's mythical arrival in Attica.[9]

In this study, I have observed that a complex ritual such as the Pythaïs was probably made of a number of different offerings and rituals at different places in Athens and Attica, together with the big overland journey to Delphi. In

[7] As noted, the hypothesis that the Pythaïs followed the *Hiera Hodos* to Eleusis has dominated most scholarship concerned with the pilgrimage since MÜLLER 1824, pp. 239–240.

[8] This practice was a feature of the Marathonian Pythaïdes in the third century BC, as witnessed by Philochoros (*FGrH* 328 F 75; Appendix, #Axii). However, it is not certain whether this practice was characteristic of the first Athenian Pythaïdes as well. Evidence for delegations sent to Delos during the celebration of the Athenian Pythaïdes is IG II ^{2} 2336; POxy. 2086.

[9] It can be hypothesised that the Athenian version of the myth had the god land at the Bay of Prasiai, from where the first stretch of Apollo's mythical journey possibly began.

fact, some more observations can be made with regard to the possible settings of the Pythaïs rituals. In this respect, the issue may arise as to what role, if any, the shrines involved in the Marathonian Pythaïdes (that is, the Pythion at Aiantis Oinoe and the Delion at Marathon) played in the Athenian Pythaïdes, both before and after the Marathonian Pythaïs merged with the Athenian celebration.[10] I believe that offerings and sacrifices at the sites of Apollo's veneration in the Marathonian Tetrapolis continued to be made traditionally in the broader framework of the Athenian Pythaïs as well. However, this should not have affected the main ritual and spatial context of the Athenian Pythaïs, which probably remained unaltered. In this respect, we have already observed that the two rituals were distinct for centuries; as such, the places involved in the Marathonian and the Athenian Pythaïdes, and the routes used by the pilgrimages were probably different.[11]

Pushing the discussion even further, we could wonder about the involvement of other centres of Apollo's worship in the Athenian Pythaïs. As an example, the deme of Ikaria could be brought into discussion, from which some of our documents on the fourth-century BC Pythaïstai come. However, these inscribed documents are private dedications, indicative of the origin of the Pythaïstai rather than suggestive of a sharing of the Pythion at Ikaria in the Athenian Pythaïs. [12] This is also the case with the deme of Erchia, where the Pythaïstai mentioned in the sacrificial calendar of this deme were probably local officials who took part in the fourth-century BC Athenian Pythaïs.[13] Finally, the temple of Apollo at Cape Zoster needs to be mentioned again, since the founding myth of this temple is closely related to the stories surrounding the birth of the

[10] The rituals for the Pythaïs of the Marathonian Tetrapolis are described by Philochoros (*FGrH* 328 F 75; Appendix, #Axii). The two ceremonies first merged into one ceremony in the second half of the second century BC (FD III^2 7).

[11] For more on this aspect, see BOËTHIUS 1918, pp. 38–51.

[12] Two dedicatory reliefs from Ikaria mention four *pythaïstai* (*paides*), and the *pythaïstes Peisikrates* (IG II^2 2816 and IG II^2 2817 respectively). On the Pythion at Ikaria, see BIERS AND BOYD 1982, pp. 15–18.

[13] SEG 21, 541 c.2 l.50, c.3 l.36, c.5 l.37.

god.[14] However, no evidence indicates a connection of this temple with the Pythaïs, neither at mythical nor at ritual level.

In brief, from the analysis of the evidence and the discussion of the shrines possibly involved in the extra-urban rituals for the Pythaïs, it seems reasonable to conclude that, although diverse areas of Attica may have been more or less directly connected with the celebration, the lack of evidence makes this connection hypothetical. On the other hand, the main pilgrimage followed one determined route on its way to Boiotia, this route being probably that across western Parnes. The directions taken by the religious parades across Attica were related to the processions' paths within the city, and therefore, the extra-urban course of the Pythaïs was certainly connected with its urban route as well.

Assuming that the Pythaïs made its northbound leg across western Parnes, the procession may have hypothetically exited the Classical Agora from the northeast side and headed towards the Acharnian Gates; subsequently it would have made for the deme of Acharnai, and from there (or even before reaching the deme) it would have used a western branch of the road into western Parnes. Indeed, this road was considered the main road to Boiotia for centuries, and pre-modern maps such as the 1670 map of the Capuchin Monks (fig. 29) clearly indicate this as the principal Thebes road, which may have closely followed the route of the ancient one. In fact, it can be suggested that even in antiquity the suburban segment of the road to Acharnai and its northwestern extension was one of the first choices for travellers heading to Boiotia across the Athenian *pedion*. The characteristics of this road have previously been underestimated; it was often observed by scholars that this mountainous segment of the route was exclusively used by people travelling on foot and with animals, mostly during the Turkish occupation; furthermore some scholars cast doubt on the possibility that the ancient Phyle road stretched north of the fortress up to the Skourta plain.[15] However, as shown by our field surveys, this ancient road extended to Skourta, and most likely beyond to Boiotia; it was possibly carriageable in antiquity, and therefore may have been suitable for the numerous

[14] Paus. 1.31.1. The temple of Apollo Zoster and its founding myth is discussed in chapter four of this work.

[15] OBER 1985, p. 185.

pilgrims travelling to Delphi. On the way to Skourta, Mount Harma and some of the shrines that populated that region of Parnes may have been involved with the conduction of the rituals and the pilgrimage. After reaching the plain, the *theoria* could have headed towards Tanagra through the village of Skourta and thus reached the 'international' sacred road that stretched along the Asopos valley. Indeed, as already mentioned in the chapter on the mythical traditions on Apollo's journey, according to a version recounted by Pindar the Boiotian sacred journey for the god would have begun at Tanagra.[16] It is, however, more likely that the route traversed the plain of Skourta and descended towards Boiotia through the Pyle pass, possibly intercepting the sacred road southeast of Thebes. In fact, one of the issues that still remains to be thoroughly investigated is the relationship between the route of the Pythaïs and that of the 'international' sacred road outside Attica. The route of the Pythaïs along the sacred way across Boiotia and Phokis is beyond the scope of this work and should certainly be the object of a separate study and targeted field survey. However, it can be hypothesised that the interregional course of the Athenian pilgrimage followed the overland track of the Boiotian and Phokian segments of the sacred road. It appears probable that, as suggested by Daverio Rocchi, the *Hiera Hodos* to Delphi is better understood as a route made of several segments, each subject to the religious and political influence of the territories it crossed.[17] This is well reflected by an amphictionic law of 380/79 BC which entrusted to the Amphictions the responsibility of the maintenance of the bridges in their territories. This would have guaranteed full access to Delphi through the roads (and the road segments) that led to it. Indeed, there was a network of local and inter-regional roads that may have served the sanctuary from different regions.[18] From the western valley of the Asopos, the Pythaïs may have proceeded in a generally northwest direction; it probably followed the natural route between the Helicon mountain chain and Lake Kopais towards Panopeus. As noted, both mythical tradition and archaeology indicate Panopeus as one of the landmarks for the Athenian Pythaïs; furthermore, Pausanias describes it as the easiest pass to traverse between Boiotia

[16] Fr. 286 Snell: τὴν παραπομπὴν αὐτῷ εἶναι ... ἐκ Τανάγρας τῆς Βοιωτίας.

[17] DAVERIO-ROCCHI 2002, pp. 156–159.

[18] CID I 10, ll. 40–43. DAVERIO-ROCCHI 2002, pp. 157–158.

and Phokis.[19] From here the route probably coincided with that described by Pausanias. It headed to Daulis and, past the Phokikon, would have followed one of the branches of the *Schistè hodos*; then travellers took the last segment of the road to Delphi, described as a particularly steep and difficult *leophoros*, on their way to the sanctuary.[20] After the aforementioned hypothetical reconstruction of the spatial context of the Pythaïs, in the following paragraphs a discussion is provided of the factors that may have affected the conduction of the ceremony and, particularly, the route of the pilgrimage.

We have already observed that the Pythaïs was conducted at irregular intervals throughout a long period that stretched from the sixth century BC to the end of the first century AD, the ceremony being called Dodekaïs from the period of Augustus until it ceased.[21] Changes in the composition of the sacred delegation certainly occurred over time, and the route of the ritual may have shifted over the centuries. I am inclined to suggest that if any major change affected the traditional ritual, this should have occurred in the transition from the Pythaïs to the Dodekaïs, in the second half of the first century BC.[22] Indeed, the Dodekaïs does not feature the *Pythaïstai* among its participants, who were key figures of the Pythaïs. We have mentioned multiple times that a group of *Pythaïstai* was in charge of the ritual observation of the lightning; this was the fundamental ritual for the start of the pilgrimage, carried out from the Altar of Zeus Astrapaios near the Pythion.[23] It is possible that the abandonment of the Pythaïstai also signified the cessation of the traditional ritual observation of the lightning. This would have possibly determined a major change in the religious topography of the Pythaïs both inside and outside the city. In fact, in this case, the altar of Zeus Astrapaios, and the region of Mount Harma (from which the flash had to appear) would have probably lost their religious significance in the

[19] CAMP, et al. 1997. Paus. 2.4.1.

[20] Paus. 10.5.1–3.

[21] FD III^2 59.

[22] Changes in the composition of the sacred delegation are noticeable in the renewed Pythaïdes of the second and first centuries BC (FD III^2 2–70). The most evident transformation in the composition occurred with the sending of the Dodekaïs as substitute of the Pythaïs (FD III^2 59–67).

[23] Str. 9.2.11 (Appendix, #Axi).

framework of the pilgrimage. However, further discussion of a spatial contextualisation of the Dodekaïs goes beyond the scope this study.

With regard to the Pythaïdes conducted before the Dodekaïdes, there is no unmistakable evidence indicating a deliberate change of route; the customary pilgrimage route itself being subject to different modern reconstructions, as discussed in this work. The evidence suggests that the main rituals were always probably carried out in the same shrines within the city, and outside it. Therefore, the general direction of the Pythaïs should have remained consistent for centuries; possible minor alterations of the route may have occured, depending upon the gradual transformation of the city's topography. However, the extra-urban leg of the journey could have been more subject to possible changes, especially outside Attica. An episode that might have affected the conduction of the Pythaïs, and possibly determined a shift in its route rather than a simple temporary disruption of the pilgrimage, can be found in connection to the *pyrphoria* that allegedly followed the battle of Plataia, as recounted by Plutarch.[24] We have already objected to the authenticity of this occurrence, but on merely hypothetical grounds: if the Athenians dispatched a Pythaïs (of which the *pyrphoria* was an integral part) in connection to this episode, the delegation may well have diverted from its regular route. Indeed, following Plutarch's account, the focus of the ritual would have been the altar of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataia, as indicated by Apollo's oracular response. However, according to the reconstruction of the pilgrimage route proposed in this work, the Pythaïs probably traversed western Parnes on its way to Boiotia, rather than Kithairon (through which Plataia was easily reached). In short, conjectures aside, we do not know if the course of the pilgrimage remained unaltered or was subject to shifts over the centuries. Interruptions of the ritual (more or less protracted) were more likely than changes in the course of the pilgrimage. In fact, outside of the city, and especially outside Attica, factors such as wars and the subsequent generalised sense of insecurity must have had a negative effect on the overland journey to Delphi. Indeed, we have observed that the Pythaïs probably came to a stop during the Peloponnesian War and throughout the period encompassing the

[24] Plut. *Arist.* 20.4–5.

third and the second half of the second century BC.[25] After discussing the spatial contextualisation of the Pythaïs, in the following paragraphs some final remarks are made on the introduction of the ceremony to Athens, and the religious and political significance of the ritual.

2. Final remarks on the origin and the meanings of the Pythaïs

On the grounds of the archaeological and textual evidence discussed in this study, I support the theory that the ritual was introduced to Athens in the sixth century BC, under the impulse of Peisistratos or the Peisistratidai, and within the framework of the politics of the archaic city. As noted, an echo of the Athenian version of the mythical arrival of Apollo in Delphi may have found place in the east pediment of Apollo's temple at Delphi under the influence of the Alkmaionidai.[26] On the other hand, the first potential textual reference to the Pythaïs is to be found in a fragmentary paean by Simonides, dating to the last quarter of the sixth century BC, possibly in close connection to the politics of the tyrant's sons.[27] However, the ritual and its founding myth may have had a slightly earlier development in the city, one that was related to the growth of Athenian cults throughout the course of the sixth century BC. As discussed, among the cults introduced to Athens in this period only two are specifically ascribed by the sources to Peisistratos or his family: the Altar of the Twelve Gods, and the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios.[28] In fact, the Pythaïs in Athens may

[25] These interruptions are mainly suggested by the lack of any documentary reference to the Pythaïdes especially in the middle decades of the fifth century BC and in the third century BC; in these periods, the Peloponnesian War and the Aetolian sway over Delphi were strong deterrents for the Athenian sacred delegation.

[26] DÖRIG 1967.

[27] The context for this chronology is discussed in the fourth and fifth chapters of this work. For the paean by Simonides [POxy. 2430 (PMG 519 fr.35; Appendix, #Aii)], see RUTHERFORD 1990, pp. 169–171.

[28] The construction of the Altar of the Twelve Gods by Peisistratos the Younger is recounted by Thucydides (6.54.6; Appendix, #Axviii). Peisistratos the Younger dedicated also an altar to Apollo Pythios in the sacred precinct (Thuc. 6.54.7; Appendix, #Axviii). The inscribed crowning block of this altar has been found (IG I^3 948; Appendix, #Axix).

have developed in connection with Peisistratos' fostering of the cult of Apollo in general. Activities such as the establishment of the Pythion in the city and the tyrant's attention to Delos bear witness to Peisistratos' interest in tightening the connection between Athens and the main centres of Apollo's worship, that is Delphi and Delos.[29] Within this framework, the version of Apollo's mythical journey from Delos to Delphi via Athens would have provided an appropriate mythical context to this Athenian connection with the birthplace and the main oracular site of the god. As to the ritual aspect, the pilgrimage between Athens and Delphi would have made this link stronger; furthermore, the ceremonial re-foundation of the Pythion, symbolised by the *tripodephoria* and the *pyrphoria* certainly suited Peisistratos' establishment of this shrine.

These religious initiatives had, of course, more profound political implications. The position of Athens at the centre of this Athenian version of the myth and the ceremony connected with it can be read in the context of Peisistratos' religious politics of the social and cultural cohesion of Attica. In fact, the integration of the cult of Apollo, gradually determined a shift in the focus of his veneration from the region of the Marathonian Tetrapolis to Athens; the ritual bond between Parnes and Athens, ascertained through the procession, would also have consolidated the mainland orientation of the city's politics during the sixth century BC.[30]

The sacred geography of the Pythaïs in Attica suggests further insights into the meaning of the ritual and the ritual space, one that gives the ceremony and its settings a significance transcending its religious aspect. The mountain range of Parnes was the physical northern limit of Attica, separating it from Boiotia. Following the theories formulated by François De Polignac, the location of the mountain shrines of Zeus, Artemis and Apollo in a border area such as Parnes may have probably responded to the need, on the part of the Archaic city,

[29] The issues concerning the foundation of the Pythion are discussed in the fifth chapter of this work. With regard to Delos, Peisistratos purified the island (Hdt. 1.64.2; 3.104.1); he was probably involved in building activities on the island, and instituted the Delia festival (Thuc. 3.104.3). See, SHAPIRO 1989, pp. 48–49.

[30] On the growth of the Athenian cults under the tyrants, see SHAPIRO 1989, pp. 12–15. On the religious politics of Athens in the sixth century BC, see DE POLIGNAC 1994, p. 14.

to mark the extent of the *chora* in that part of the border.[31] Some of these shrines may have fulfilled this function of 'frontier' cult places ahead of the introduction of the Athenian Pythaïs, in different spots of the mountain range. However, the origin and development of the Pythaïs across western Parnes may have carried on the function of those 'frontier' cult places, amplifying their significance with the ritual. In fact, contemporary to the development of the ceremony in the sixth century BC, most of the focus of religious activities in the region centred around western Parnes. This would coincide with the archeologically-documented wane in cultic activities in the Cave of Zeus at Ozea (central Parnes), which occurred between the seventh and the sixth century BC.[32] This shift favoured the area of Mount Harma (which may well have been the seat of other cults even earlier). In this regard, Harma is one of the highest mountains along the Phyle route, and is visible from both Athens and Parnassos respectively: in a few words, Harma constituted a visual link between the city and Delphi. The religious relevance of this mountain near a major route such as the Phyle road was not coincidental. As observed, the Phyle road was the most direct way to Boiotia from Athens, through the Skourta Plain. This plain was a contested stretch of land at the border between Attica and Boiotia;[33] in fact, the region was guarded to the southeast by the Phyle fortress and to the southwest by the fortress at Panakton.

To sum up, I suggest that as a complement to the actual military presence in the area, the cult places in the region of Phyle served as as 'frontier' cult places, reached by regular Athenian processions to mark the extent of the city's territory and influence by means of the iteration of cultic activities.[34] In this regard, archaeological evidence shows the existence in Athens of urban shrines (at least that of Zeus Parnessios), offshoots of those in Parnes in the years around 500 BC.[35] These cults and their religious and political significance were kept alive through regular processions. In this regard, the Pythaïs and other lesser but more frequent processions connected with the topography of this major ritual

[31] DE POLIGNAC 1984, pp. 33–41.

[32] KALOGEROPOULOU 1984.

[33] On the Skourta Plain as a contested region between Athens and Boiotia, see OBER 1985, pp. 115–116; MUNN AND ZIMMERMAN MUNN 1989, pp. 73–74.

[34] DE POLIGNAC 1984, p. 40.

[35] SEG 34, 39.

may well have developed to express Athens' religious and territorial control over this disputed borderland area.

These suggestions remain of course hypothetical, but the outcome of this research does indicate one certain conclusion: the religious topography of Parnes was denser, and its relationship with Athens tighter, than previously thought. Our walks across western Parnes revealed the existence of carefully carved paths in connection with Harma and several caves in the region surrounding it. A focused exploration of those caves, along with the web of secondary carved paths that served them, may yield in future new information on the 'natural shrines' of Parnes.[36]

As a consequence, the question arises how an occasional ceremony such as the Pythaïs fits into the framework of regular rituals that most probably were celebrated as complements to it. Frankly, we simply do not know how complex the entire Pythaïs ritual was, both within the city and outside it. The full celebration might have lasted (as is probable) for several days, with sacrifices and other ritual performances being conducted in different shrines of the city, and even possibly outside the city's walls. Generally, it is possible to imagine that before and during the dispatch of the pilgrimage to Delphi, other processions to or from different places of Apollo's sacred topography in Attica might have been carried out.

Indeed, in spite of the occasional character of the main pilgrimage itself, ritual observation of the Pythaïstic lightning was probably an annual event; offerings and sacrifices to Apollo on the part of the *pythaïstai* were certainly made on a regular basis.[37] Furthermore, preparations for the possible pilgrimage to come were probably made regardless. For instance, it can be hardly imagined that such a long journey, which traversed Boiotia and part of Phokis, could have

[36] The term 'natural shrines' indicates sanctuaries such as sacred groves, caves, and open-air sanctuaries.

[37] The late fifth-century BC sacrificial calendars of Athens and the sacrificial calendar of Erchia (dating to the second quarter of the fourth century BC) mention the involvement of the *pythaïstai* in regular offerings (LAMBERT 2002, F 6 A col.1, l. 11; SEG 21, 541 c. 2 l.50, c.3 l.36, c.5 l.37). A fragment of a possible sacrificial calendar of unknown provenance dating to the third quarter of the fourth century BC features the amount of 60 drachmas or more for the *pythaïstai*, possibly to cover travel expenses (IG II/III^3 1, 533).

been undertaken without the customary dispatch of sacred heralds to announce the pilgrimage to assure the safety of the participants. Sacred heralds (*theoroi, spondophoroi, presbeutai*) had to be sent to Thebes well before the celebration of the Pythaïs; how this practice fitted with an occasional pilgrimage which may or may not have occurred is, however, an open issue. Furthermore, it is not known to what extent non-Athenian communities may have respected the sanctity of Athenian pilgrims participating in an exclusively Athenian celebration, since even panhellenic festivals required the proclamation of a sacred truce (*ekecheiria, spondai*). Indeed, the particular status of a sacred road was not sufficient in itself to guarantee the safety of the ones who travelled on it.[38] It is therefore likely that the above-mentioned rituals may have taken place annually, probably as part of another more strictly scheduled celebration such as the Thargelia. If this was the case, a regular ritual parade could possibly have involved the places related to the traditional passage of Apollo through Athens and Attica, without pushing itself to Delphi.

Resuming the discussion of the ritual and its possible socio and political meanings, I summarise and propose the following final observations for the centuries which followed the introduction of the Pythaïs to Athens. The sources considered in this study suggest that when the Pythaïs was accepted into the framework of fifth-century BC Athens, its general ritual form probably remained the same; I hypothesise that it was generally similar until around the middle of the first century BC. However, its significance possibly grew to take on further nuances in the fifth century BC, in accordance with the Athenian maritime hegemony of the time. As discussed in chapter five, the possibility that the *pyrphoria* and the possible votive anchors mentioned in the Athenian sacrificial calendar may have also come to signify and represent this political hegemony over the other members of the Delian league seems to me a likely one.[39] We have observed that, although no Pythaïs made its way to Delphi during the Peloponnesian War, the ceremony resumed in the fourth century BC, possibly after the creation of the second Delian League. In this period, the Pythaïs may have also had a political significance similar to that of the fifth-century

[38] On sacred truces and pilgrims' safety, see DILLON 1997, pp. 1–59.

[39] LAMBERT 2002, F 1 A col. 3, l. 28 (Appendix, #Axiii).

ceremonies. In this regard, we may very hypothetically speculate whether the participation to these fifth and fourth-century Pythaïdes were at some point open to the members of the League. Indeed, a list of Pythaïstai from the island of Telos (members of the first Delian League) may indicate that the island sent local delegates for an Athenian Pythaïs.[40] As noted, after a long interruption in the third and a large part of the second century BC, it is indeed probable that the social and political significance of the ritual changed again, adapting to the temporary period of renewed prosperity in the decades following the Roman handing over of Delos to Athens (166 BC). Subsequently, after Sulla's siege and sack of the city in 86 BC, the Athenians started to lose interest in the traditional Pythaïdes.[41] However, the ceremony (now probably altered in its ritual and spatial context) continued with the Dodekaïdes from the time of Augustus until the end of the first century AD; thereafter, the custom of the Dodekaïdes to Delphi was definitively abandoned in favour of those to Delos.[42]

Our final observation is a methodological one. In the introductory section of the work, I stated my intent to carry out an analysis of the Pythaïs using an inter-disciplinary approach, encompassing the integration of old and newly collected data. At the conclusion of this work, I believe that such an approach proved productive, as it contributed to moving our understanding of the Pythaïs from an abstractness of the ritual to its contextualisation in the physical space. For the analysis of a topic as complex as the route of the Pythaïs, it was necessary to draw data from all possible sources. In fact, the data available were quite fragmented overall; epigraphic, literary, and archaeological documents yielding little information if considered separately. In this regard, the best option was to look at the diverse data and to critically analyse them anew, often reassessing them or, at least, casting reasonable doubts on interpretations long rooted in scholarship. As a result, the element that contributed most to many of the observations presented in the work, especially with regard to the extra-urban

[40] SEG 25, 853; 28, 692. However, this document is problematic. It was originally dated to the fourth century BC, but it should probably date to the third quarter of the second century BC.

[41] COLIN 1909, p. 68.

[42] For the Delphic Dodekaïdes of the first century BC and first century AD, FD III^2 59–67. Regular Dodekaïdes to Delos were sent over the first half of the second century AD (ID 2535, 2536, 2538); see RUTHERFORD 2013, pp. 311–312.

setting of the Pythaïs, was that of our first-hand experience of the sacred landscape. This direct observation allowed for a closer and more integrated evaluation of the relationship between the physical context of the Pythaïs and the cultural and chronological *milieu* in which it probably originated. The analysis of this relationship provided new insights into the religious landscape of Attica and set patterns for a hypothetical reconstruction of the Pythaïs, as well as the development of new avenues for future research.

Appendix

Select sources

This appendix presents a selection of the most relevant textual sources concerning the different aspects of the Pythaïs as discussed in this thesis. These sources are here arranged by themes: *The mythical Journey of Apollo to Delphi; The hiera hodos of the Pythaïs; The Pythaïs: topography of the myth; The Pythaïs: ritual topography and ritual aspects; Tripodephoria, Pyrphoria; The Pythion; Peisistratos and the Pythion; The Prytaneion.*

The mythical journey of Apollo to Delphi

#Ai: Hom. *Hymn Ap.* 182–299.

p. 78, n. 5
p. 80, n. 16
p. 81, n. 19
p. 83, n. 28

ὦ ἄνα, καὶ Λυκίην καὶ Μηονίην ἐρατεινὴν
καὶ Μίλητον ἔχεις, ἔναλον πόλιν ἱμερόεσσαν,
αὐτὸς δ᾽ αὖ Δήλοιο περικλύστοιο μέγ᾽ ἀνάσσεις.
εἶσι δὲ φορμίζων Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος υἱὸς
φόρμιγγι γλαφυρῇ πρὸς Πυθὼ πετρήεσσαν,
ἄμβροτα εἵματ᾽ ἔχων τεθυωμένα: τοῖο δὲ φόρμιγξ
χρυσέου ὑπὸ πλήκτρου καναχὴν ἔχει ἱμερόεσσαν.
ἔνθεν δὲ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον ἀπὸ χθονός, ὥσ τε νόημα,
εἶσι Διὸς πρὸς δῶμα θεῶν μεθ᾽ ὁμήγυριν ἄλλων.
αὐτίκα δ᾽ ἀθανάτοισι μέλει κίθαρις καὶ ἀοιδή:
Μοῦσαι μέν θ᾽ ἅμα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ
ὑμνεῦσίν ῥα θεῶν δῶρ᾽ ἄμβροτα ἠδ᾽ ἀνθρώπων
τλημοσύνας, ὅσ᾽ ἔχοντες ὑπ᾽ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
ζώουσ᾽ ἀφραδέες καὶ ἀμήχανοι, οὐδὲ δύνανται
εὑρέμεναι θανάτοιό τ᾽ ἄκος καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ:
αὐτὰρ ἐϋπλόκαμοι Χάριτες καὶ ἐύφρονες Ὧραι
Ἁρμονίη θ᾽ Ἥβη τε Διὸς θυγάτηρ τ᾽ Ἀφροδίτη
ὀρχεῦντ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχουσαι:
τῇσι μὲν οὔτ᾽ αἰσχρὴ μεταμέλπεται οὔτ᾽ ἐλάχεια,
ἀλλὰ μάλα μεγάλη τε ἰδεῖν καὶ εἶδος ἀγητὴ,
Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα ὁμότροφος Ἀπόλλωνι.
ἐν δ᾽ αὖ τῇσιν Ἄρης καὶ ἐύσκοπος Ἀργειφόντης
παίζουσ᾽: αὐτὰρ ὁ Φοῖβος Ἀ᾽πόλλων ἐγκιθαρίζει
καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς: αἴγλη δέ μιν ἀμφιφαείνει
μαρμαρυγαί τε ποδῶν καὶ ἐϋκλώστοιο χιτῶνος.
οἳ δ᾽ ἐπιτέρπονται θυμὸν μέγαν εἰσορόωντες
Λητώ τε χρυσοπλόκαμος καὶ μητίετα Ζεὺς
υἷα φίλον παίζοντα μετ᾽ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.
πῶς τ᾽ ἄρ σ᾽ ὑμνήσω πάντως εὔυμνον ἐόντα;

ἠέ σ᾽ ἐνὶ μνηστῆρσιν ἀείδω καὶ φιλότητι,
ὅππως μνωόμενος ἔκιες Ἀζαντίδα κούρην
Ἴσχυ᾽ ἅμ᾽ ἀντιθέῳ Ἐλατιονίδη εὐίππῳ;
ἢ ἅμα Θόρβαντι Τριοπέῳ γένος, ἢ ἅμ᾽ Ἐρευθεῖ;
ἢ ἅμα Λευκίππῳ καὶ Λευκίπποιο δάμαρτι
πεζός, ὃ δ᾽ ἵπποισιν: οὐ μὴν Τρίοπός γ᾽ ἐνέλειπεν.
ἢ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον χρηστήριον ἀνθρώποισι
ζητεύων κατὰ γαῖαν ἔβης, ἑκατηβόλ᾽ Ἄπολλον;
Πιερίην μὲν πρῶτον ἀπ᾽ Οὐλύμποιο κατῆλθες:
Λέκτον τ᾽ ἠμαθοέντα παρέστιχες ἠδ᾽ Ἐνιῆνας
καὶ διὰ Περραιβούς: τάχα δ᾽ εἰς Ἰαωλκὸν ἵκανες,
Κηναίου τ᾽ ἐπέβης ναυσικλειτῆς Εὐβοίης.
στῆς δ᾽ ἐπὶ Ληλάντῳ πεδίῳ: τό τοι οὐχ ἅδε θυμῷ
τεύξασθαι νηόν τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα.
ἔνθεν δ᾽ Εὔριπον διαβάς, ἑκατηβόλ᾽ Ἄπολλον,
βῆς ἄν᾽ ὄρος ζάθεον, χλωρόν: τάχα δ᾽ ἶξες ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ
ἐς Μυκαλησσὸν ἰὼν καὶ Τευμησσὸν λεχεποίην.
Θήβης δ᾽ εἰσαφίκανες ἕδος καταειμένον ὕλῃ:
οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἔναιε βροτῶν ἱερῇ ἐνὶ Θήβῃ,
οὐδ᾽ ἄρα πω τότε γ᾽ ἦσαν ἀταρπιτοὶ οὐδὲ κέλευθοι
Θήβης ἀμ πεδίον πυρηφόρον, ἀλλ᾽ ἔχεν ὕλη.
ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω ἔκιες, ἑκατηβόλ᾽ Ἄπολλον,
Ὀγχηστὸν δ᾽ ἶξες, Ποσιδήον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος:
ἔνθα νεοδμὴς πῶλος ἀναπνέει ἀχθόμενός περ
ἕλκων ἅρματα καλά: χαμαὶ δ᾽ ἐλατὴρ ἀγαθός περ
ἐκ δίφροιο θορὼν ὁδὸν ἔρχεται: οἳ δὲ τέως μὲν
κείν᾽ ὄχεα κροτέουσι ἀνακτορίην ἀφιέντες.
εἰ δέ κεν ἅρματ᾽ ἀγῇσιν ἐν ἄλσεϊ δενδρήεντι,
ἵππους μὲν κομέουσι, τὰ δὲ κλίναντες ἐῶσιν:
ὣς γὰρ τὰ πρώτισθ᾽ ὁσίη γένεθ᾽: οἳ δὲ ἄνακτι
εὔχονται, δίφρον δὲ θεοῦ τότε μοῖρα φυλάσσει.
ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω ἔκιες, ἑκατηβόλ᾽ Ἄπολλον:
Κηφισσὸν δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔπειτα κιχήσαο καλλιρέεθρον,
ὅς τε Λιλαίηθεν προχέει καλλίρροον ὕδωρ.
τὸν διαβάς, Ἑκάεργε, καὶ Ὠκαλέην πολύπυργον
ἔνθεν ἄρ᾽ εἰς Ἀλίαρτον ἀφίκεο ποιήεντα.
βῆς δ᾽ ἐπὶ Τελφούσης: τόθι τοι ἅδε χῶρος ἀπήμων
τεύξασθαι νηόν τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα:
στῆς δὲ μάλ᾽ ἄγχ᾽ αὐτῆς καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπες: ‘
Τελφοῦσ᾽, ἐνθάδε δὴ φρονέω περικαλλέα νηὸν
ἀνθρώπων τεῦξαι χρηστήριον, οἵτε μοι αἰεὶ
ἐνθάδ᾽ ἀγινήσουσι τελήεσσας ἑκατόμβας,
ἠμὲν ὅσοι Πελοπόννησον πίειραν ἔχουσιν
ἠδ᾽ ὅσοι Εὐρώπην τε καὶ ἀμφιρύτας κατὰ νήσους,
χρησόμενοι: τοῖσιν δέ κ᾽ ἐγὼ νημερτέα βουλὴν
πᾶσι θεμιστεύοιμι χρέων ἐνὶ πίονι νηῷ. ’
ὣς εἰπὼν διέθηκε θεμείλια Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
εὐρέα καὶ μάλα μακρὰ διηνεκές: ἣ δὲ ἰδοῦσα
Τελφοῦσα κραδίην ἐχολώσατο εἶπέ τε μῦθον: ‘
φοῖβε ἄναξ ἑκάεργε, ἔπος τί τοι ἐν φρεσὶ θήσω.

ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐπεὶ φρονέεις τεῦξαι περικαλλέα νηὸν
ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώποις χρηστήριον, οἵτε τοι αἰεὶ
ἐνθάδ᾽ ἀγινήσουσι τελήέσσας ἑκατόμβας:
ἀλλ᾽ ἔκ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ᾽ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσι,
πημανέει σ᾽ αἰεὶ κτύπος ἵππων ὠκειάων
ἀρδόμενοί τ᾽ οὐρῆες ἐμῶν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ πηγέων:
ἔνθα τις ἀνθρώπων βουλήσεται εἰσοράασθαι
ἅρματά τ᾽ εὐποίητα καὶ ὠκυπόδων κτύπον ἵππων
ἢ νηόν τε μέγαν καὶ κτήματα πόλλ᾽ ἐνεόντα.
ἀλλ᾽ εἰ δή τι πίθοιο, σὺ δὲ κρείσσων καὶ ἀρείων
ἐσσί, ἄναξ, ἐμέθεν, σεῦ δὲ σθένος ἐστὶ μέγιστον,
ἐν Κρίσῃ ποίησαι ὑπὸ πτυχὶ Παρνησοῖο.
ἔνθ᾽ οὔθ᾽ ἅρματα καλὰ δονήσεται οὔτε τοι ἵππων
ὠκυπόδων κτύπος ἔσται ἐύδμητον περὶ βωμόν,
ἀλλά τοι ὣς προσάγοιεν Ἰηπαιήονι δῶρα
ἀνθρώπων κλυτὰ φῦλα: σὺ δὲ φρένας ἀμφιγεγηθὼς
δέξαι᾽ ἱερὰ καλὰ περικτιόνων ἀνθρώπων.᾽
ὣς εἰποῦσ᾽ Ἑκάτου πέπιθε φρένας, ὄφρα οἱ αὐτῇ
Τελφούσῃ κλέος εἴη ἐπὶ χθονί, μηδ᾽ Ἑκάτοιο.
ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω ἔκιες, ἑκατηβόλ᾽ Ἄπολλον:
ἷξες δ᾽ ἐς Φλεγύων ἀνδρῶν πόλιν ὑβριστάων,
οἳ Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοντες ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάασκον
ἐν καλῇ βήσσῃ Κηφισίδος ἐγγύθι λίμνης.
ἔνθεν καρπαλίμως προσέβης πρὸς δειράδα θύων
ἵκεο δ᾽ ἐς Κρίσην ὑπὸ Παρνησὸν νιφόεντα,
κνημὸν πρὸς Ζέφυρον τετραμμένον, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν
πέτρη ἐπικρέμαται, κοίλη δ᾽ ὑποδέδρομε βῆσσα,
τρηχεῖ᾽: ἔνθα ἄναξ τεκμήρατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
νηὸν ποιήσασθαι ἐπήρατον εἶπέ τε μῦθον:
ἐνθάδε δὴ φρονέω τεῦξαι περικαλλέα νηὸν
ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώποις χρηστήριον, οἵτε μοι αἰεὶ
ἐνθάδ᾽ ἀγινήσουσι τελήέσσας ἑκατόμβας,
ἠμὲν ὅσοι Πελοπόννησον πίειραν ἔχουσιν,
ἠδ᾽ ὅσοι Εὐρώπην τε καὶ ἀμφιρύτας κατὰ νήσους,
χρησόμενοι: τοῖσιν δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐγὼ νημερτέα βουλὴν
πᾶσι θεμιστεύοιμι χρέων ἐνὶ πίονι νηῷ.
ὣς εἰπὼν διέθηκε θεμείλια Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
εὐρέα καὶ μάλα μακρὰ διηνεκές: αὐτὰρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς
λάινον οὐδὸν ἔθηκε Τροφώνιος ἠδ᾽ Ἀγαμήδης,
υἱέες Ἐργίνου, φίλοι ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν:
ἀμφὶ δὲ νηὸν ἔνασσαν ἀθέσφατα φῦλ᾽ ἀνθρώπων
ξεστοῖσιν λάεσσιν, ἀοίδιμον ἔμμεναι αἰεί.

#Aii: POxy. 2430 (PMG 519 fr.35).

p. 18, n. 7
p. 84, n. 30
p. 132, n. 139
p. 149, n. 189
p. 261, n. 27

(b)
Π]ά̣ρνηθος [.] πὸ ζα̣[θεοῦ
].′δοις Ἄ̣π̣ολλον
]οι᾽Ἀθάνας
ἐν]θ̣άδ᾽εὐμενεῖ φρενὶ [
]αίτιον οὐ πάρειτι ἔαρ·.
π]όνον ὑπομίμνομε[ν
]α̣ν ὀριδρόμον Ἄρτεμιν[
Παρ]θ̣ενικάν καί σε, ἄναξ ἑκαβ[ε-
]λ̣ε̣τα ἱέμενοι ἐνοπὰν ἀγανοῖσιν [
] εὔφαμον ἀπὸ φρενὸς ὁμορρόθο[υ

#Aiii: Aesch. *Eum.* 1–14.

p. 19, n. 9
p. 23, n. 21
p. 47, n. 46
p. 54, n. 66
p. 57, n. 3
p. 79, n. 10, 13
p. 83, n. 29
p. 131, n. 135

πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῇ τῇδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν
τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν: ἐκ δὲ τῆς Θέμιν,
ἢ δὴ τὸ μητρὸς δευτέρα τόδ᾽ ἕζετο
μαντεῖον, ὡς λόγος τις: ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ
λάχει, θελούσης, οὐδὲ πρὸς βίαν τινός,
Τιτανὶς ἄλλη παῖς Χθονὸς καθέζετο,
Φοίβη: δίδωσι δ᾽ ἣ γενέθλιον δόσιν
Φοίβῳ: τὸ Φοίβης δ᾽ ὄνομ᾽ ἔχει παρώνυμον.
λιπὼν δὲ λίμνην Δηλίαν τε χοιράδα,
κέλσας ἐπ᾽ ἀκτὰς ναυπόρους τὰς Παλλάδος,
ἐς τήνδε γαῖαν ἦλθε Παρνησοῦ θ᾽ ἕδρας.
πέμπουσι δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ σεβίζουσιν μέγα
κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου, χθόνα
ἀνήμερον τιθέντες ἡμερωμένην.

#Aiv: Scholium ad Aesch. *Eum.* 11.

p. 87, n. 40
p. 90, n. 49

ἐς τήνδε] χαριζόμενος Ἀθηναίοις καταχθῆναί φησι ἐκεῖσε Ἀπόλλωνα κἀκεῖθεν τὴν παραπομπὴν αὐτῶι εἶναι· ὁ δὲ Πίνδ(αρος) ἐκ Τανάγρας τῆς Βοιωτίας.

The *hiera hodos* of the Pythaïs

#Av: Scholium ad Aesch. *Eum.* 13.

p. 19, n. 9
p. 23, n. 21
p. 88, n. 42
p. 131, n. 135
p. 146, n. 179

13] κελευθοποιοὶ] οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Θησεὺς γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκάθηρε τῶν ληιστῶν. καὶ ὅταν πέμπωσιν εἰς Δελφοὺς θεωρίδα, προέρχονταί τινες ἔχοντες πελέκεις ὡς διημερώσοντες τὴν γῆν.

#Avi: Xen. *Cyr*. 6.2.36. p. 89, n. 46

(36) ὑμεῖς δ᾽ αὖ οἱ τῶν ὁδοποιῶν ἄρχοντες ἔχετε μὲν ἀπογεγραμμένους παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἀποδεδοκιμασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν σφενδονητῶν: τούτων δὲ χρὴ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν πέλεκυν ἔχοντας ξυλοκόπον ἀναγκάζειν στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν τοξοτῶν σμινύην, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν σφενδονητῶν ἄμην: τούτους δὲ ἔχοντας ταῦτα πρὸ τῶν ἁμαξῶν κατ᾽ ἴλας πορεύεσθαι, ὅπως ἤν τι δέῃ ὁδοποιίας, εὐθὺς ἐνεργοὶ ἦτε, καὶ ἐγὼ ἤν τι δέωμαι, ὅπως εἰδῶ ὅθεν δεῖ λαβόντα τούτοις χρῆσθαι.

#Avii: Aristid. *Panath*. 363. p. 47, n. 47
p. 54, n. 66
p. 93, n. 56
p. 131, n. 136

(363) Σαμοθρᾷκες ἀγάλλονται τοῖς ἱεροῖς, καὶ ταῦτα πάντων ὀνομαστότατά ἐστι, πλὴν τῶν Ἐλευσινίων: ἀλλὰ καὶ Δῆλος ἀνεῖται τοῖς θεοῖς: ἡ δέ ἐστι τῆς πόλεως. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὁδὸν ἔργον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν θεωρίαν τὴν Πυθιάδα Ἀθηναίων μόνον πάτριον τί ἂν εἴποις ἢ τῶν θεῶν ἅπαντα ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι, βουλομένων πανταχῆ τὰς Ἀθήνας πρεσβεύειν καὶ πᾶσιν ὥσπερ χεῖρα τοῖς καλοῖς ἐπιβάλλειν τὴν πόλιν.

#Aviii: Scholium ad Aristid. *Panath*. 363. p. 88, n. 43
p. 131, n. 136

τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὁδὸν ἔργον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως] τὴν θυσίαν τὴν πομπὴν εἰς τὰ Πύθια. ἐλέγετο δέ ποτε ἡ ὁδὸς αὕτη λῃστεύεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ λῃστικὸν καθεῖλον Ἀθηναῖοι· ἔργον οὖν καλεῖ τὸν λῃστικὸν διωγμόν. BD.
ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δελφοὺς ὁδῷ λῃσταί ποτε καθήμενοι τοὺς παριόντας διέφθειραν. Θησεὺς οὖν ἀνεῖλεν ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ λῃστικόν· ὅθεν Ἀθηναῖοι αἴτιον τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τὸν Ἀπόλλω νομίζοντες κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ναῦν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον, θυσίαν κομίζουσαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν τῇ τῶν Πυθίων πανηγύρει. ἔργον δὲ τῆς πόλεως λέγει τὴν ὁδὸν, ἐπειδήπερ εἰ μὴ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἀνεῖλεν, οὐκ ἂν οἷόν τε ἦν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφικνεῖσθαι. C.
τὴν θεωρίαν] τὴν τὴν θυσίαν ἄγουσαν ναῦν. C.
τὴν Πυθιάδα] τὴν ἐν τῶν Πυθίων ἑορτῇ ἀγομένην. C.

The Pythaïs: topography of the myth

#Aix: Ephoros, *FGrH* 70 F 31 b. p. 90, n. 49
p. 92, n. 53

(12) ὑποβὰς δὲ περὶ τῶν Δελφῶν οἵτινές εἰσι διαλεγόμενος, φησὶ τὸ παλαιὸν Παρνασίους τινὰς αὐτόχθονας καλουμένους οἰκεῖν τὸν Παρνασόν, καθ᾽ ὃν χρόνον ᾽Απόλλωνα τὴν γῆν ἐπιόντα ἡμεροῦν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δόσει τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν καὶ τῶν <ἄλλων τῶν ὠφελούντων τὸν ἀνθρώπινον> βίον. ἐξ ᾽Αθηνῶν δ᾽ ὁρμηθέντα ἐπὶ Δελφοὺς ταύτην ἰέναι τὴν ὁδόν, ἣι νῦν ᾽Αθηναῖοι τὴν Πυθιάδα πέμπουσι· γενόμενον δὲ κατὰ Πανοπέας Τιτυὸν καταλῦσαι ἔχοντα τὸν τόπον, βίαιον ἄνδρα καὶ παράνομον· τοὺς δὲ Παρνασίους συμμίξαντας αὐτῶι καὶ ἄλλον μηνῦσαι χαλεπὸν ἄνδρα, Πύθωνα τοὔνομα, ἐπίκλησιν δὲ Δράκοντα, κατατοξεύοντος δ᾽ ἐπικελεύειν «ἵε παιάν», ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὸν παιωνισμὸν οὕτως ἐξ ἔθους παραδοθῆναι τοῖς μέλλουσι συμπίπτειν εἰς παράταξιν.

ἐμπρησθῆναι δὲ καὶ σκηνὴν τότε τοῦ Πύθωνος ὑπὸ τῶν Δελφῶν, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι καίειν ὑπόμνημα ποιουμένους τῶν τότε γενομένων. τί δ᾽ ἂν εἴη μυθωδέστερον ἢ ᾽Απόλλων τοξεύων καὶ κολάζων Τιτυοὺς καὶ Πύθωνας καὶ ὁδεύων ἐξ ᾽Αθηνῶν εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπιών.

#Ax: FD III^2 138 (Paean of Limenios).

p. 18, n. 7
p. 85, n. 35
p. 94, n. 62
p. 121, n. 91
p. 134, n. 144

τότε λιπὼγ Κυυνθίαν ναᾶσον ἐ[πέβα θεὸ]ς πρω[τό]-
καρπογ κλυτὰν Ἀτ<θ>ίδ᾽ ἐπὶ γααλ[όφωι πρωῶνι] Τριτωωνίδος·
μελίπνοον δὲ λίβυς αὐδὰγ χέω[ν λωωτὸς ἀνέμελ]πεν [ἀ]- 15
δειεῖαν ὄπα μειγνύμενος αιειόλ[οις κιθάριος μέλεσιν]·
[ἄ]μα δ᾽ ἴαχεμ πετροκατοίκητος ἀχ[ὼ παιὰν ἰὲ παιάν·

The Pythaïs: ritual topography and ritual aspects

#Axi: Strabo 9.2.11.

p. 17, n. 2
p. 21, n. 17
p. 26, n. 29
p. 57, n. 5
p. 62, n. 13
p. 63, n. 15
p. 85, n. 34
p. 99, n. 3
p. 106, n. 31
p. 116, n. 75
p. 259, n. 23

(11) … ἑτέρα οὖσα τοῦ Ἄρματος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ὅ ἐστι περὶ Φυλήν, δῆμον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὅμορον τῇ Τανάγρᾳ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ παροιμία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἡ λέγουσα ‘ὁπόταν δι᾽ Ἄρματος ἀστράψῃ,’ ἀστραπήν τινα σημειουμένων κατὰ χρησμὸν τῶν λεγομένων Πυθαϊστῶν, βλεπόντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἅρμα καὶ τότε πεμπόντων τὴν θυσίαν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὅταν ἀστράψαντα ἴδωσιν: ἐτήρουν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τρεῖς μῆνας, καθ᾽ ἕκαστον μῆνα ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας τοῦ ἀστραπαίου Διός: ἔστι δ᾽ αὕτη ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου.

#Axii: Philochoros, *FGrH* 328 F 75.

p. 19, n. 10
p. 63, n. 15
p. 103, n. 18
p. 135, n. 147
p. 255, n. 8
p. 256, n. 10

ἢ πρὸς Πυθίαις ... ἀκταῖς] λέγοι δ᾽ ἂν Πυθίας ἀκτὰς τὸν τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῶι Μαραθῶνι ὅθεν καὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ἔπεμπον. ἱστορεῖ δὲ περὶ τούτων Φιλόχορος ἐν τῆι Τετραπόλει γράφων οὕτως· «ὅταν δὲ σημεῖα γένηται <τὰ> παραδεδομένα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τότε ἀποστέλλουσι τὴν θεωρίαν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους [†πύθιαι δὲ καὶ δηλιάδες], ὁποτέρα ἂν καθήκηι αὐτοῖς. Θύει δὲ ὁ μάντις, ὅταν μὲν τὰ εἰς Δελφοὺς πόμπιμα γένηται καὶ θεωρία πέμπηται, ἐν Οἰνόηι καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῶι Πυθίωι εἰ δὲ εἰς Δῆλον ἀποστέλλοιτο ἡ θεωρία, κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα θύει ὁ μάντις εἰς τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι Δήλιον. καὶ ἔστιν ἱεροσκοπία τῆς μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς θεωρίας ἐν τῶι ἐν Οἰνόηι Πυθίωι, τῆς δὲ εἰς Δῆλον ἐν τῶι ἐν Μαραθῶνι Δηλίωι».

#Axiii: LAMBERT 2002, F 1 A col. 2 ll. 26–27.

p. 18, n. 7
p. 26, n. 29
p. 56, n. 2
p. 101, n. 10
p. 120, n. 89
p. 124, n. 108
p. 140, n. 161
p. 265, n. 39

[. .] σημαίν [. . . .] κατὰ τὴν / [. .] η [.]ιν [. . . . . Ἅ]ρματος;

col. 3 ll. 26–30:

[. . . Ἀπό]λλωνι / τάδε ἔπ[ε]σθαι τῶι καν[ῶι] / τρίποδα, ἐπιτοξίδα, / στέμμα, προγόνιο[ν] / [. . . .]ίσκον, σφαῖρα[ν]

Tripodephoria, Pyrphoria

#Axiv: FD III^2 13 (106 BC).

p. 18, n. 7
p. 100, n. 9
p. 118, n. 79

πυρφόρος ἡ ἐγ Δελφ[ῶν]·
Τιμώ.

#Axv: FD III^2 32 (97 BC).

p. 18, n. 7
p. 58, n. 6
p. 90, n. 47
p. 100, n. 9
p. 101, n. 10
p. 146, n. 178

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων.
ἐπὶ Μέντορος ἄρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις
Ἀργείου, ἔλαβεν τὸν ἱερὸν τρίποδα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἀπε-
κόμισεν, καὶ τὴν πυρφόρον ἤγαγεν Ἀμφικράτης Ἐπι-
στράτου Ἀθηναῖος.

#Axvi: FD III^2 33 (128 BC).

p. 18, n. 7
p. 58, n. 6
p. 90, n. 47
p. 100, n. 9
p. 118, n. 79
p. 146, n. 178

[θ]εό[ς τύ]χαν ἀγαθάν.

[ἐπεὶ Ἀλ]κίδαμος Εὐφάνους, [Ἀθηναῖος] πολίτας, εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως διακείμενος ποτί τε τὸν θεὸν [καὶ ποτὶ] τὰν πόλιν ἁμῶν, ἀγαγ[ὼν δὲ κ]αὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἐφ ἅρματος ἀξίως τοῦ τε θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου [δάμου κ]αὶ ἁμῶν, τάν τε παρεπιδαμίαν [καὶ] ἀναστροφὰν ἐποιήσατο ὡς ἐνδέχεται κάλλιστα·

The Pythion

#Axvii: Thuc. 2.15.2–4.

p. 70, n. 38
p. 99, n. 4
p. 100, nn. 6–7
p. 106, n. 28
p. 123, n. 100
p. 128, n. 123

(2) ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, γενόμενος μετὰ τοῦ ξυνετοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς τά τε ἄλλα διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν καὶ καταλύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τά τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὖσαν, ἓν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον, ξυνῴκισε πάντας, καὶ νεμομένους τὰ αὑτῶν ἑκάστους ἅπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἠνάγκασε μιᾷ πόλει ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι, ἣ ἁπάντων ἤδη ξυντελούντων ἐς αὐτὴν μεγάλη γενομένη παρεδόθη ὑπὸ Θησέως τοῖς ἔπειτα· καὶ ξυνοίκια ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ θεῷ ἑορτὴν δημοτελῆ ποιοῦσιν. (3) τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ᾽ αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. (4) τεκμήριον δέ·τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει † καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ <τοῦ> ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια [τῇ δωδεκάτῃ] ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν.

#Axviii: Thuc. 6.54.6–7.

p. 106, n. 29
p. 110, n. 50
p. 131, n. 132
p. 132, n. 137
p. 261, n. 28

(6) τὰ δὲ ἄλλα αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις τοῖς πρὶν κειμένοις νόμοις ἐχρῆτο, πλὴν καθ᾽ ὅσον αἰεί τινα ἐπεμέλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι. καὶ ἄλλοι τε αὐτῶν ἦρξαν τὴν ἐνιαύσιον Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχὴν καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἱππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος υἱός, τοῦ πάππου ἔχων τοὔνομα, ὃς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἄρχων ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Πυθίου. (7) καὶ τῷ

μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσοικοδομήσας ὕστερον ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων μεῖζον μῆκος τοῦ βωμοῦ ἠφάνισε τοὐπίγραμμα·τοῦ δ’ ἐν Πυθίου ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι λέγον τάδε·

μνῆμα τόδ’ ἧς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἱππίου υἱός
θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.

#Axix: IG I^{3} 948 (522–1 BC?)

p. 106, n. 30
p. 110, n. 50
p. 261, n. 28

μνεῖμα τόδε *h*ες̃ ἀρχες̃ Πεισίσ̣τ[ρατος *h*ιππίο *h*]υιὸς / θες̃κεν Ἀπόλλονος Πυθ[ί]ο ἐν τεμένε̣ι.

#Axx: Paus. 1.19.1

p. 106, n. 32

(1) μετὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πλησίον ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου·ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπίκλησιν Δελφινίου.

#Axxi: Philostr. *VS* 2.1.7.

p. 99, n. 4
p. 100, n. 6
p. 138, n. 159

ἐκ Κεραμεικοῦ δὲ ἄρασαν χιλίᾳ κώπῃ ἀφεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον καὶ περιβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸ παραμεῖψαι τὸ Πελασγικὸν κομιζομένην τε παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον ἐλθεῖν, οἳ νῦν ὥρμισται. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ σταδίου νεὼς ἐπέχει Τύχης καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐλεφάντινον ὡς κυβερνώσης πάντα.

Peisitratos and the Pythion

#Axxii: Suda *s.v.* Πύθιον; Phot. *s.v.* Πύθιον

p. 102, n. 15
p. 107, n. 34
p. 132, n. 137

Πύθιον ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀθήνησιν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου γεγονός, εἰς ὃ τοὺς τρίποδας ἐτίθεσαν οἱ τῷ κυκλίῳ χορῷ νικήσαντες τὰ Θαργήλια.

#Axxiii: Hsch: <ἐν Πυθίῳ χέσαι>

p. 107, n. 35
p. 132, n. 137

Πεισίστρατος ᾠκοδόμει τὸν ἐν Πυθίῳ ναόν· τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων παριόντων <καὶ> μισούντων αὐτὸν ..., οὐδὲν ἐχόντων ποιεῖν, ἐνίους προσουρεῖν τῷ περιφράγματι καὶ πλησίον ἀφοδεύειν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς, ὥστε διοχλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐργαζομένους.

The Prytaneion

#Axxiv: Paus. 1.18.2–3.

p. 122, n. 96
p. 123, n. 102

(2) ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀγλαύρου τέμενός ἐστιν. Ἀγλαύρῳ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς Ἔρσῃ καὶ Πανδρόσῳ δοῦναί φασιν Ἀθηνᾶν Ἐριχθόνιον

καταθεῖσαν ἐς κιβωτόν, ἀπειποῦσαν ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκην μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν· Πάνδροσον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι πείθεσθαι, τὰς δὲ δύο—ἀνοῖξαι γὰρ σφᾶς τὴν κιβωτόν—μαίνεσθαί τε, ὡς εἶδον τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἔνθα ἦν μάλιστα ἀπότομον, αὐτὰς ῥῖψαι. κατὰ τοῦτο ἐπαναβάντες Μῆδοι κατεφόνευσαν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς πλέον τι ἐς τὸν χρησμὸν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰδέναι νομίζοντας καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ξύλοις καὶ σταυροῖς ἀποτειχίσαντας. (3) πλησίον δὲ πρυτανεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ νόμοι τε οἱ Σόλωνός εἰσι γεγραμμένοι καὶ θεῶν Εἰρήνης ἀγάλματα κεῖται καὶ Ἑστίας, ἀνδριάντες δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Αὐτόλυκος ὁ παγκρατιαστής·

References

Note on abbreviations:
Abbreviations in this work follow the conventions of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary: fourth edition* (pp. xxvi–liii), except for the following:

Arch. Delt.	Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
Athenische Mitteilungen	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung*
Aug.	Augustus
CID	*Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes*
Clearch.	Klearchos of Soli
Dicaearch.	Dikaiarchos
Gaia	*Revue Interdisciplinaire sur la Grèce Archaïque*
Glotta	*Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache*
ΗΟΡΟΣ	*Ένα Αρχαιογνωστικό Περιοδικό*
Kernos	*Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de Religion Grecque antique.*
KvA	*Karten von Attika*
JMA	*Jounal of Mediterranean Archaeology*
Meth. Ol.	Methodius of Olympus
MHR	*Mediterranean Historical Review*
Ostraka	*Rivista di Antichita'*
Str.	Strabo
Teiresias	*A Review and continuing Bibliography in Boiotian Studies*

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The Route of the Pythaïs through Athens and Attica

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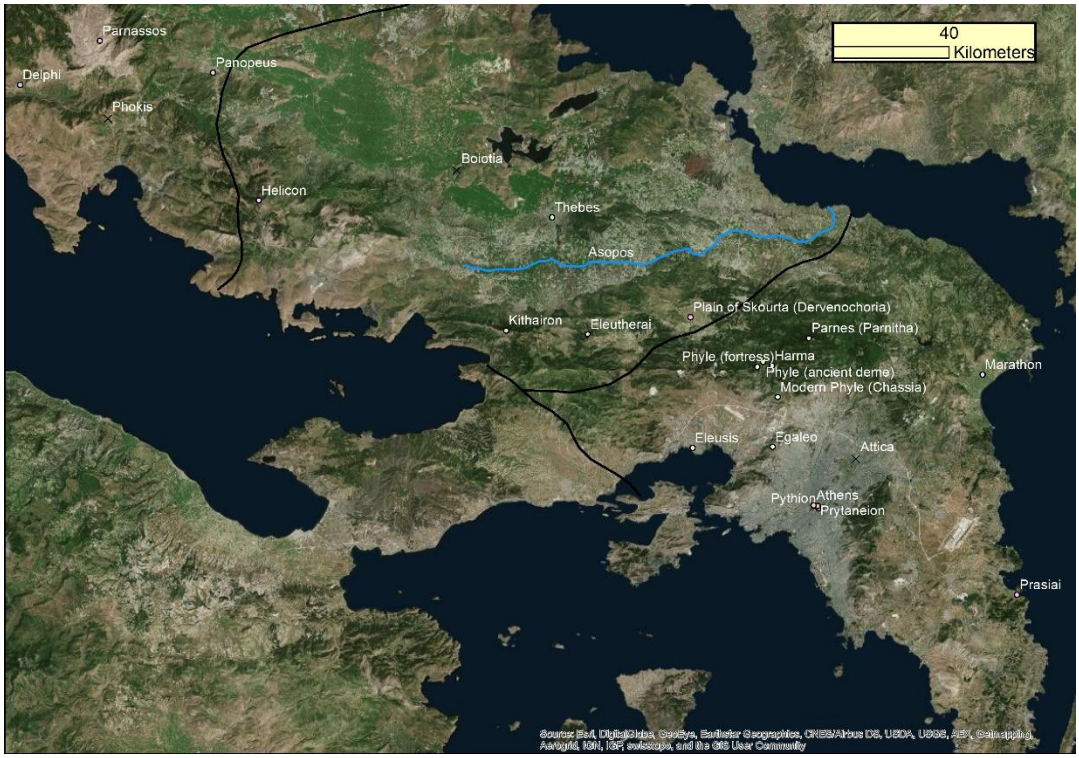


Figure 1. Map of the regions crossed by the procession. The illustration shows regional boundaries, some of the places concerned with the myth/ritual and the course of the Asopos River. Map prepared by the author.

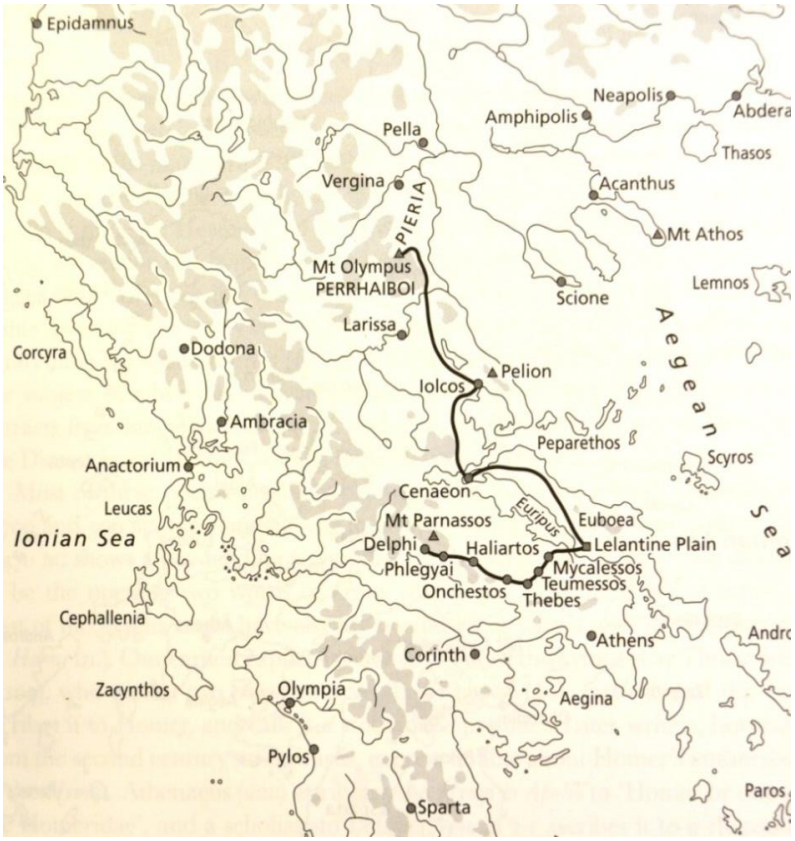


Figure 2. Map of Apollo's search for a place in which to found his oracular shrine, as described in the third Homeric Hymn. Modified from RICHARDSON 2010, p. XV, map. 2.



Figure 3. East pediment of the Alkmaionidai temple of Apollo at Delphi. From DÖRIG 1967, p. 107, fig. 3.



Figure 4. Apollo *Hyperpontios.* Neck-amphora, Louvre CP 10619. From SHAPIRO 1989, pl. 29, fig. a.



Figure 5. Apollo *Hyperpontios*. Hydria, Vatican. From BEAZLEY 1964, p. 10, pl. 6.



Figure 6. Black-figure white-ground *lekythos*, depicting Apollo shooting at Python. From CVA, Bib. Nat. 2, pl. 86, figs. 6–8.

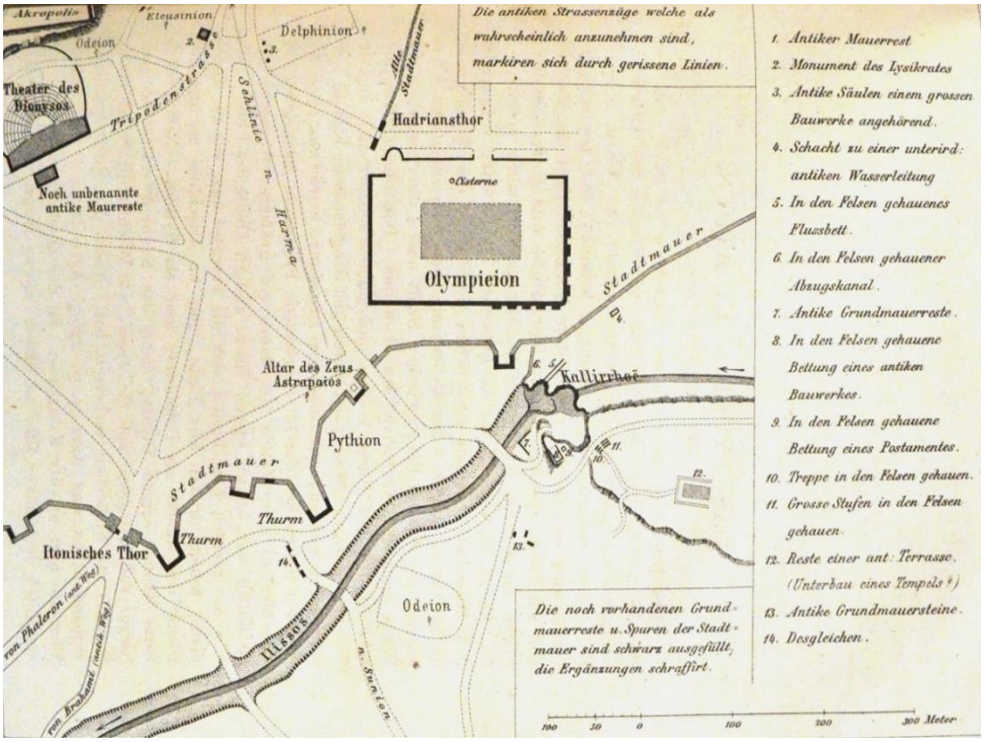


Figure 7. The region of the Olympieion. The location of the Pythion is indicated southwest of the Temple of Zeus. From CURTIUS 1877, p. 493.

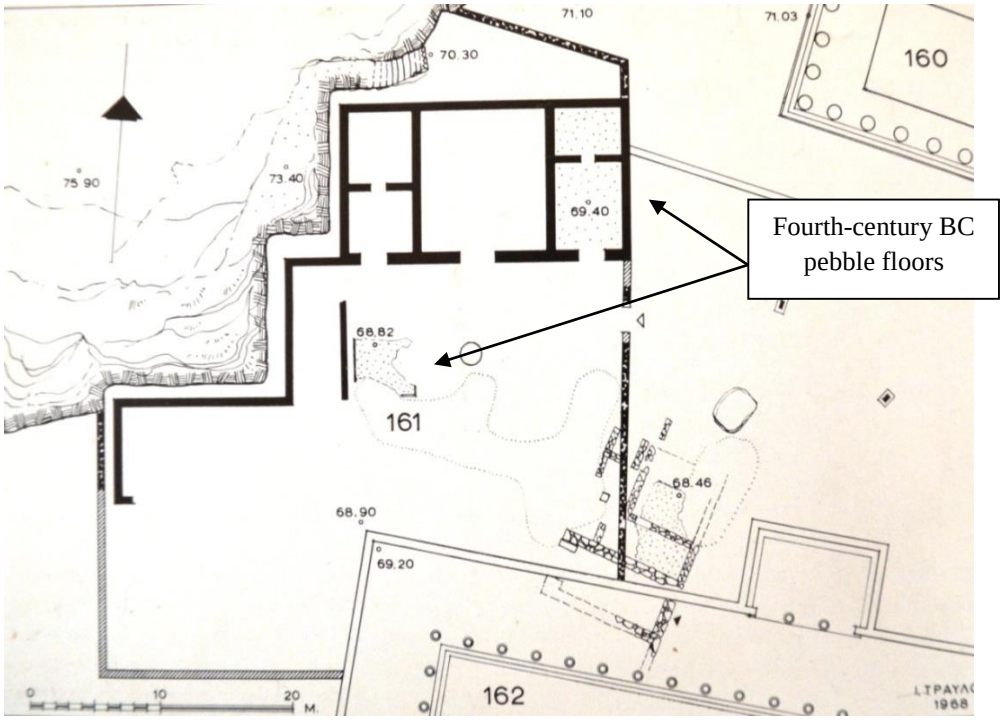


Figure 8. Late archaic building. The seashore pebble-floors in the courtyard and in the eastern room are fourth-century BC repairs. It is here that the inscribed sherds were found during Mitsos' 1939–40 campaign. Modified from TRAVLOS 1971, p. 90, fig. 113.

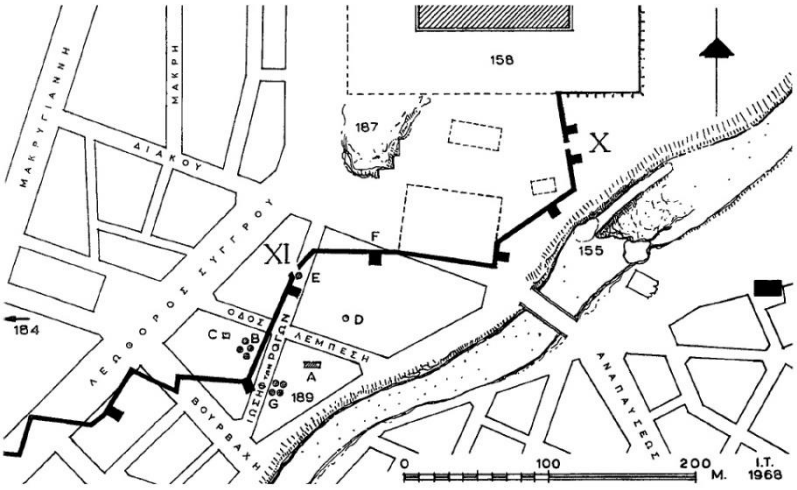


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Figure 10. Distribution map of the finds commonly used for the topographic contextualisation of the Pythion. Map prepared by the author. Background orthophotograph by Ktimnatologio (www.ktimatologio.gr.).

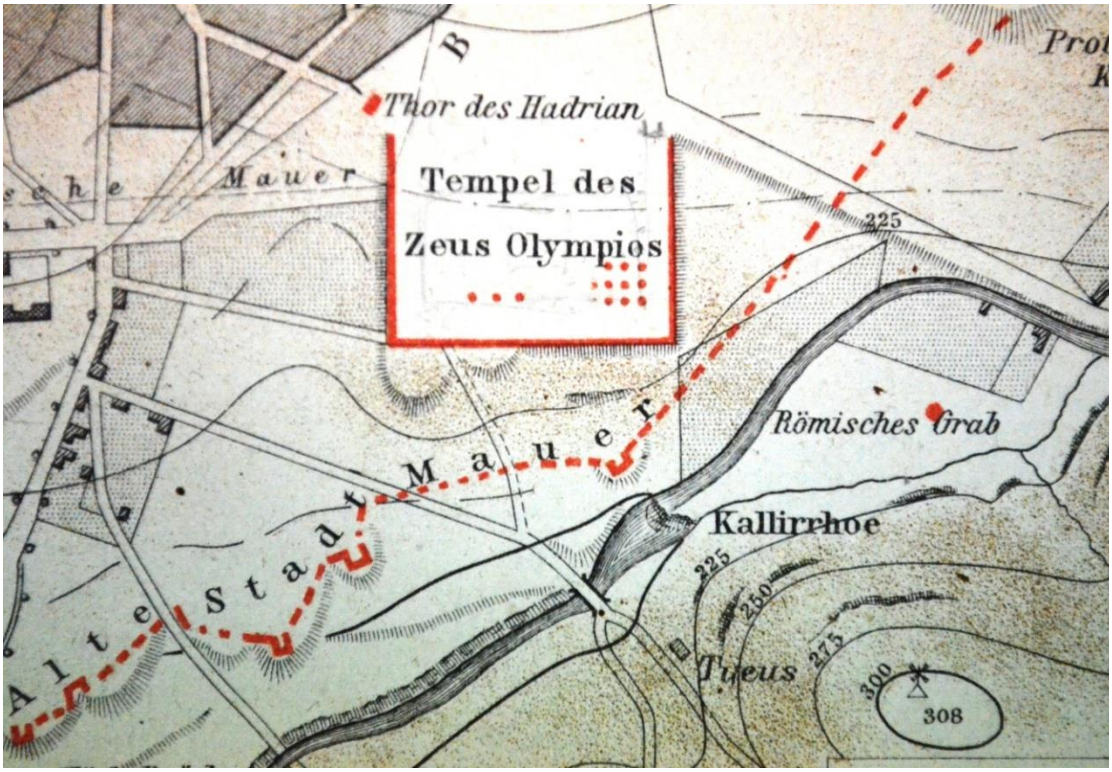


Figure 11. 1862 map of the area south of the Olympieion. The region immediately west of the bridge is not occupied by any modern building. From CURTIUS 1868, pl. 3.

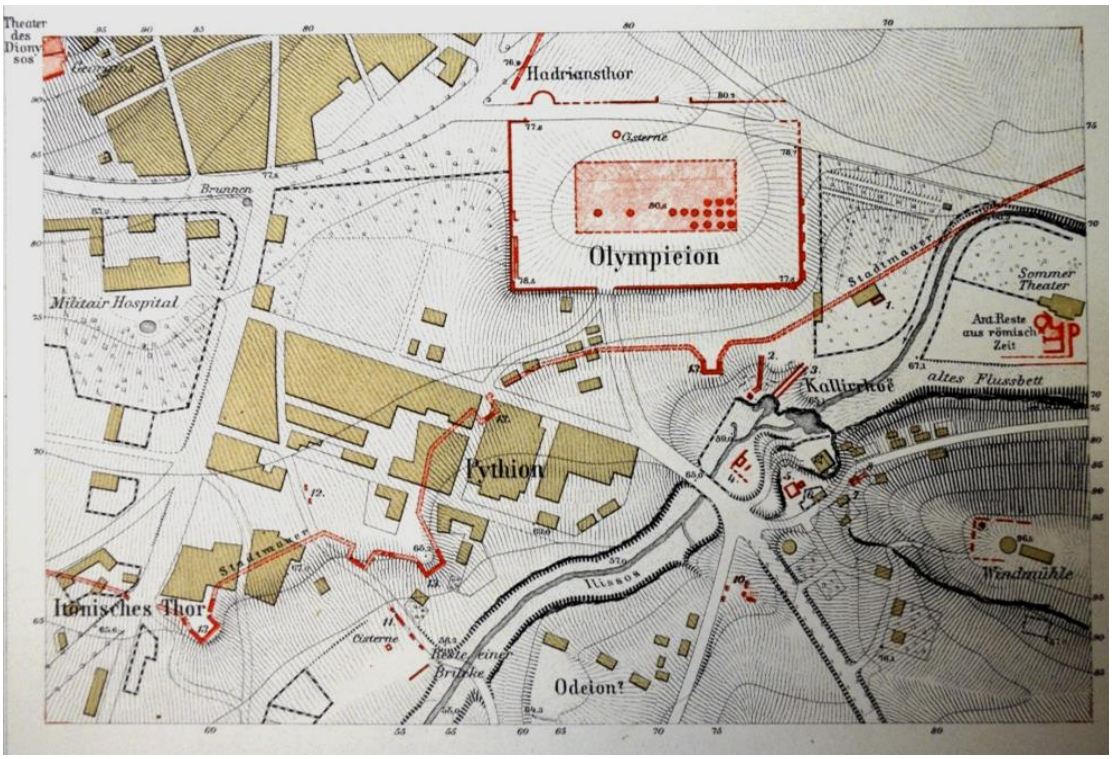


Figure 12. 1878 map of the Olympieion area. New structures are built in the area south and southwest of the temple. From CURTIUS AND KAUPERT 1878, pl. 10.



Figure 13. The area south of the Olympieion ca. 1865. Δημήτριος Κωνσταντίνου. Η Ακρόπολη και το Ολυμπιείον. © Φωτογραφικό Αρχείο Μουσείου Μπενάκη.



Figure 14. The area south of the Olympieion at the time of the discovery of the altar's fragment. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archives, Archaeological Photographic Collection.



Figure 15. Detail of the area south of the Olympieion at the time of the discovery of the altar's fragment. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archives, Archaeological Photographic Collection.

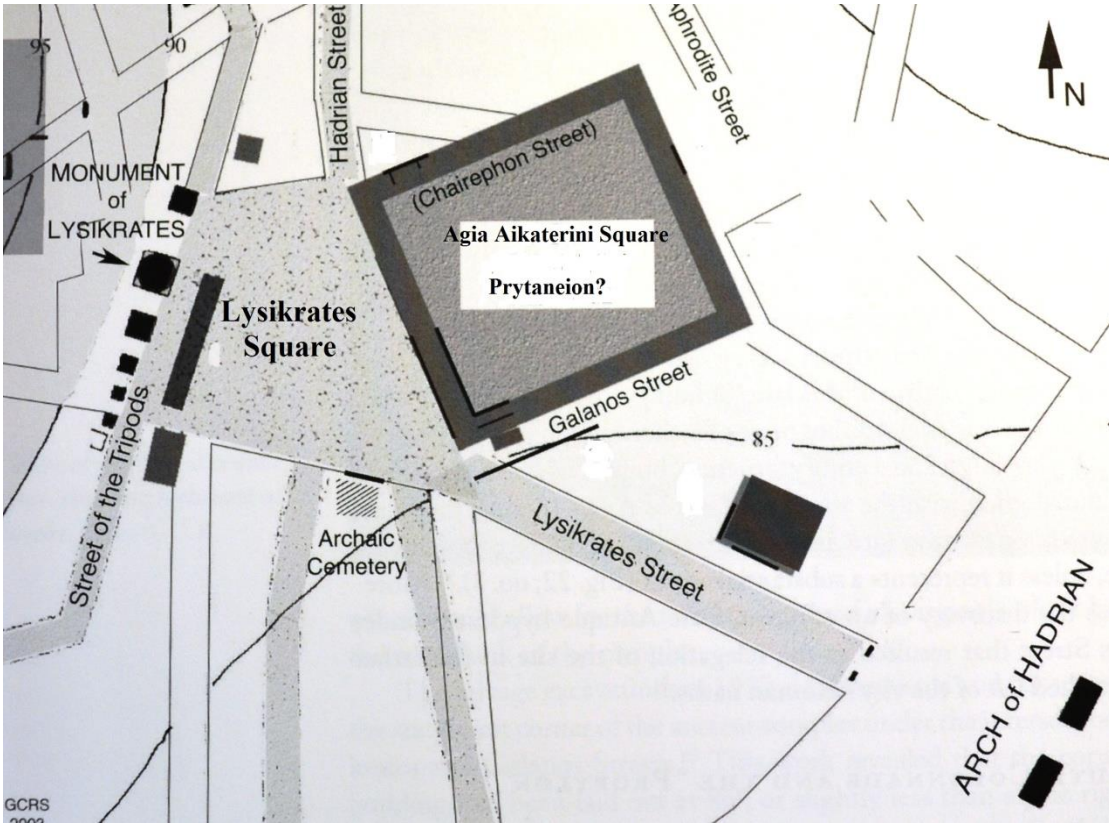


Figure 16. Plan of the possible location of the Prytaneion. Modified from SCHMALZ 2006, p. 57, fig. 22.

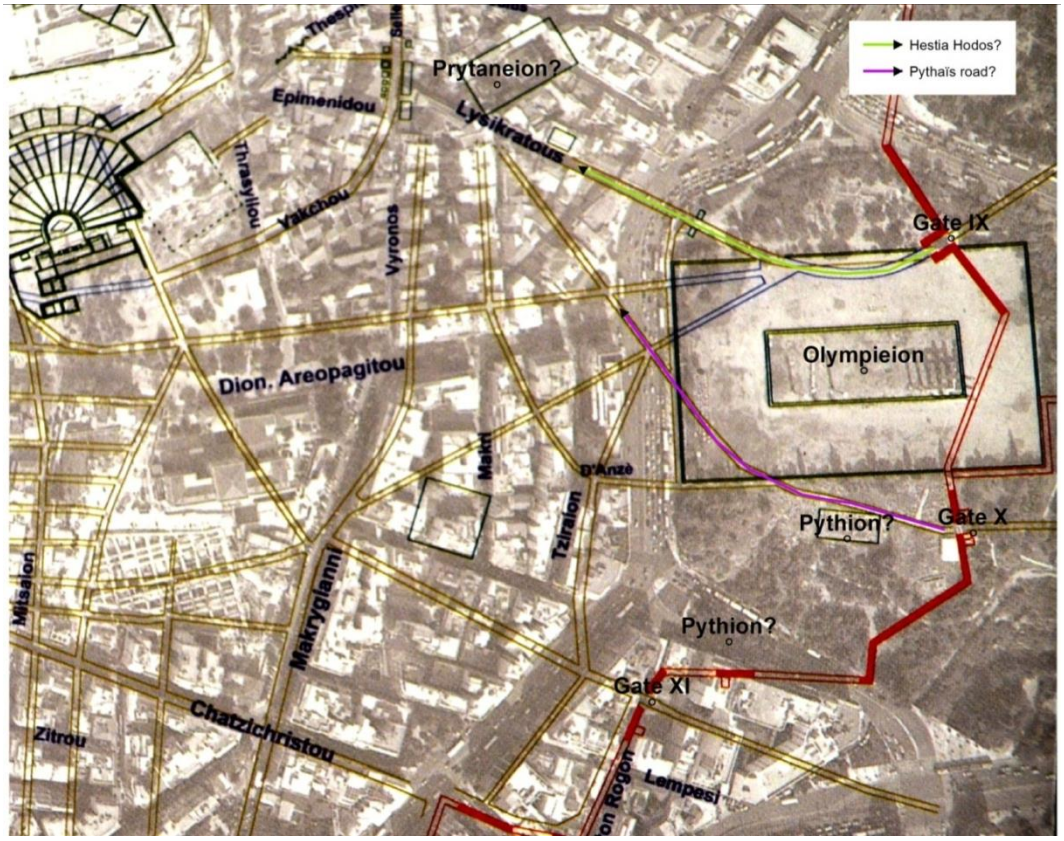


Figure 17. Topographical plan of the ancient road network in southeast Athens. Modified from FICUCIELLO 2008, pl. I.

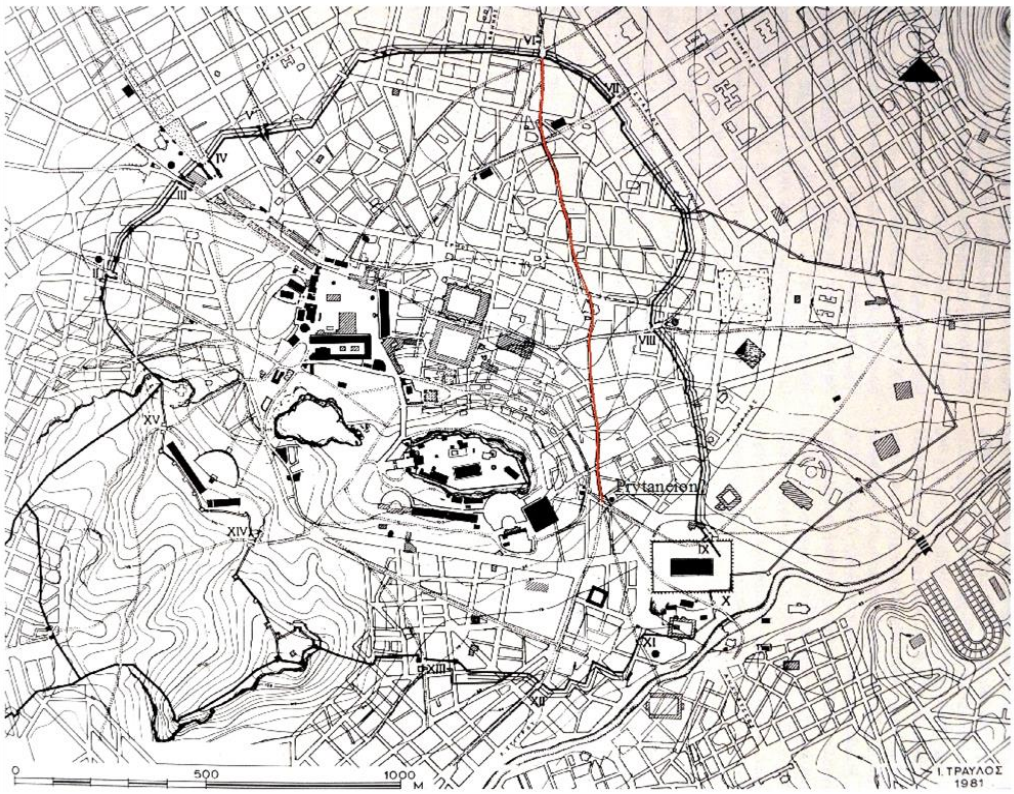


Figure 18. Map of Late Antique Athens. According to Travlos' reconstruction, a street (in red) would have directly connected the Archaic Agora with the Acharnian Gates. Modified from TRAVLOS 1988, p. 34, fig. 29.

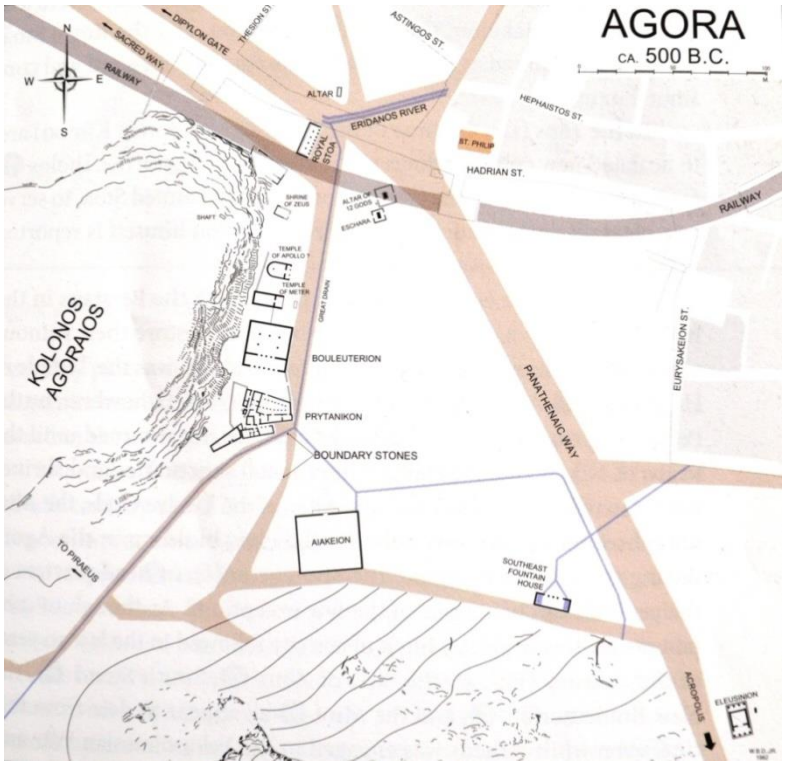


Figure 19. Map of the Agora at the end of the sixth century BC. From CAMP 2010, p.17, fig. 3.

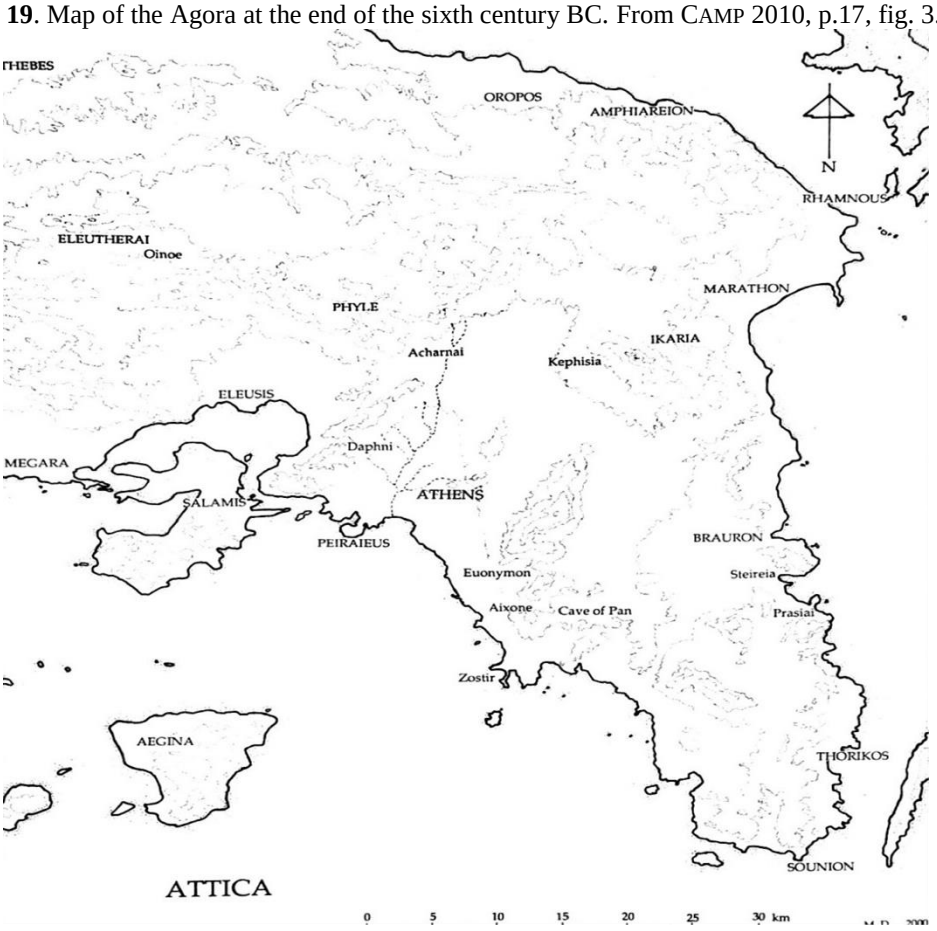


Figure 20. Map of Attica with its principal demes. Modified from CAMP 2001, p. 271, fig. 248.

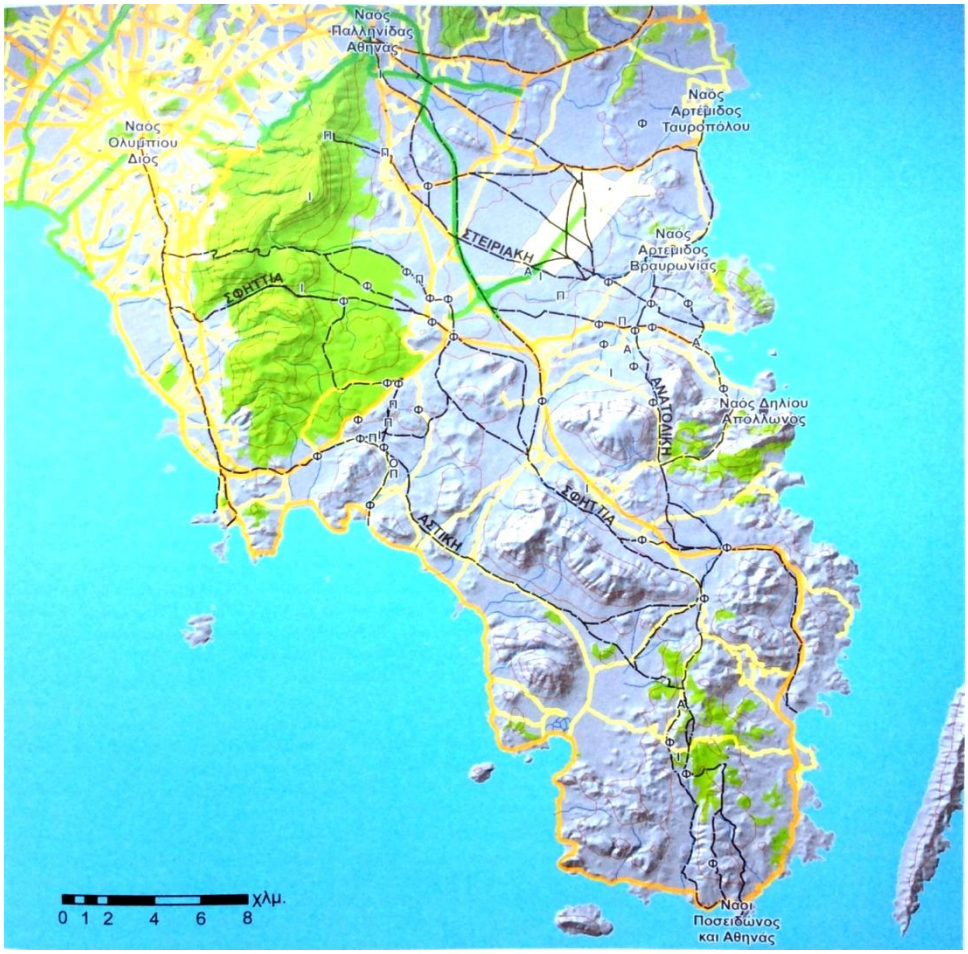


Figure 21. Ancient road network across the Mesogaia and Laureion region. Modified from KAKAVOGIANNI 2009, p. 183, fig. 13. 1.

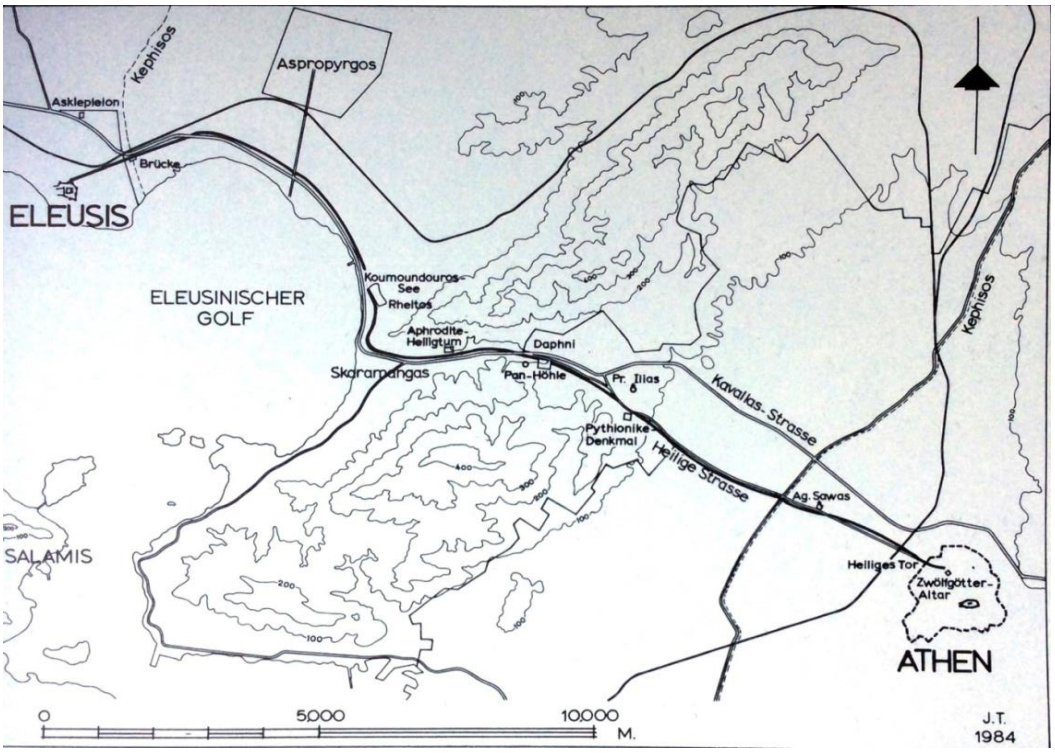


Figure 22. The course of the *Hiera Hodos* to Eleusis. From TRAVLOS 1988, p. 181, fig. 228.

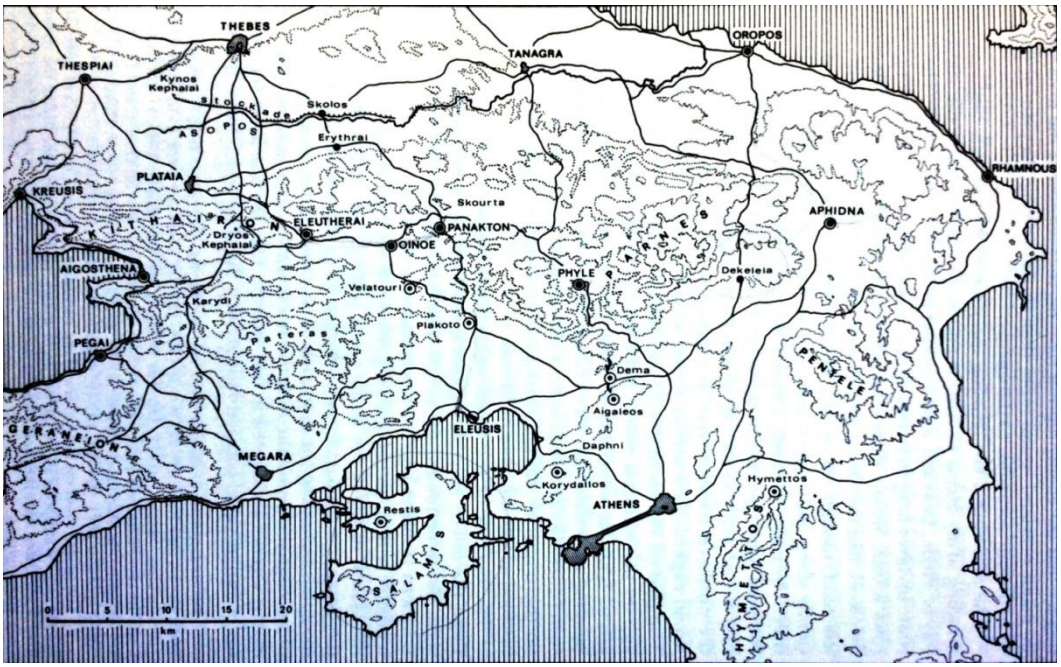


Figure 23. Routes from Attica to Boiotia. From MUNN 1993, p. 99, fig. 5.

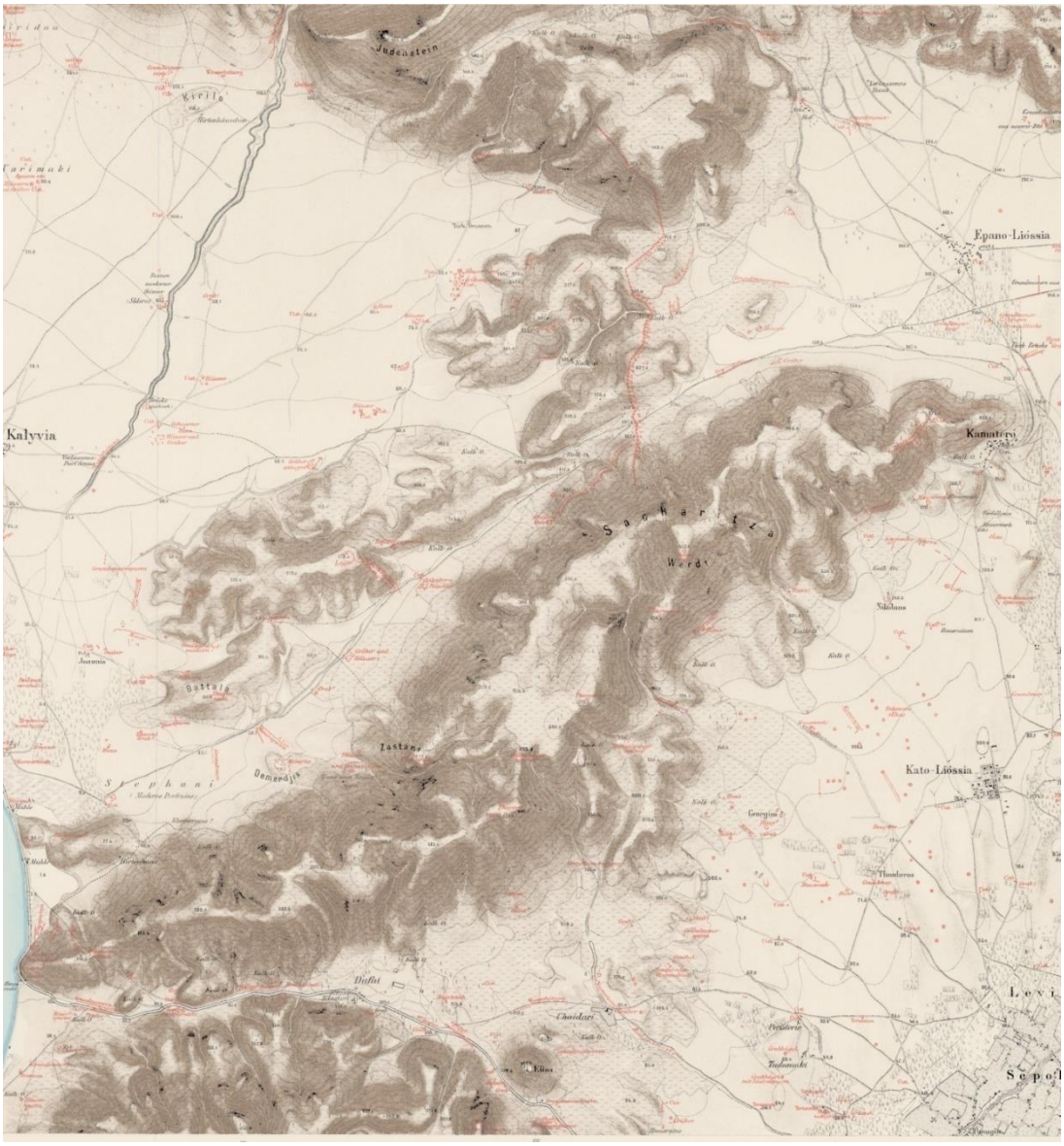


Figure 24. Map of the region of Egaleo and southwest Parnes. The north-south red line indicates the extension of the dema wall. The Dipotami river can be seen in the northeastern part of the map; the Judenstein peak is located to the north. Detail from *KvA*, sheet VI = *Pyrgos.*

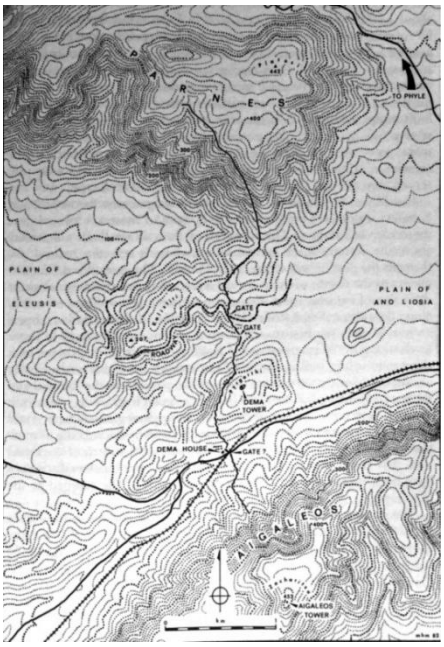


Figure 25. Map of the dema wall across the gap between Egaleo and southwest Parnes. From MUNN 1993, p.39, map 5.

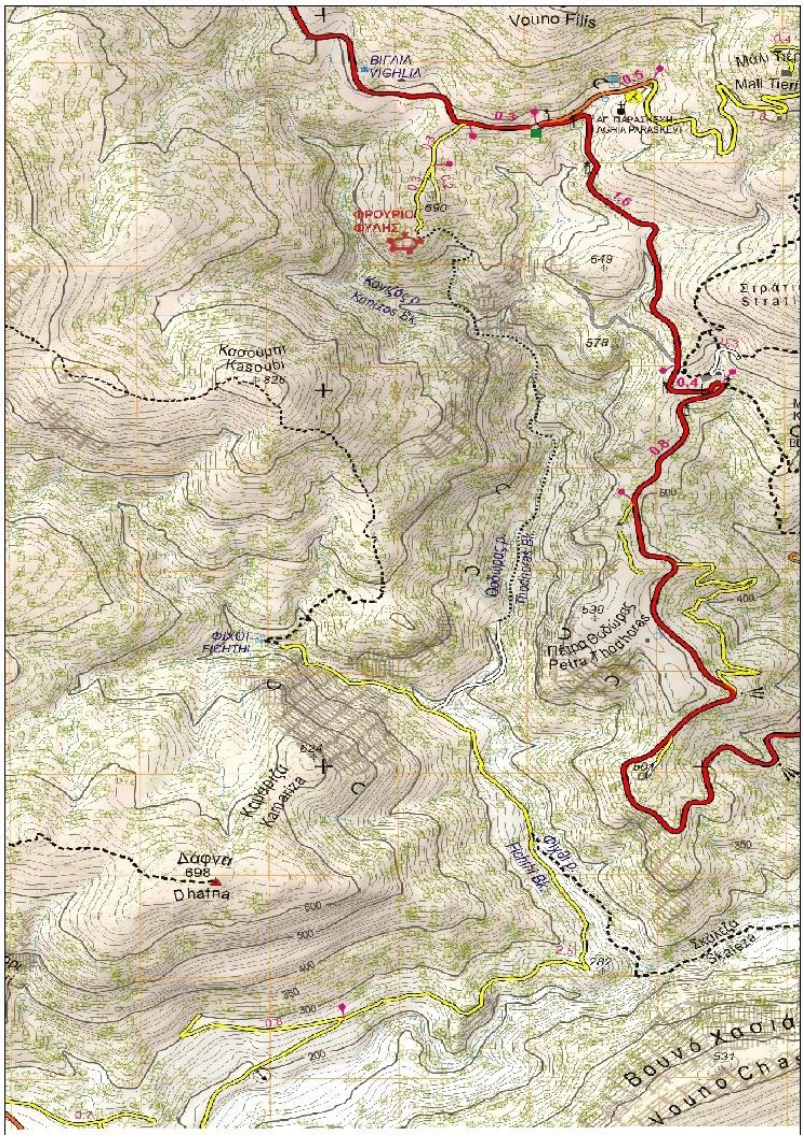


Figure 26. Map of Parnes. From the Thriasian plain a route might have joined the Phyle road along the course of the Dipotami. Detail from *Map of Mt. Parnitha* by Anavasi Editions.



Figure 27. Mount Parnassos as seen from the top of Harma. The dotted line highlights the outline of the mountain. Photograph taken from southeast.

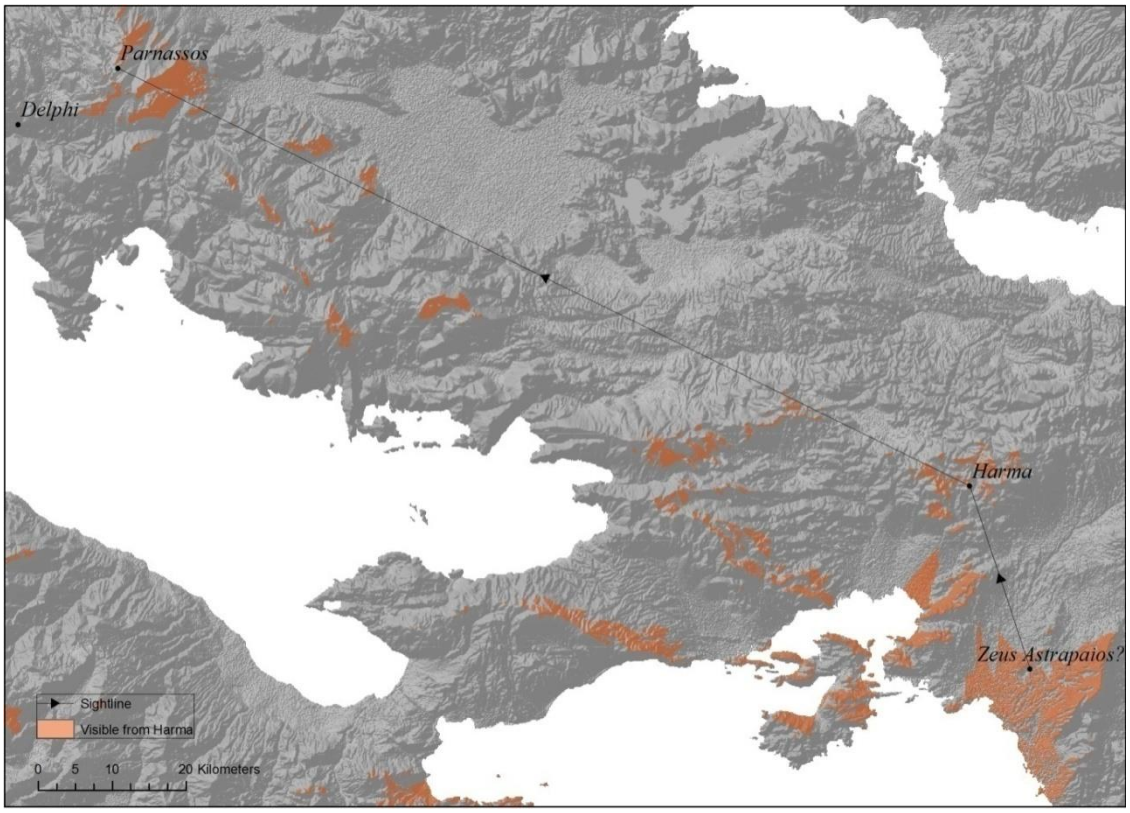


Figure 28. Viewshed analysis centred on Harma as the observer point, showing sightlines construction.

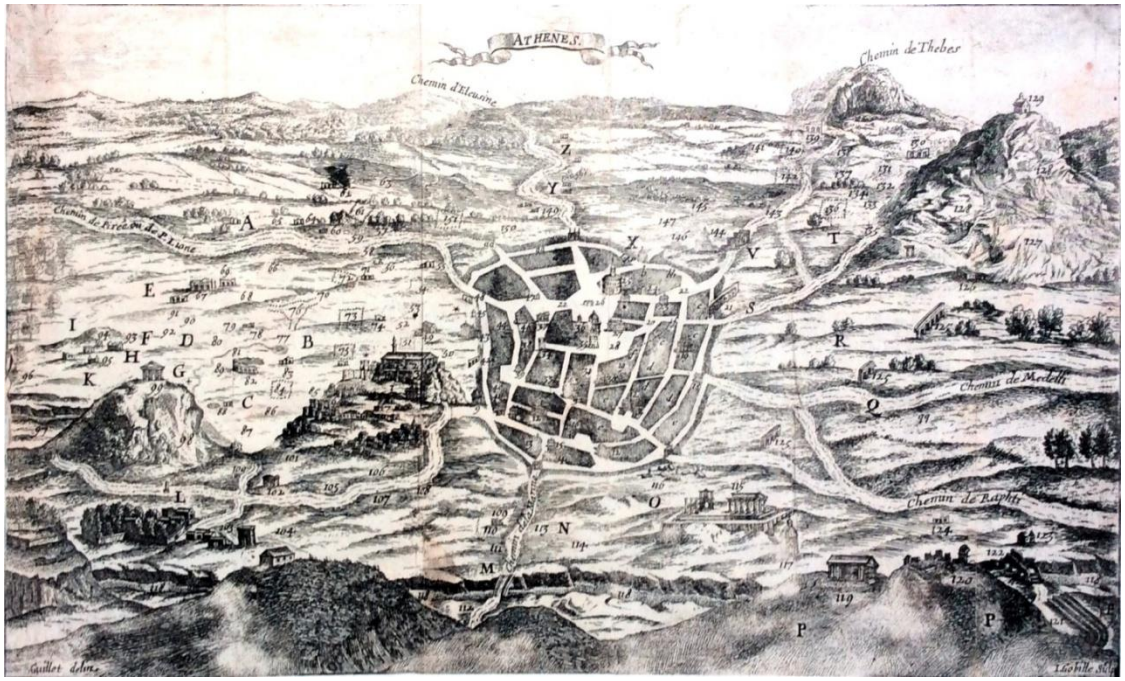


Figure 29. Map of Athens drawn by the capuchin monks in the 1670s.The road to Thebes (Boiotia) is that exiting the city from the Acharnian Gates. The map is not drawn according a correct north-south orientation. From KORRES 2009, p. 13, fig. 1.2



Figure 30. Map of ancient Athens superimposed on modern city. Modified from FICUCIELLO 2008, pl. I.

Routes map

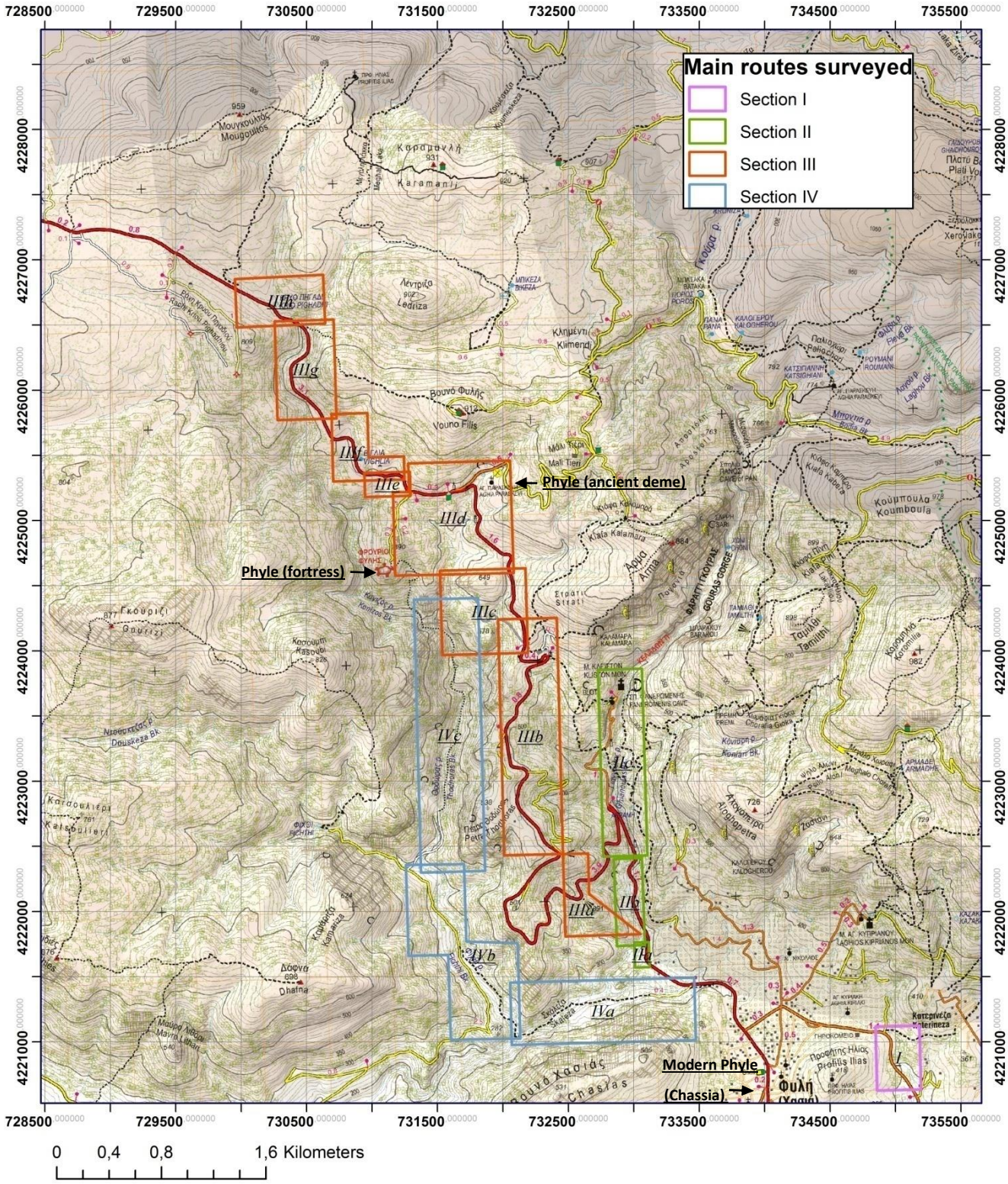


Figure 31. Map of the main routes surveyed. The red line is the modern asphalt road. Background map by Anavasi Editions (ADAMAKOPOULOS 2006).

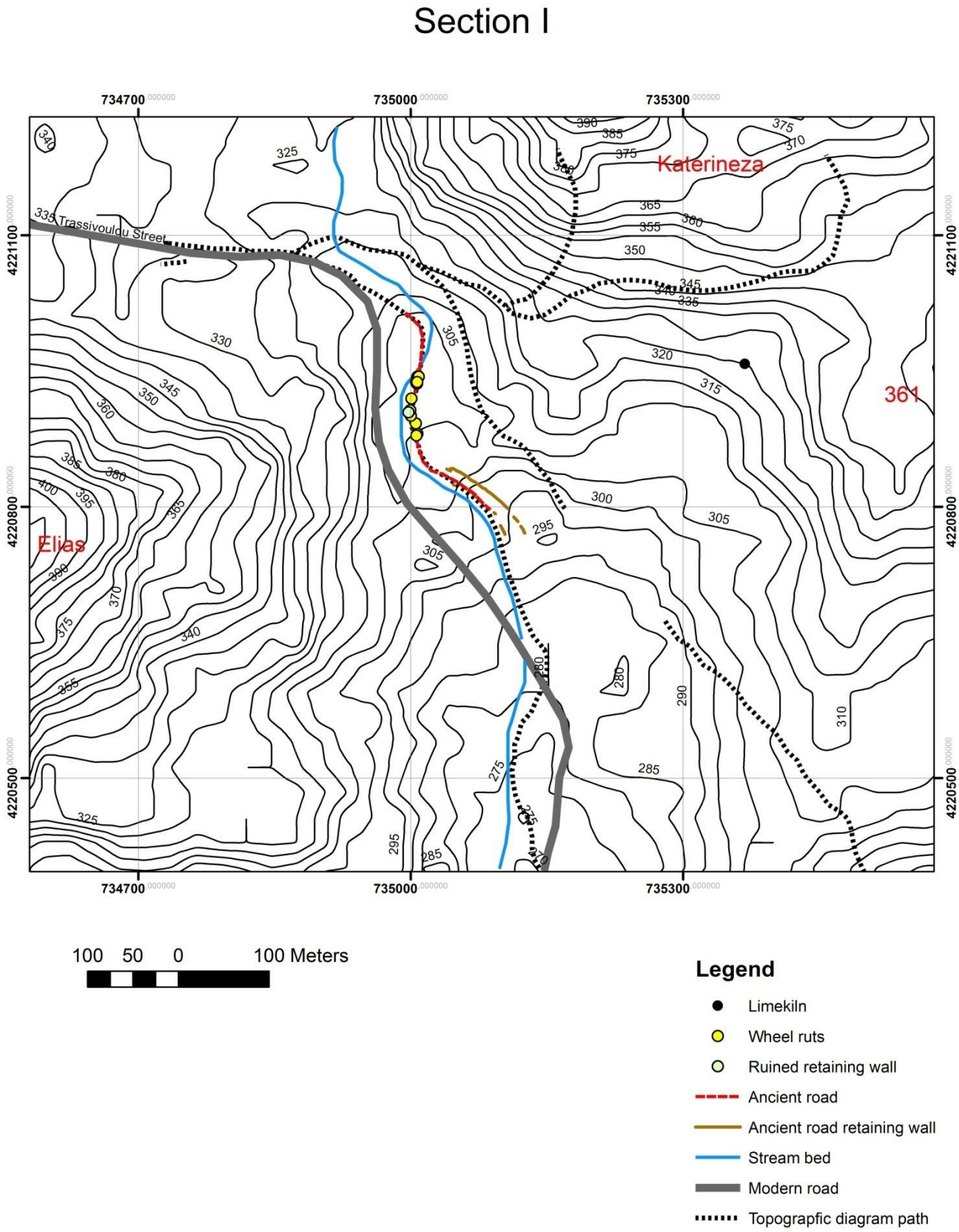


Figure 32. Map of Section I, prepared by the author.

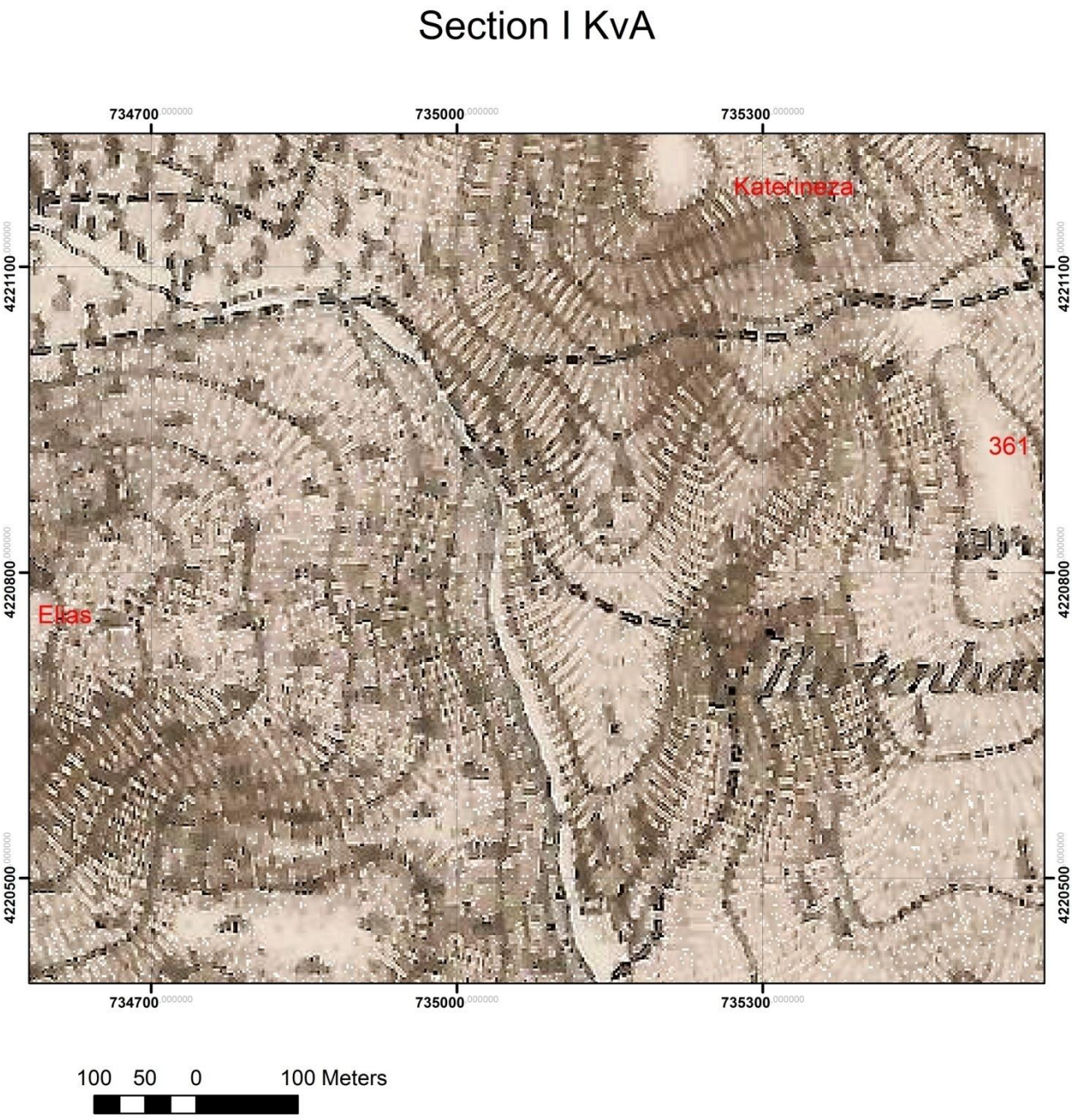


Figure 33. Section I as shown in the *KvA*. Detail from *KvA* XXIV = *Phyle*.



Figure 34. Large ruined limekiln. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 35. Longitudinal carving on the abandoned road east of the winter stream. The remnants of the carving on the left measure approximately 3.5m. The rough road surface is also visible. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 36. Detail of the longitudinal carving on the abandoned path, east of the winter stream. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 37. Parallel carved wheel ruts, spaced 1.40m from each other. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 38. Parallel carved wheel ruts, spaced 1.40m from each other. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 39. L-shaped wheel rut. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 40. Narrow, deep wheel rut. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 41. Worn outcropping rock parallel to the longitudinal carving (wheel rut). Photograph taken from south.



Figure 42. Worn outcropping rock (bottom of the picture) parallel to the longitudinal carving (wheel rut). Its projected line proceeds north. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 43.Worn outcropping rock. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 44. Badly preserved remnants of the road retaining wall (foreground and right), road surface (centre), and carving along the uphill side (upper left corner). Photograph taken from north.



Figure 45. Badly preserved remnants of the road retaining wall. Photograph taken from south.carving along the uphill side (upper left corner). Photograph taken from north.



Figure 46. Ancient road retaining wall, road surface, and parallel set of wheel ruts. Photograph taken from northwest.



Figure 47. Possible road retaining wall. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 48. Possible wheel marks in the streambed. Photograph taken from north.

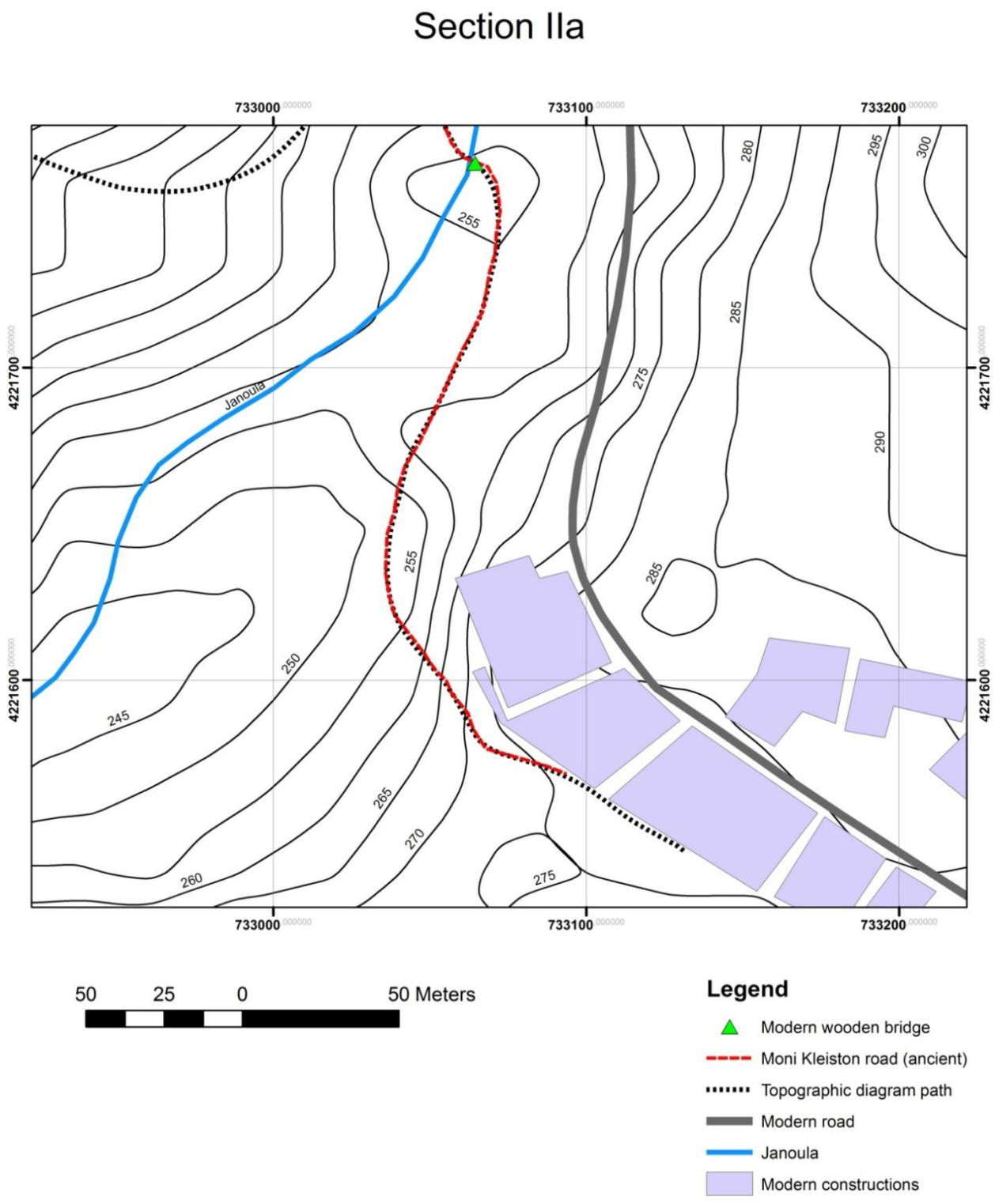


Figure 49. Map of Section IIa, prepared by the author.



Figure 50. Section IIa as shown in the KvA. Detail from *KvA* XXIV = *Phyle*.



Figure 51. Well-preserved stretch of the old road to the monastery of Kleiston. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 52. Retaining wall of the old road to the monastery of the Virgin Kleiston. Photograph taken from southwest.



Figure 53. Modern wood bridge. The road crosses the Janoula river and keeps its course northward along the west side of the river. Photograph taken from northwest.

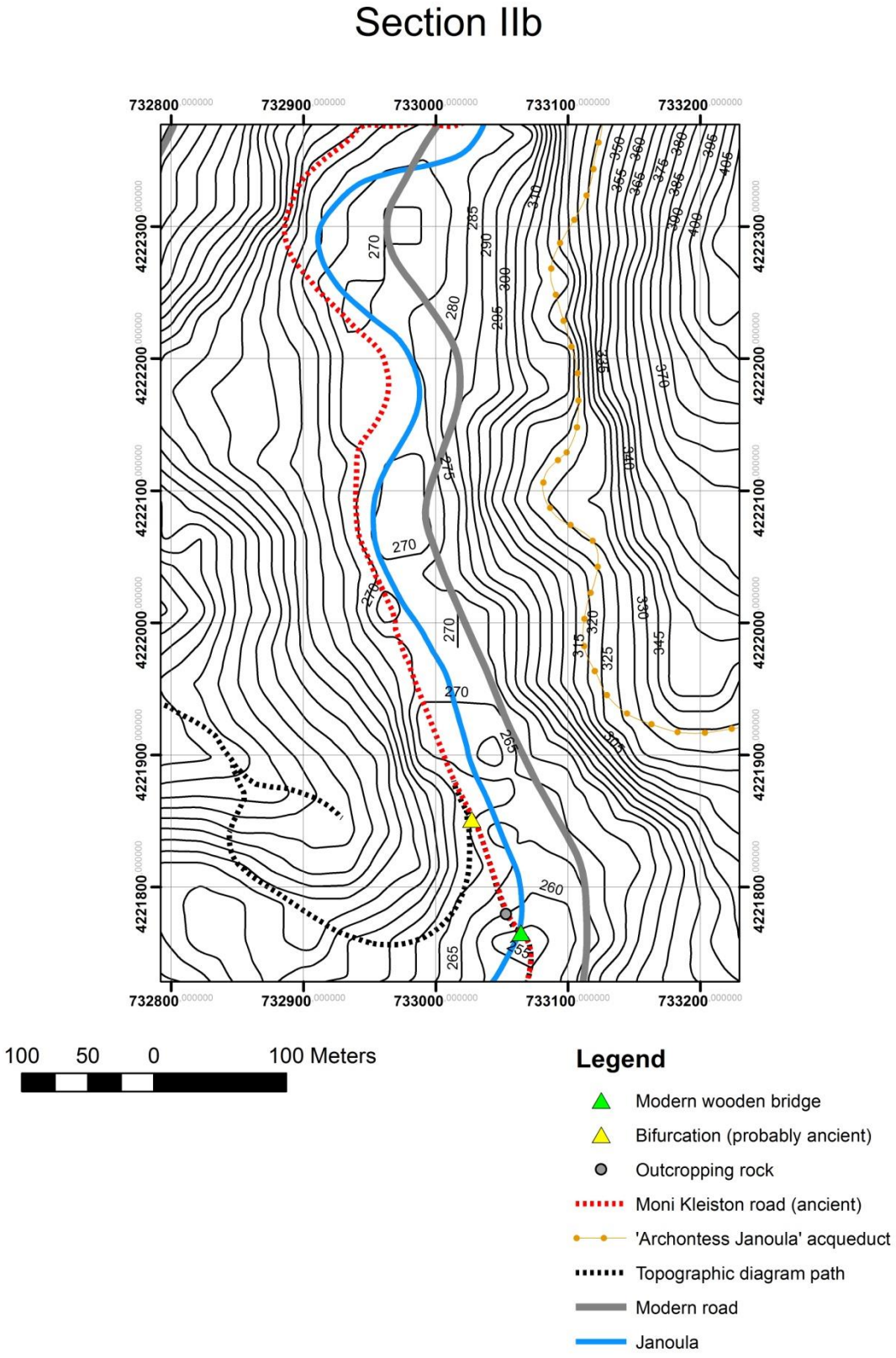


Figure 54. Map of Section IIb, prepared by the author.



Figure 55. Section IIb as shown in the *KvA*. Detail from *KvA* XXIV = *Phyle*.



Figure 56. Wheel rut-shaped outcropping rock. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 57. Road surface as it appears today in the area of the bifurcation. Another path (Section IIIa) departs from this bifurcation. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 58. Road surface as it appears today in the area of the bifurcation from which another road (on the left, *Section III a*) departs. The road bed appears slightly inclined towards the downhill side because of the superficial deposit from the hill. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 59. The road is badly ruined where the Janoula river (on the left) flows particularly close to the roadside. The road retaining wall has fallen down and the road bed itself is eroding. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 60. Traces of the retaining wall make themselves visible again as the course of the road diverts a bit from the Janoula River. The photograph shows also the road bed covered in debris fallen from the hill slope, and the solid limestone bedrock which must have delimited the road throughout the antiquity. Little is left of the road surface. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 61. Retaining wall stretch constituted of large stones. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 62. Road retaining wall, possibly restored with smaller stones. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 63. The course of the ancient road is cut by the modern road. On the right, traces of the retaining wall are visible. The ancient road continues on the opposite side of the modern one. Photograph taken from west.

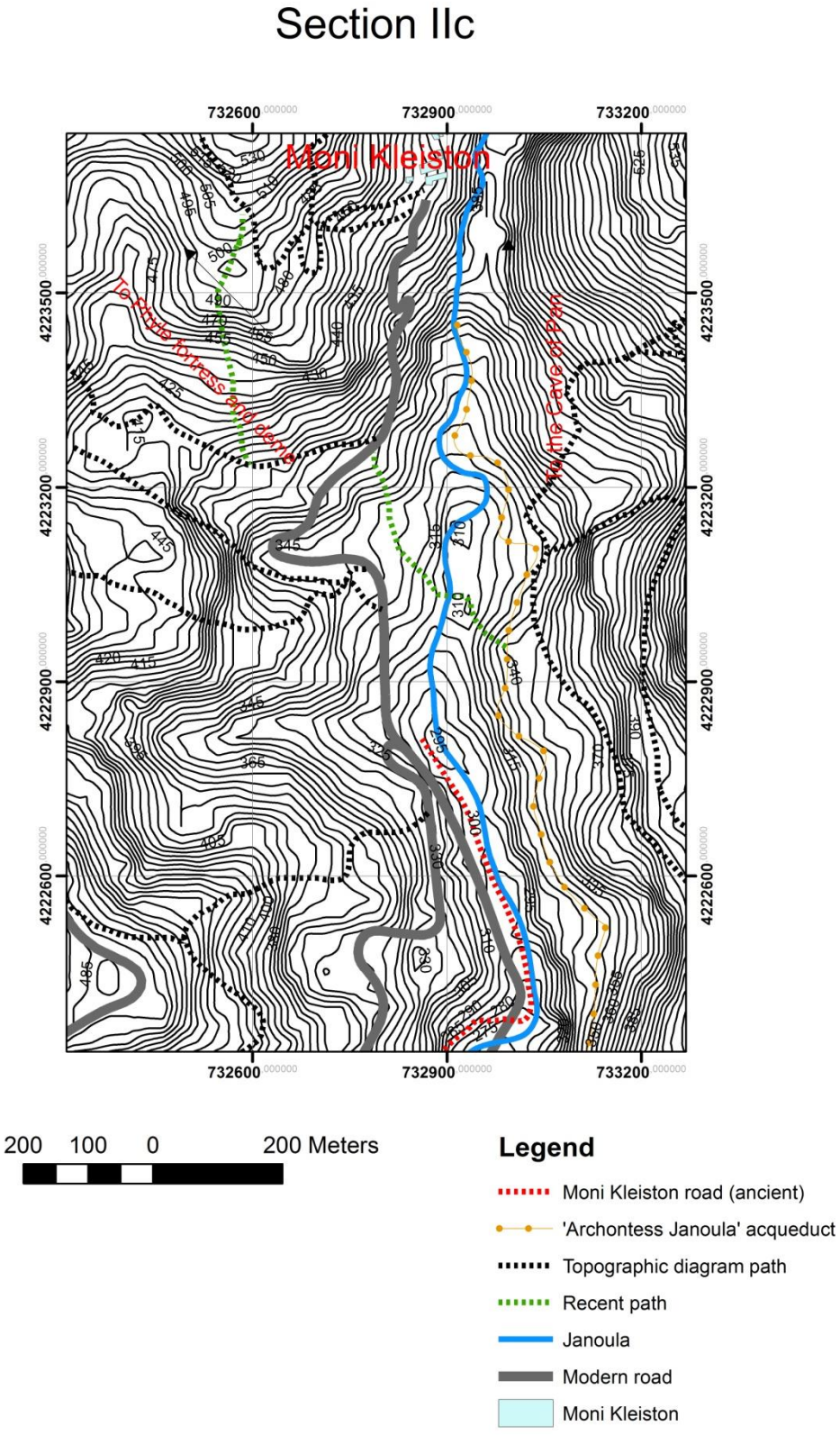


Figure 64. Map of Section IIc, prepared by the author.

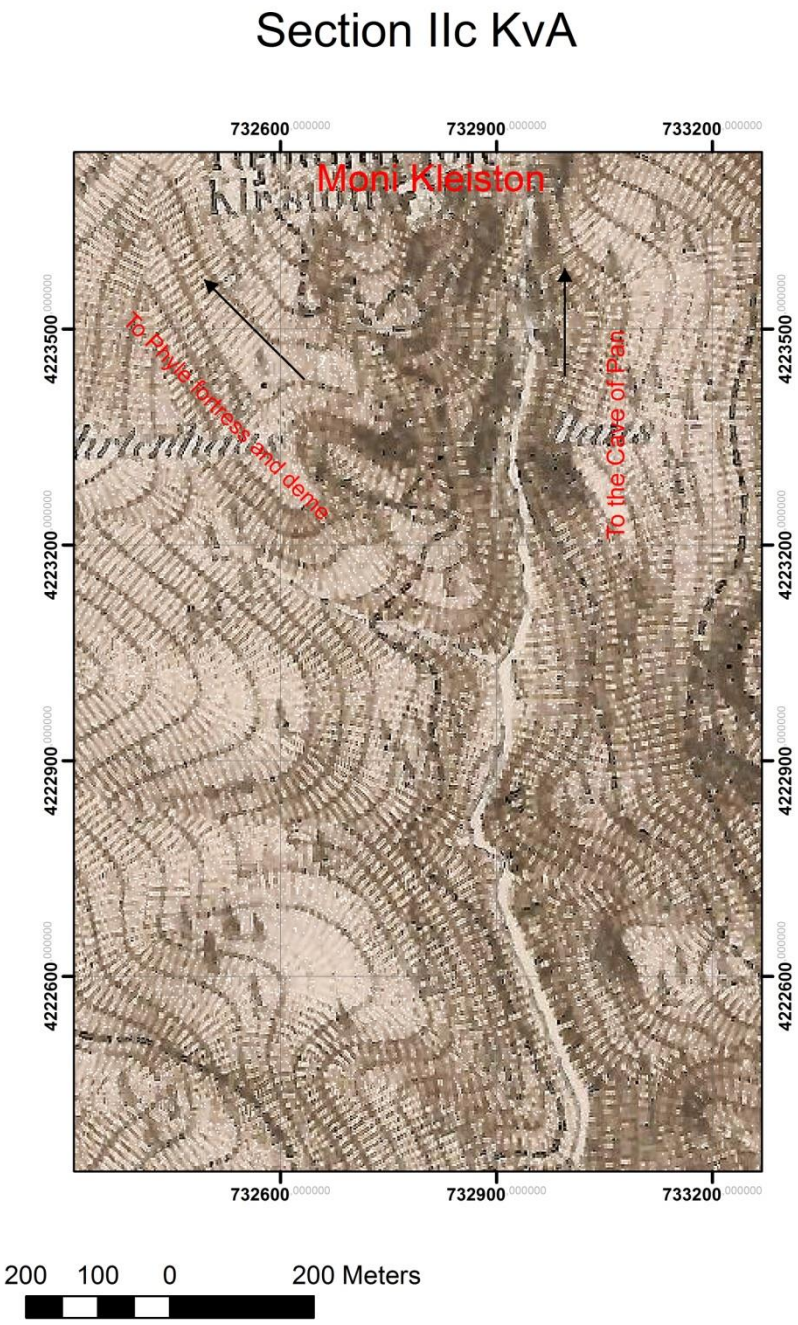


Figure 65. Section IIc as shown in the *KvA*. Detail from *KvA* XXIV = *Phyle*.



Figure 66. The first stretch of Section IIc extended very close to the Janoula River, between the river and the modern road (upper left corner). Photograph taken from north.



Figure 67. Abandoned circular structures built next to the old road bed. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 68. Southeast view from the lower plateau of Harma (Strati) of the Janoula Valley. The Janoula (Goura) Gorge is visible on the left; Moni Kleiston and the road to it (Section IIc) are in the lower centre. The network of old paths is visible on the hill slopes to the right of the modern road. In the upper left corner the Eleusinian plain can be seen. Photograph taken from northwest.

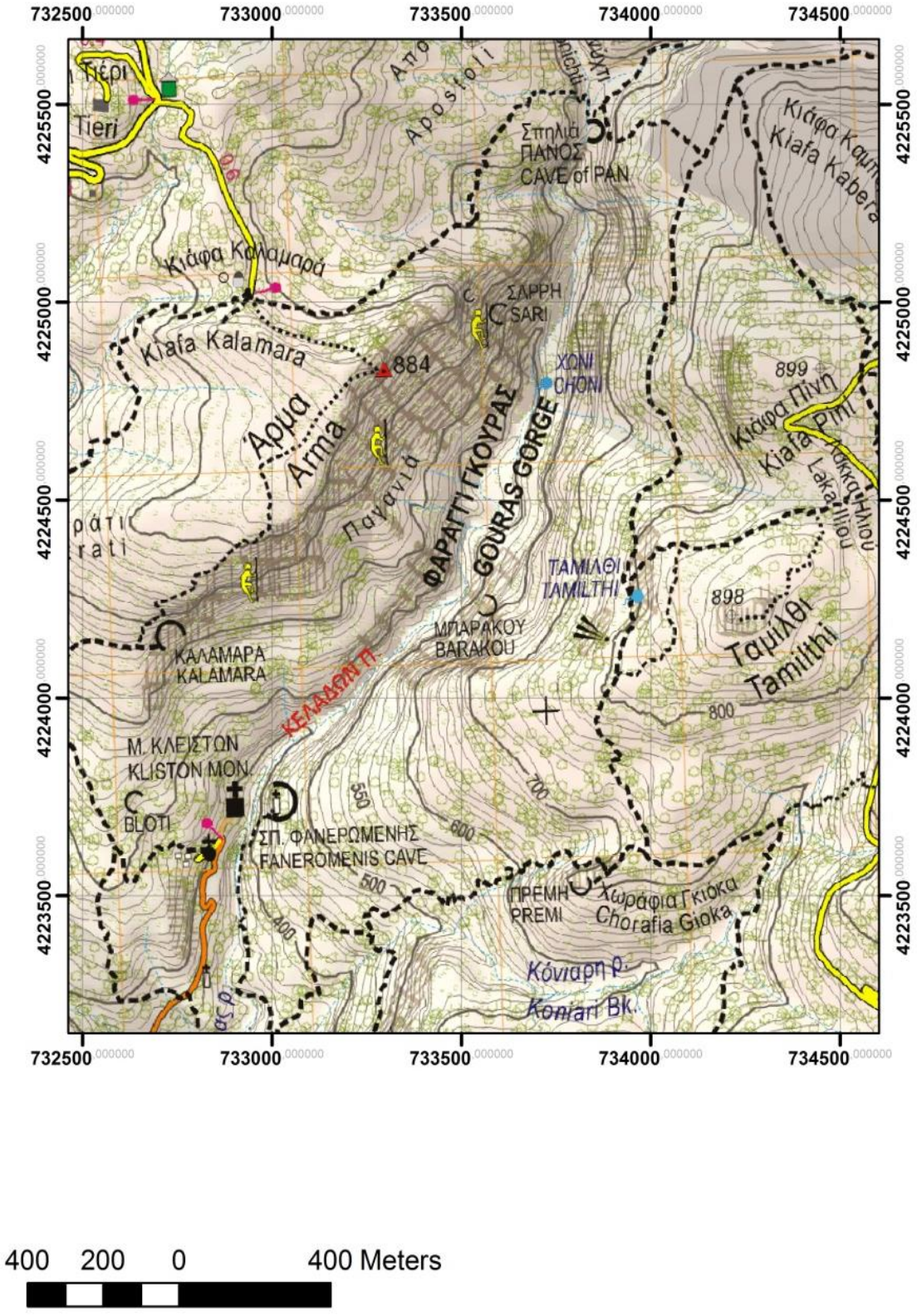


Figure 69. Map of the Janoula Gorge region with some of the paths that traverse it. The gorge is bordered by Harma to the west and Tamilthi to the east. The Cave of Pan lies at the northern part of the gorge, Moni Kleiston to the south. Detail from *Map of Mt. Parnitha* by Anavasi Editions (ADAMAKOPOULOS 2006).



Figure 70. View of Harma from Mount Tamilthi. Photograph taken from east.

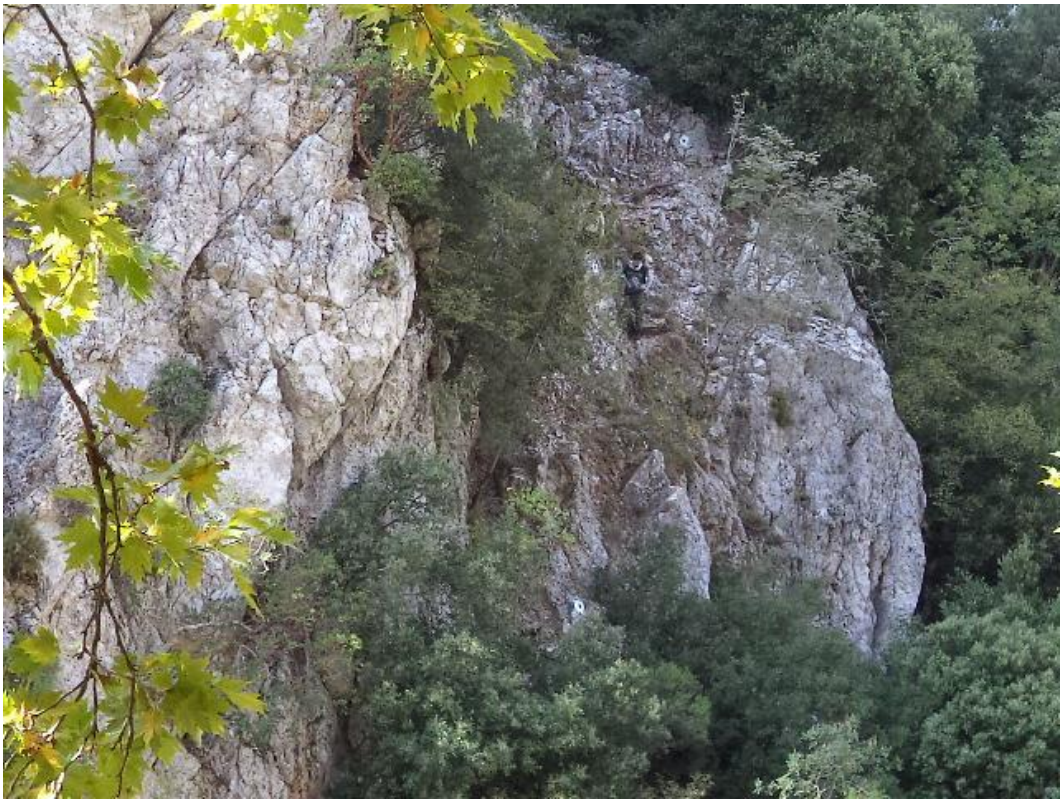
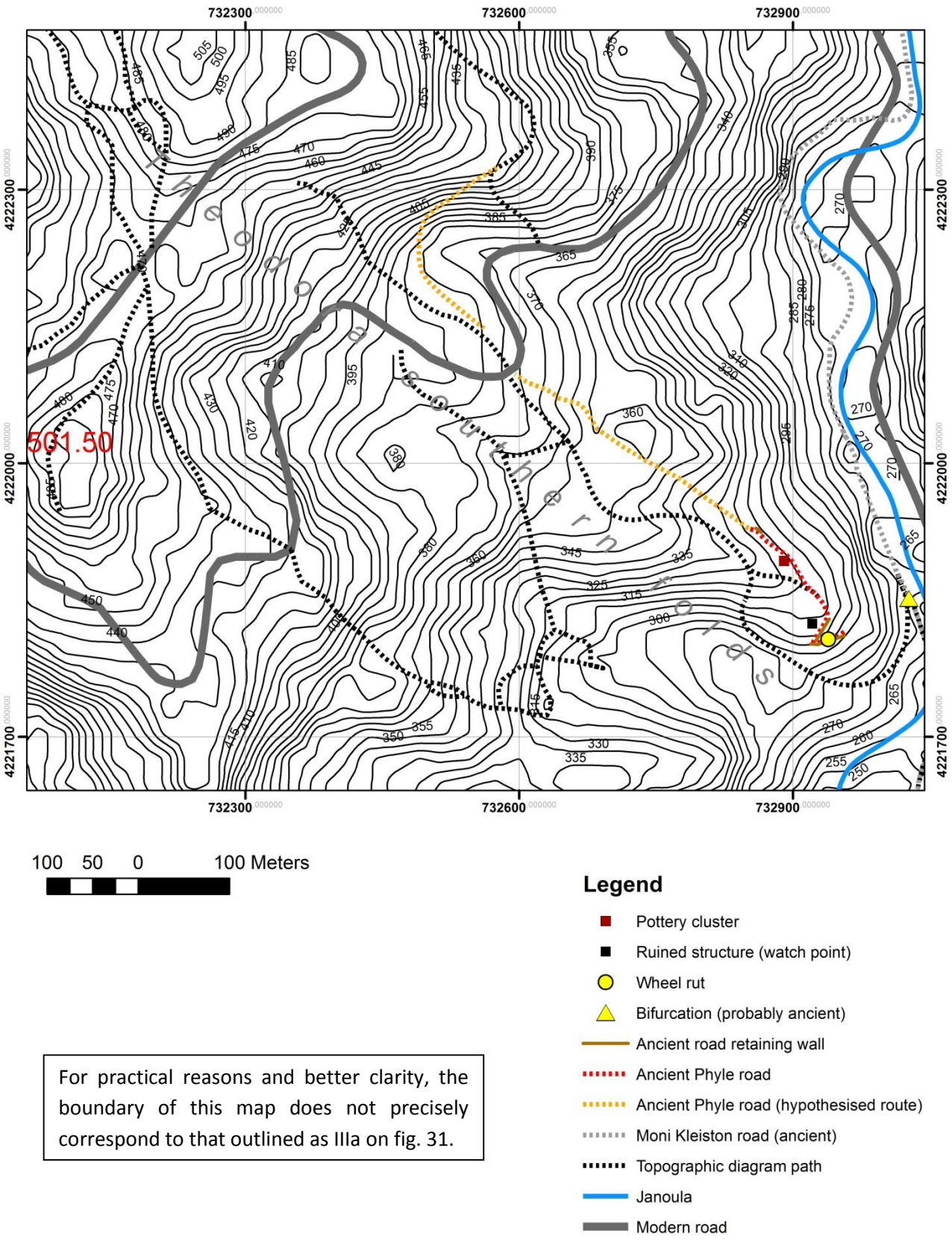


Figure 71. View of the lower crag of Harma across from the Cave of Pan. Visitors reaching the Cave from Harma have to traverse this very steep and dangerous path. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 72. The Cave of Pan is accessed through a vertical descent as one approaches it from Tamilthi.



For practical reasons and better clarity, the boundary of this map does not precisely correspond to that outlined as IIIa on fig. 31.

Figure 73. Map of Section IIIa, prepared by the author.

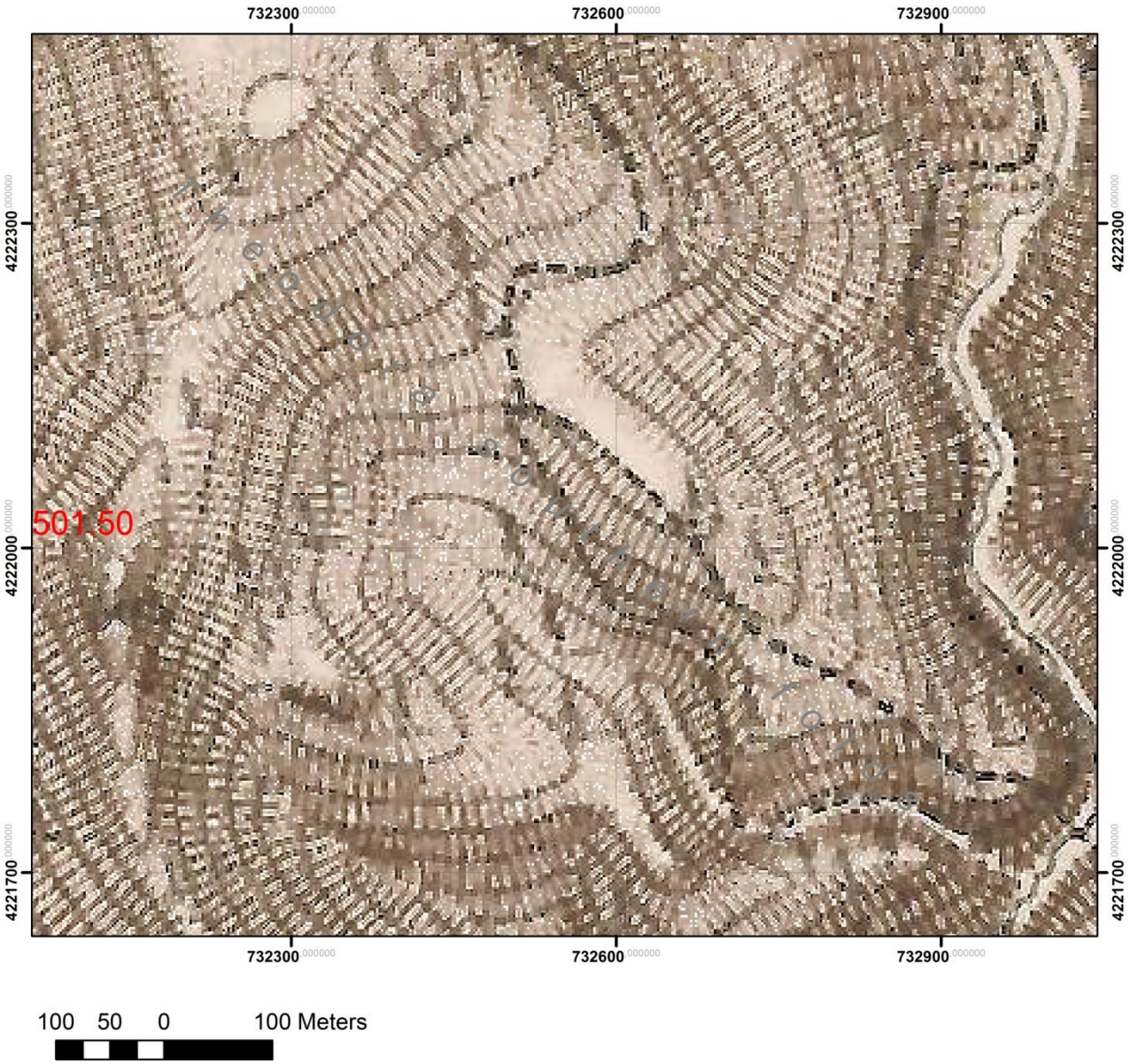


Figure 74. Section IIIa as shown in the *KvA*. Detail from *KvA* XXIV = *Phyle*.



Figure 75. Preserved segments of paved road surface (*kalderimi*) on the road ascending the western slope of Harma. Photograph taken from southwest.



Figure 76. Ancient road stretch ascending the western slope of Harma. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 77. The ancient Phyle road probably climbed the hills ridge (centre), south of Theodora. In the background, modern Phyle (Chassia) can be seen. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 78. The hill ridge probably used by the ancient Phyle road to ascend to the Theodora plateau. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 79. Thick retaining wall possibly indicating the path of the ancient road. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 80. Thick retaining wall possibly indicating the path of the ancient road. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 81. Possible wheel rut on the ancient Phyle road. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 82. Possible wheel rut and road surface of the ancient Phyle road. Photograph taken from southeast.

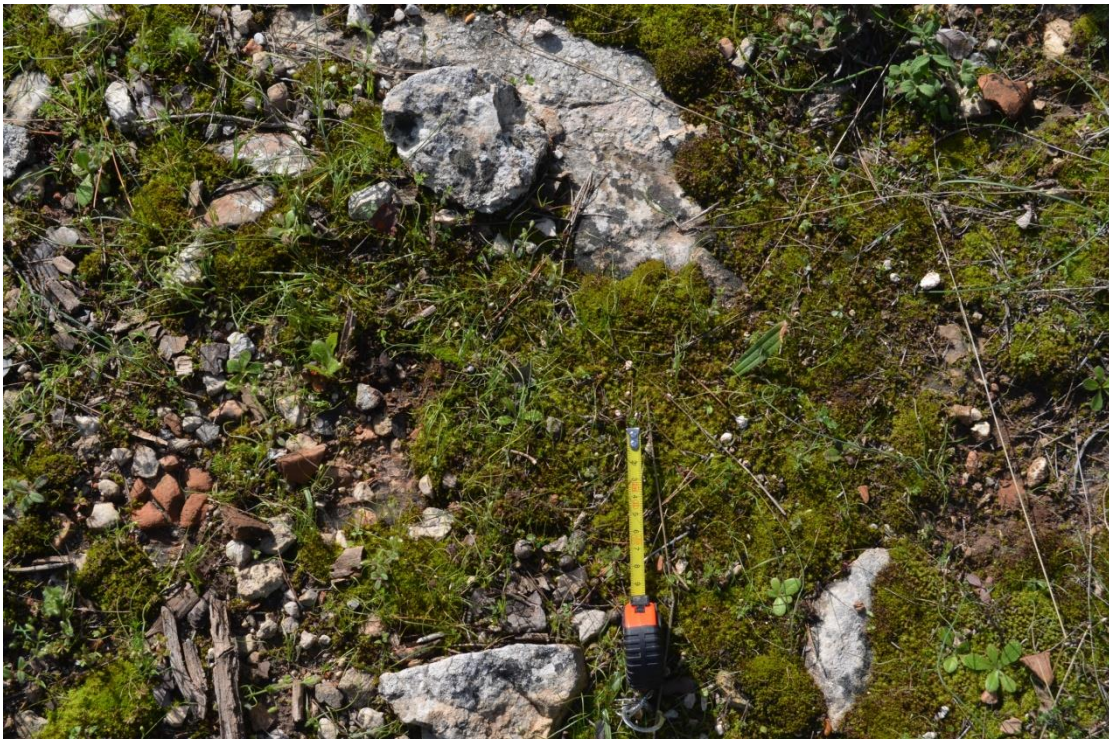


Figure 83. Non-descript ancient pottery cluster along the hypothesised route of the ancient Phyle road. Photograph taken from south-east.

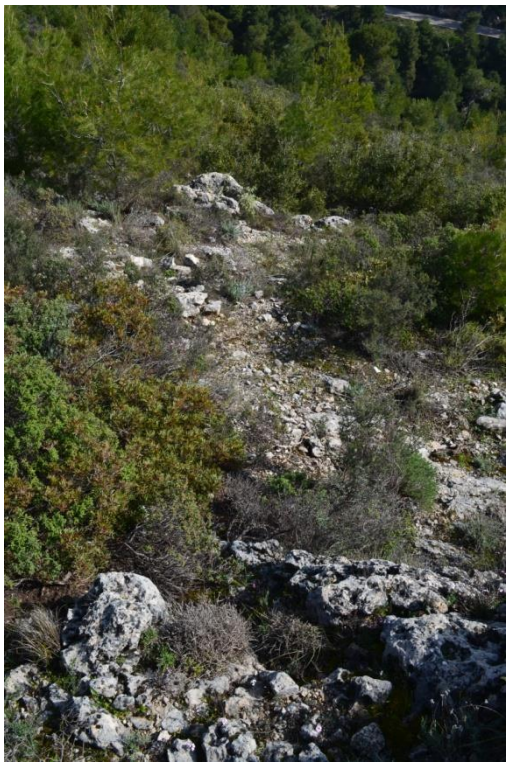


Figure 84. Preserved wide stretch of the ancient Phyle road. Photograph taken from north-west.



Figure 85. Preserved wide stretch of the ancient Phyle road. The retaining wall was built with rock s set perpendicularly. Photographtaken from north-west.

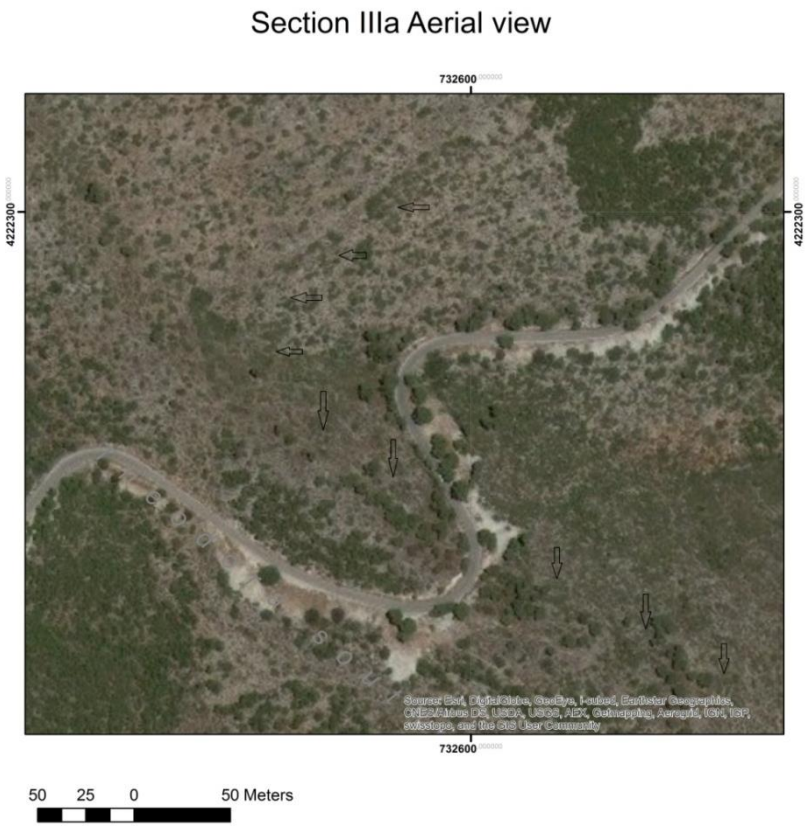


Figure 86. Aerial imagery of part of Section IIIa. Traces of the old (maybe ancient) paths are visible along the ridge of the hill. Source: Esri, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, i-cubed, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, USDA, USGS, AEX, Getmapping, Aerogrid, IGN, IGP, Swisstopo, and the GIS User Community.



Figure 87. Wearing marks from wheels, on the Sparta-Geronthrai route. From PIKOULAS 2012, compact disk, p. 32, ill. 61.



Figure 88. Wearing marks from wheels, on the Geronthrai-Kynouria route. From PIKOULAS 2012, compact disk, p. 57, ill. 112.

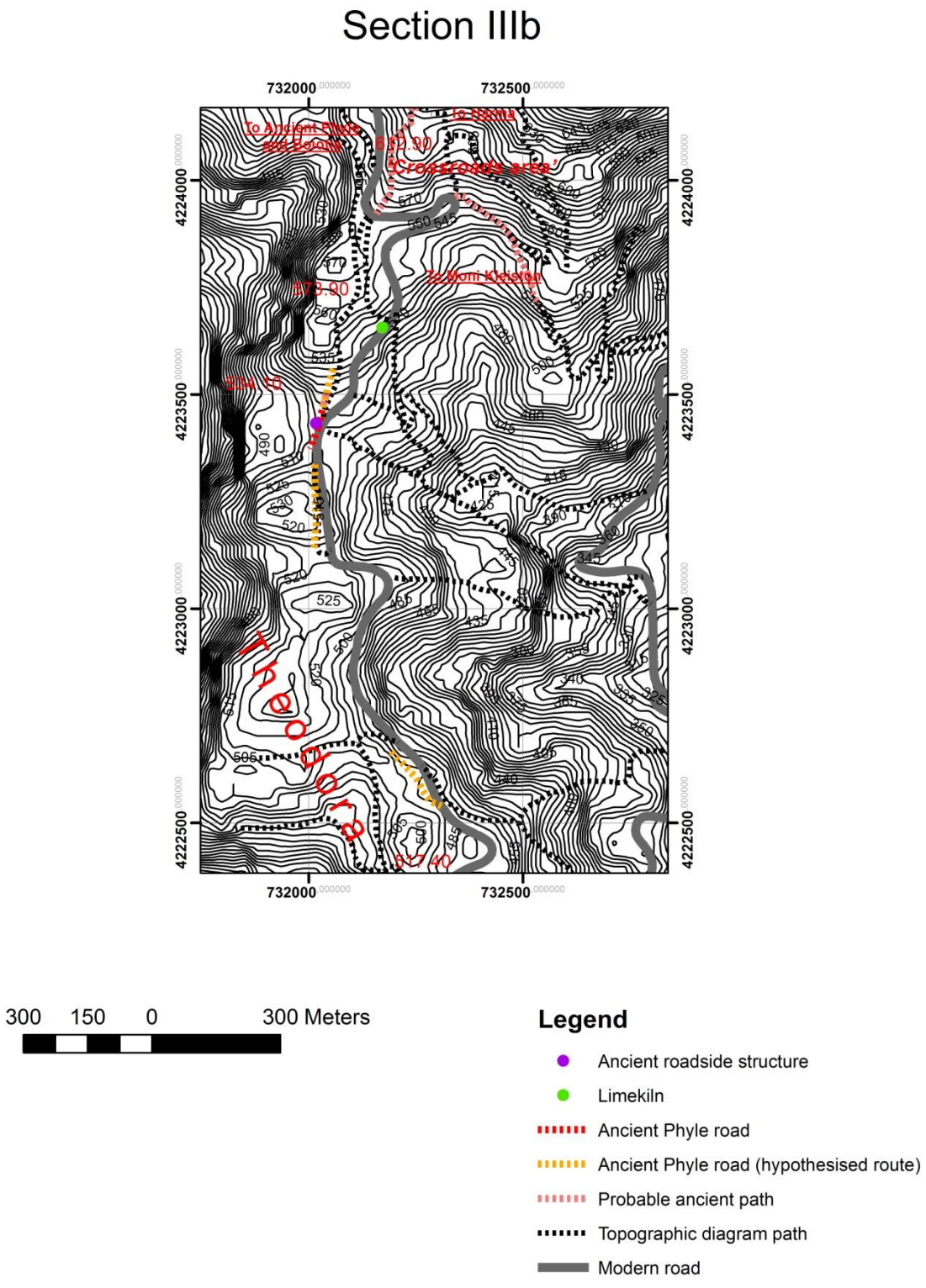


Figure 89. Map of Section IIIb, prepared by the author.

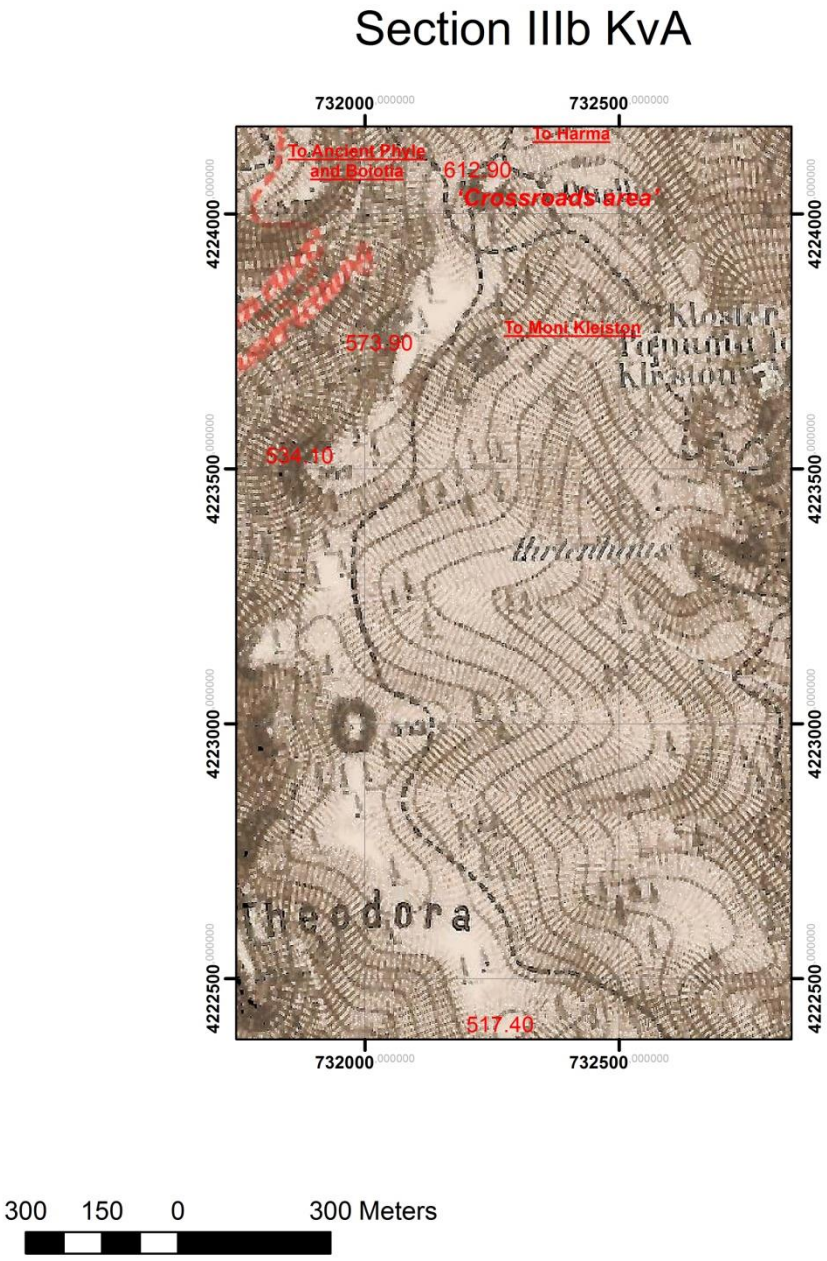


Figure 90. Section IIIb as shown in the *KvA.* Detail from *KvA* XXIV = *Phyle.*



Figure 91. Old Phyle road. This can be tracked west of the modern road. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 92. Polygonal limestone block from the roadside structure. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 93. Roadside structure. Only a few blocks are visible today. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 94. Wrede's drawing depicting the southeastern side of the fortress, as seen from the spot of the g*rabbezirk*. From WREDE 1924, p.153, ill. 1.



Figure 95. Limekiln northeast of the roadside structure. Photograph taken from east.

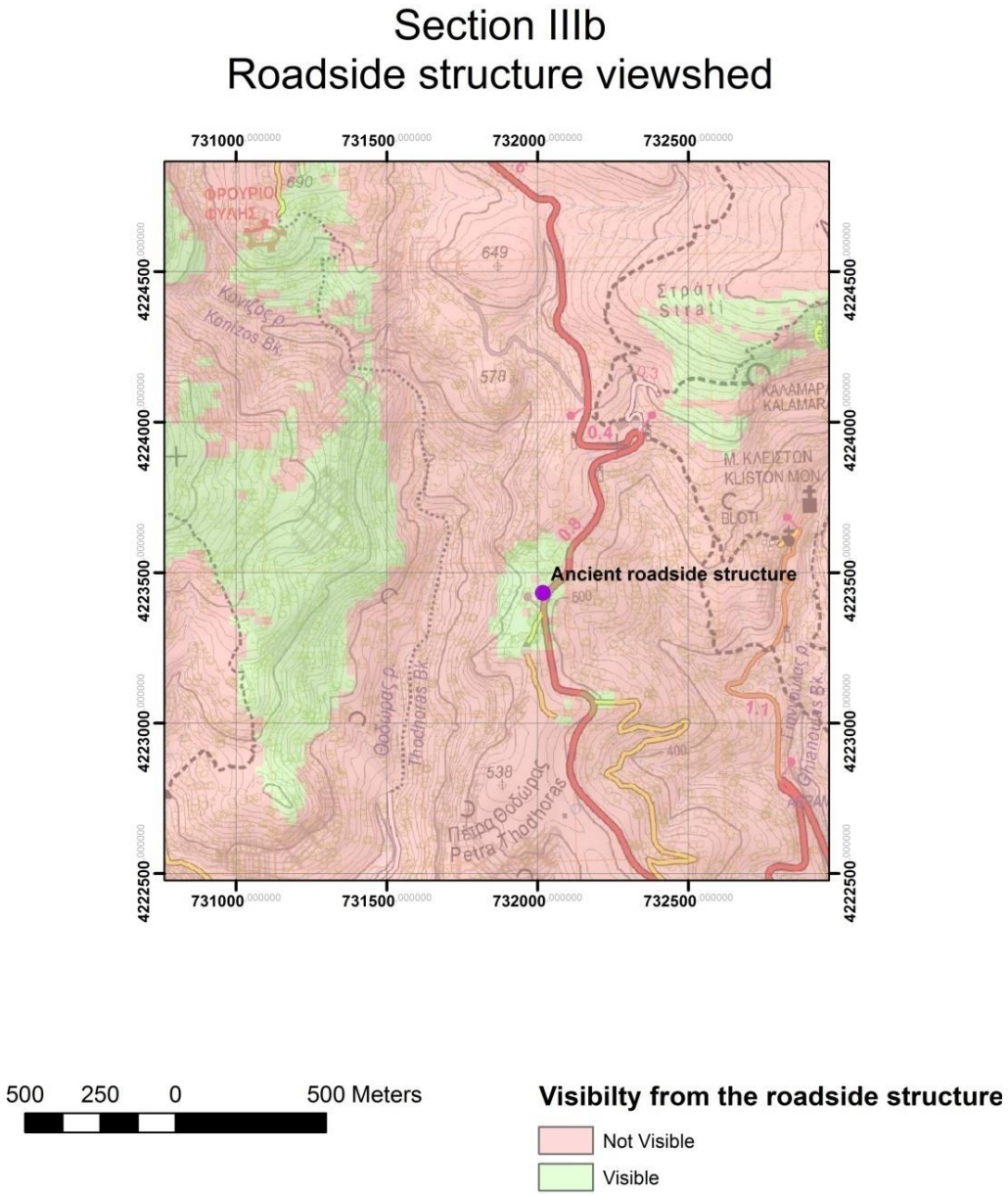


Figure 96. Viewshed analysis from the roadside structure.

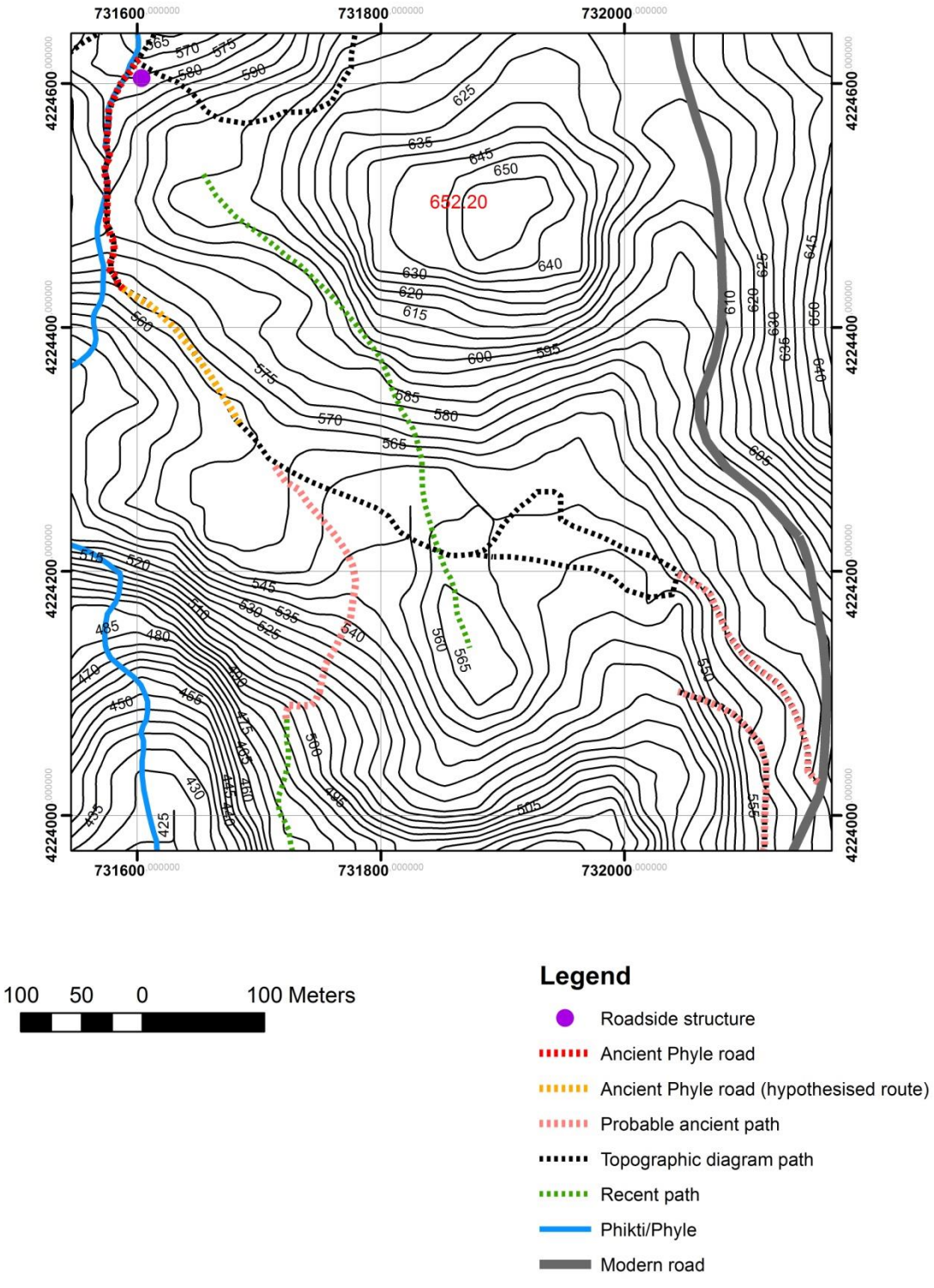


Figure 97. Map of Section IIIc, prepared by the author.

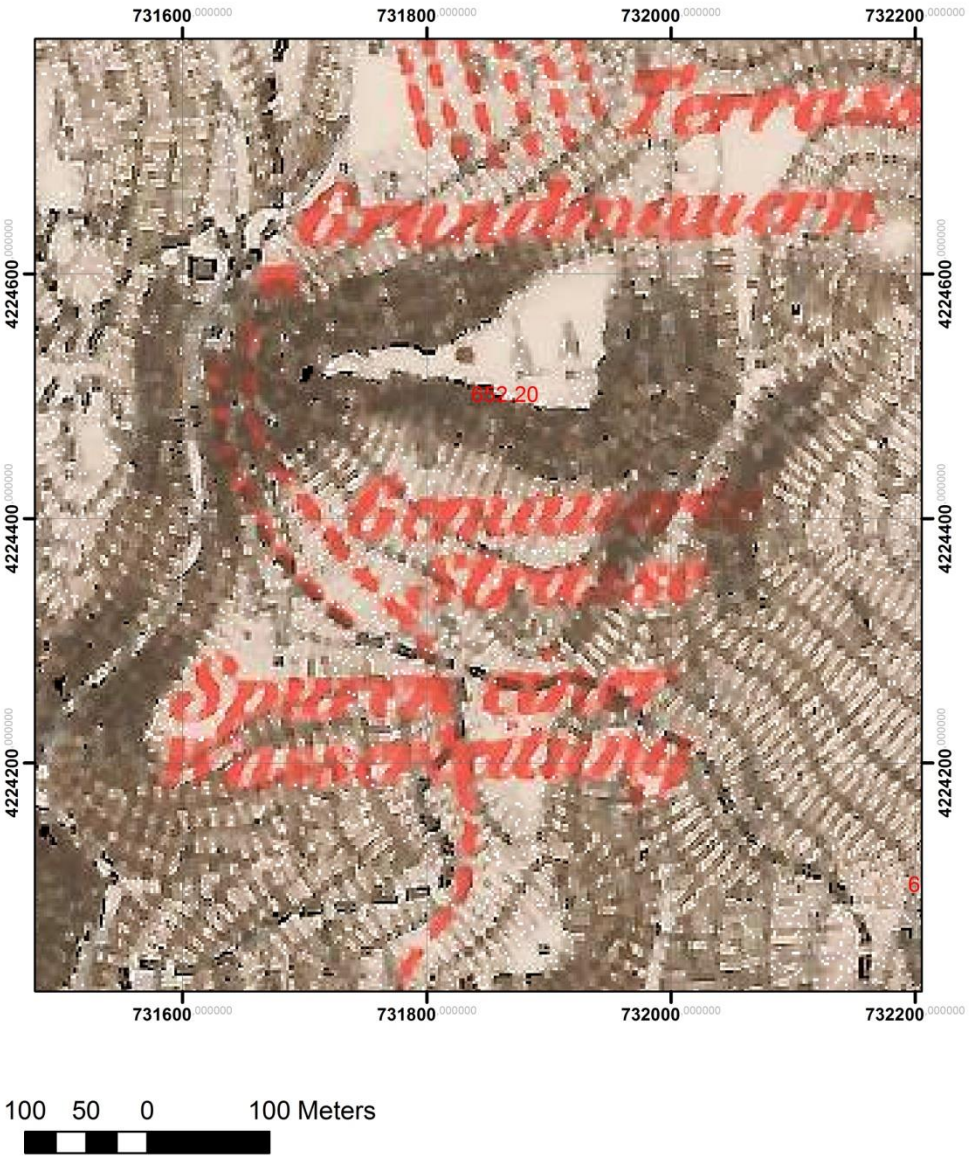


Figure 98. Section IIIc as shown in the *KvA*. Detail from *KvA* XXIV = *Phyle*.

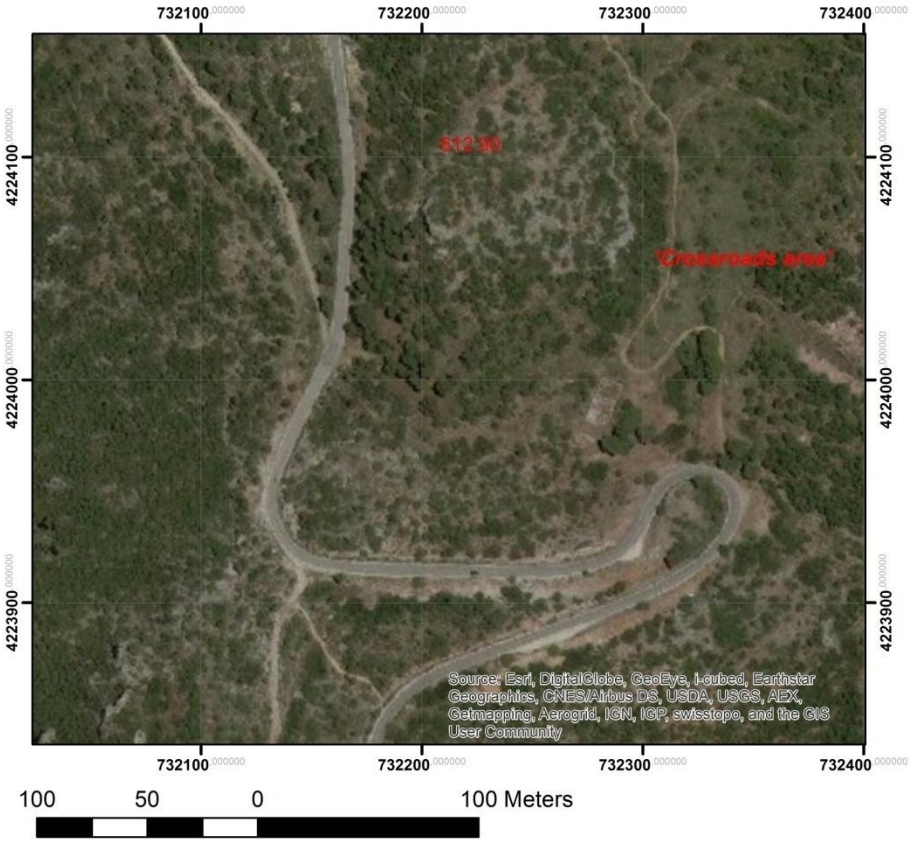


Figure 99. The modern road probably cut across the course of the ancient road making it difficult to track its route between Section IIIc and Section IIId.



Figure 100. Retaining wall, possibly belonging to the ancient road. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 101. Retaining wall, possibly belonging to the ancient road. Photograph taken from northwest.



Figure 102. The rock-cut ancient road today lies 1.20m higher than the dirt path. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 103. Cobbled road surface west of the rock-cut road. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 104. High retaining wall in correspondence with the cobbled road surface at the beginning of the rock-cut road. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 105. Carving cut against the uphill side of the road. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 106. Carving cut against the uphill side of the road. Photograph taken from northwest.



Figure 107. Carving cut against the uphill side of the road. Photograph taken from northwest.

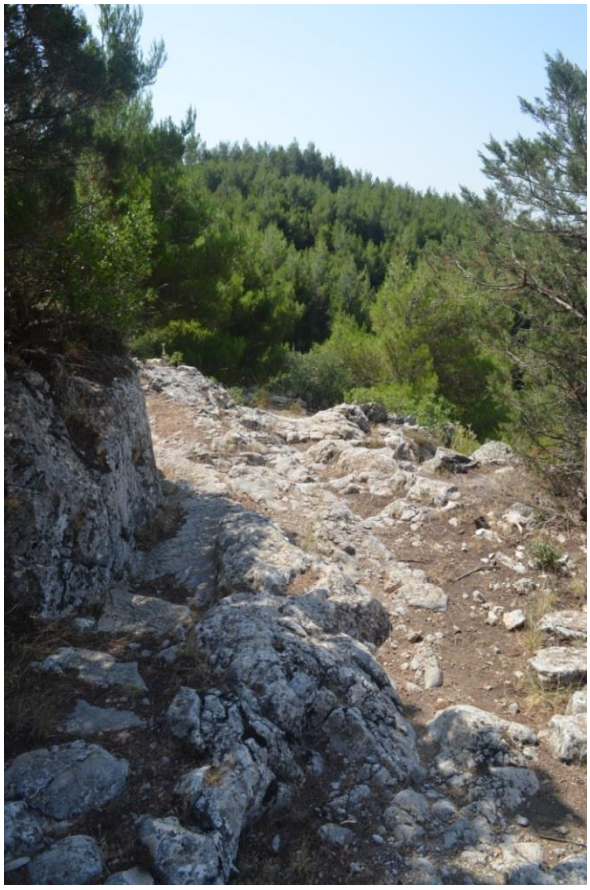


Figure 108. Carving cut against the uphill side of the road. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 109. Carving cut in the central part of the road, differing from other sections that are cut closely against the uphill side. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 110. The carving went out of use when it was cobbled, probably in Turkish times. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 111. View of the ancient carved road. Sections of the retaining wall are found throughout its length. Photograph taken from northwest.



Figure 112. Well-preserved stretches of the retaining wall of the ancient road. Photograph taken from northwest.



Figure 113. In certain parts the retaining wall collapsed leaving the road exposed to erosion. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 114. Possible double L-shaped wheel ruts on the uphill side of the road. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 115. Possible western wheel rut determined by the passage of the carts rather than resulting from carving. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 116. Imposing roadside structure flanking the road to the east. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 117. Building block near the roadside structure. Photograph taken from east.

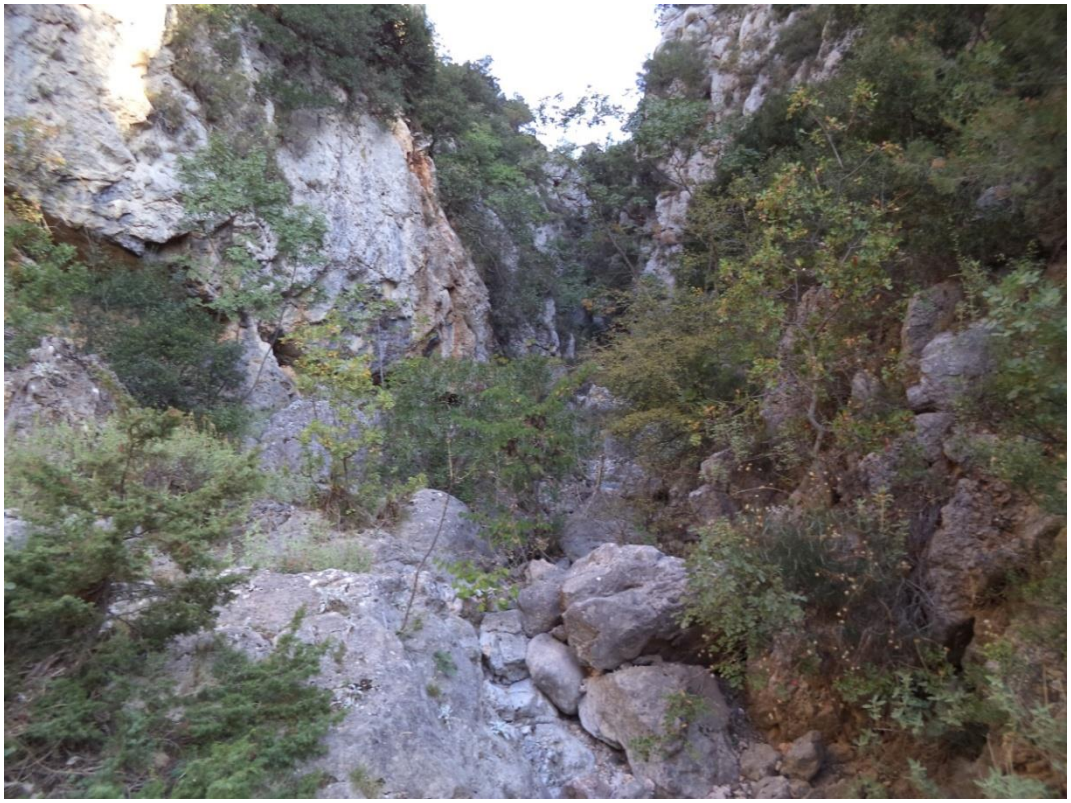


Figure 118. The gorge west of the fortress does not offer any possibility for a road, or even a simple path, to traverse it. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 119. The gorge is very narrow at certain places, and is difficult to traverse. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 120. The fortress, as seen from the bottom of the gorge. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 121. The fortress was built with thousands of heavy ashlar blocks. Photograph taken from east.

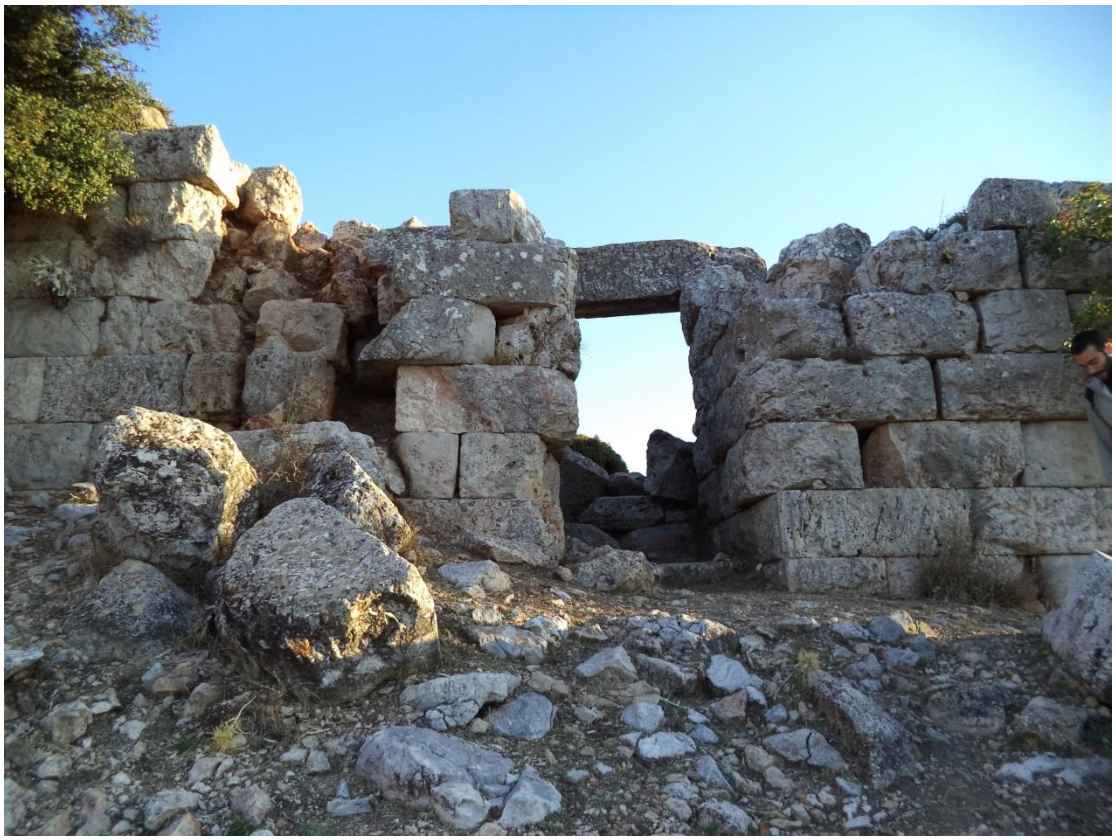


Figure 122. The gate of the fortress, built with large limestone blocks. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 123. Ancient aqueduct deeply carved in the rock with chiseled flanks for accommodating cover slabs. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 124. Wide and short cutting, probably part of the aqueduct. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 125. Groove dug across a shallow outcropping rock on the Theodora riverbed. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 126. Large terracotta tile-like components. Possibly integral to the aqueduct system. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 127. Large terracotta tile-like component, outer part.



Figure 128. Large terracotta tile-like component; inner side with traces of mortar attached.



Figure 129. Roman aqueduct stretching across the southern slope of Mount Daphna and the Thriasian plain to supply Eleusis. Photograph taken from west.

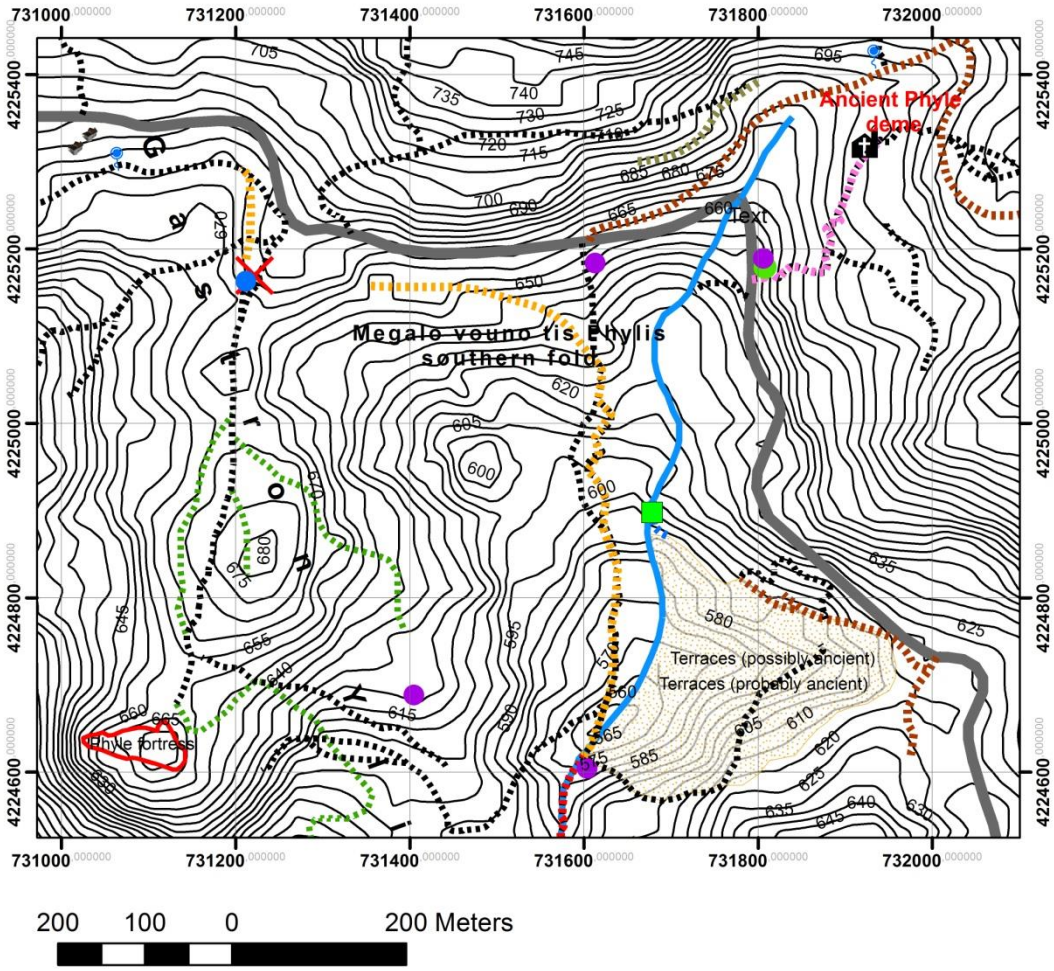


Figure 130. Roman aqueduct stretching across the southern slope of Mount Daphna and the Thriasian plain to supply Eleusis. Photograph taken from southwest.



Figure 131. Roman aqueduct to Eleusis stretching across the southern slope of Mount Daphna. A modern aqueduct cuts through the ancient one. Photograph taken from south.

Section IIId



Legend

- Ag. Paraskevi
- Ancient spring; Phyle spring
- Ancient structure (farm?)
- Ancient strucutre (farm?)
- Rectangular shaft with black glaze potsherds
- Rock-cut passage
- Roadside shrine
- Anceint roadside structure
- Limekiln
- Ancient Phyle road
- Ancient Phyle road (hypothesised route)
- Probable ancient road
- Ancient path
- Probable ancient path
- Topographic diagram path
- Dirt road
- Recent path
- Phikti/Phyle
- Modern road
- Terraces (probably ancient)
- Phyle fortress

Figure 132. Map of Section IIId, prepared by the author.

Section IIId KvA

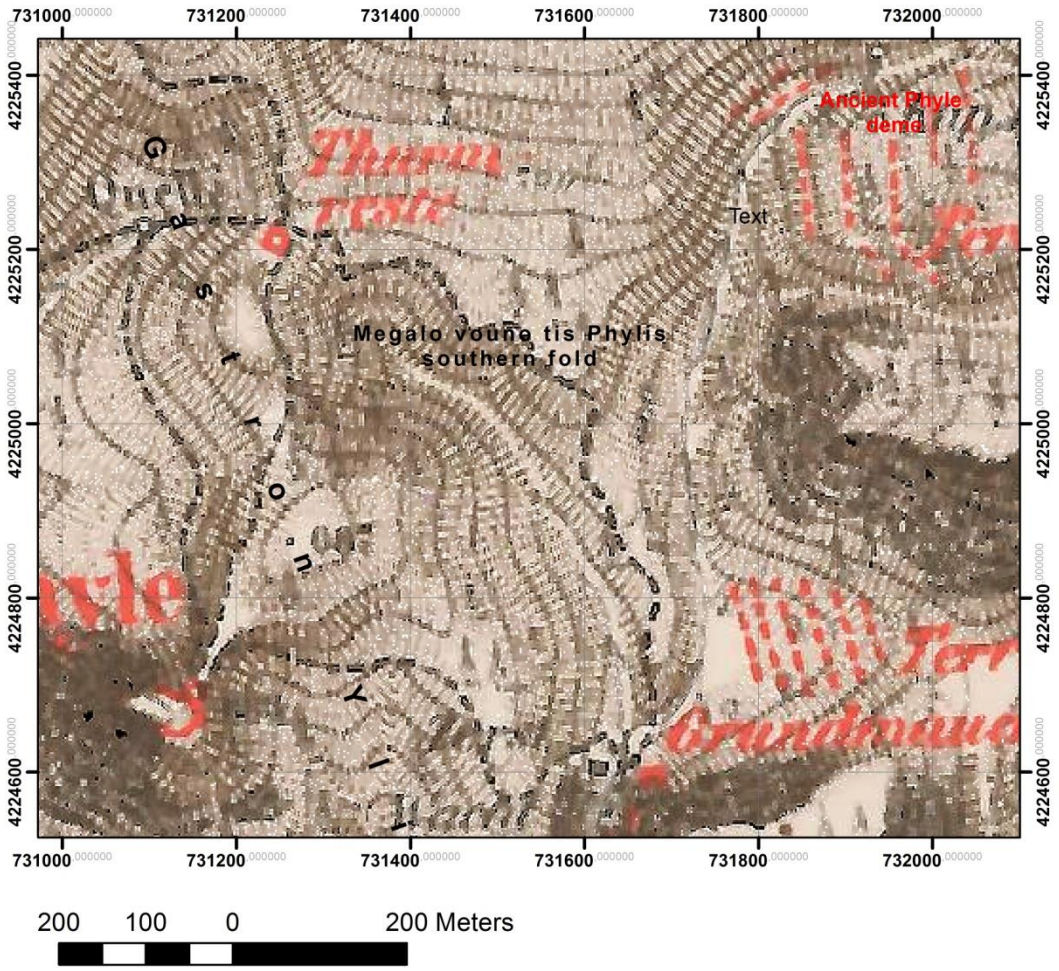


Figure 133. Section IIId as shown in the *KvA*. Detail from *KvA* XXIV = *Phyle*.



Figure 134. Roadside structure, probably a shrine, near the rock-cut pass. Photograph taken from northwest.



Figure 135. Roadside structure, probably a shrine, near the rock-cut pass. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 136. Roadside structure, probably a shrine, near the rock-cut pass. Photograph taken from northeast.

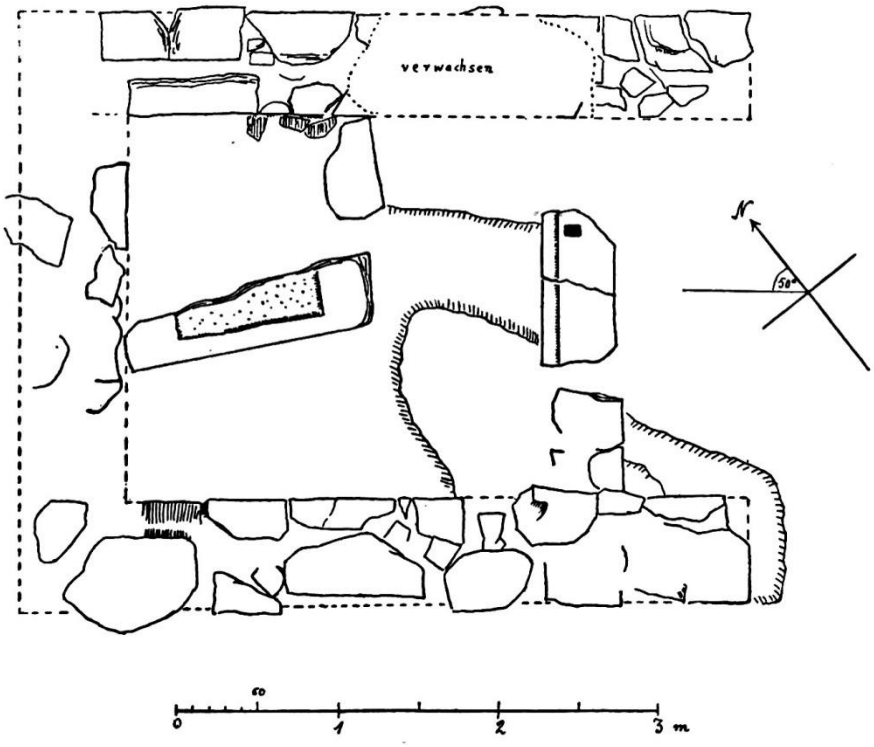


Figure 137. Plan of the *naiskos*. From WREDE 1924, p. 162, ill. 4.



Figure 138. Possible marble revetment fragment from the roadside shrine.



Figure 139. Possible marble revetment fragment from the roadside shrine.



Figure 140. Marble block fragment from the roadside shrine.



Figure 141. Marble block fragment from the roadside shrine.



Figure 142. Small marble basin from the surroundings of the roadside shrine.



Figure 143. Small marble basin from the surroundings of the roadside shrine.



Figure 144. Rock-cut passage on the saddle across Gastro Ylis. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 145. Cobbled road surface close to the rock-cut passage. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 146. Probable modern road (from the small quarry) at the place where it enters the deme. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 147. Probable modern road (from the small quarry) to the deme of Phyle. Its surface was wider than 4m in its first stretch. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 148. Probable modern road (from the small quarry) to the deme of Phyle. Massive retaining wall. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 149. Probable modern road (from the small quarry) to the deme of Phyle. Its best preserved stretch ends at a large space, approximately 7m wide. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 150. Carved path along the course of the stream Phyle. On the uphill side, a rectangular shaft is covered by a thick bush (left). Photograph taken from north.



Figure 151. The rectangular shaft was almost entirely built of rough stones, but some of them may have been roughly worked. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 152. Fragment of black glaze pottery from the rectangular shaft.



Figure 153. Ancient structure's building blocks. Photograph taken from southwest.



Figure 154. Large limekiln near ancient structure. Photograph taken from southwest.



Figure 155. Ancient structure overlooking the Phyle dell to the west. Photograph taken from east.

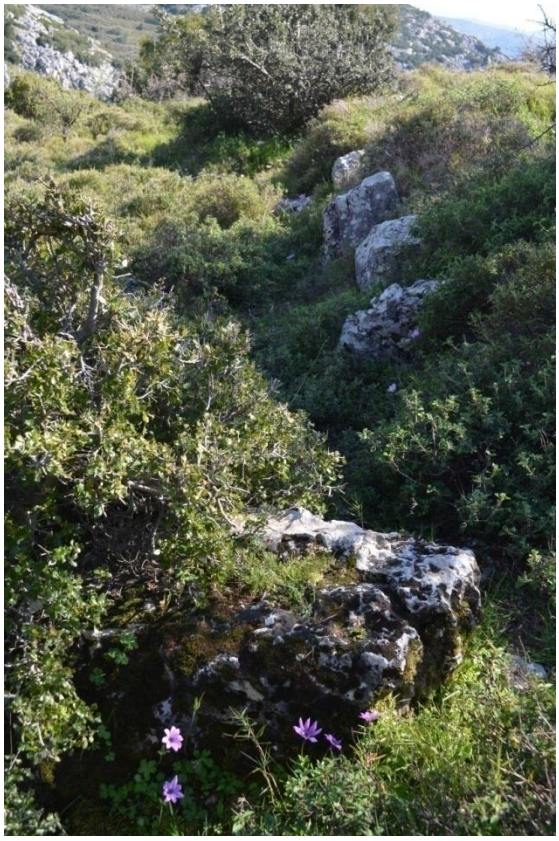


Figure 156. Ancient structure overlooking the Phyle dell to the west. Photograph taken from north.

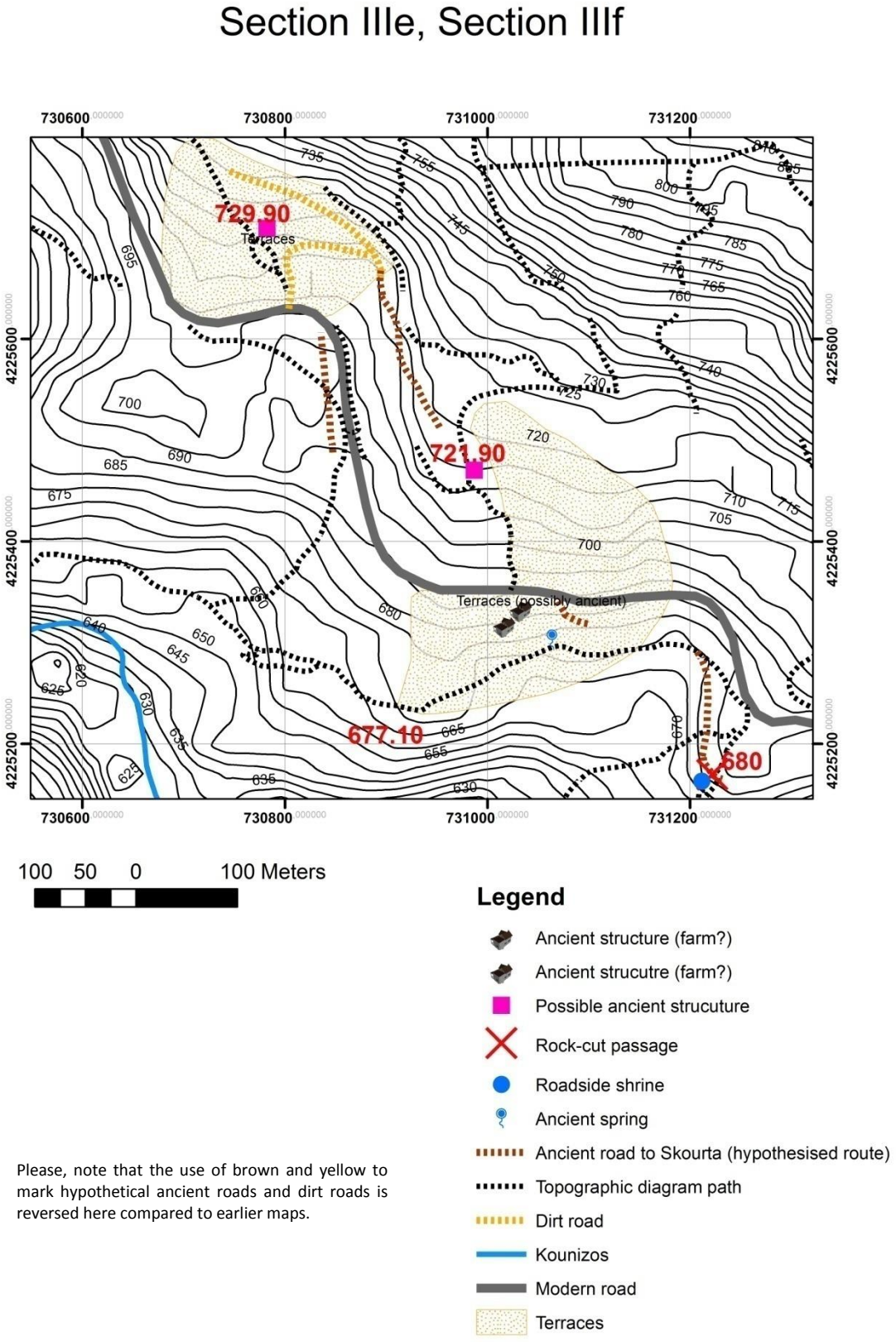


Figure 157. Map of Section IIIe and IIIf, prepared by the author.

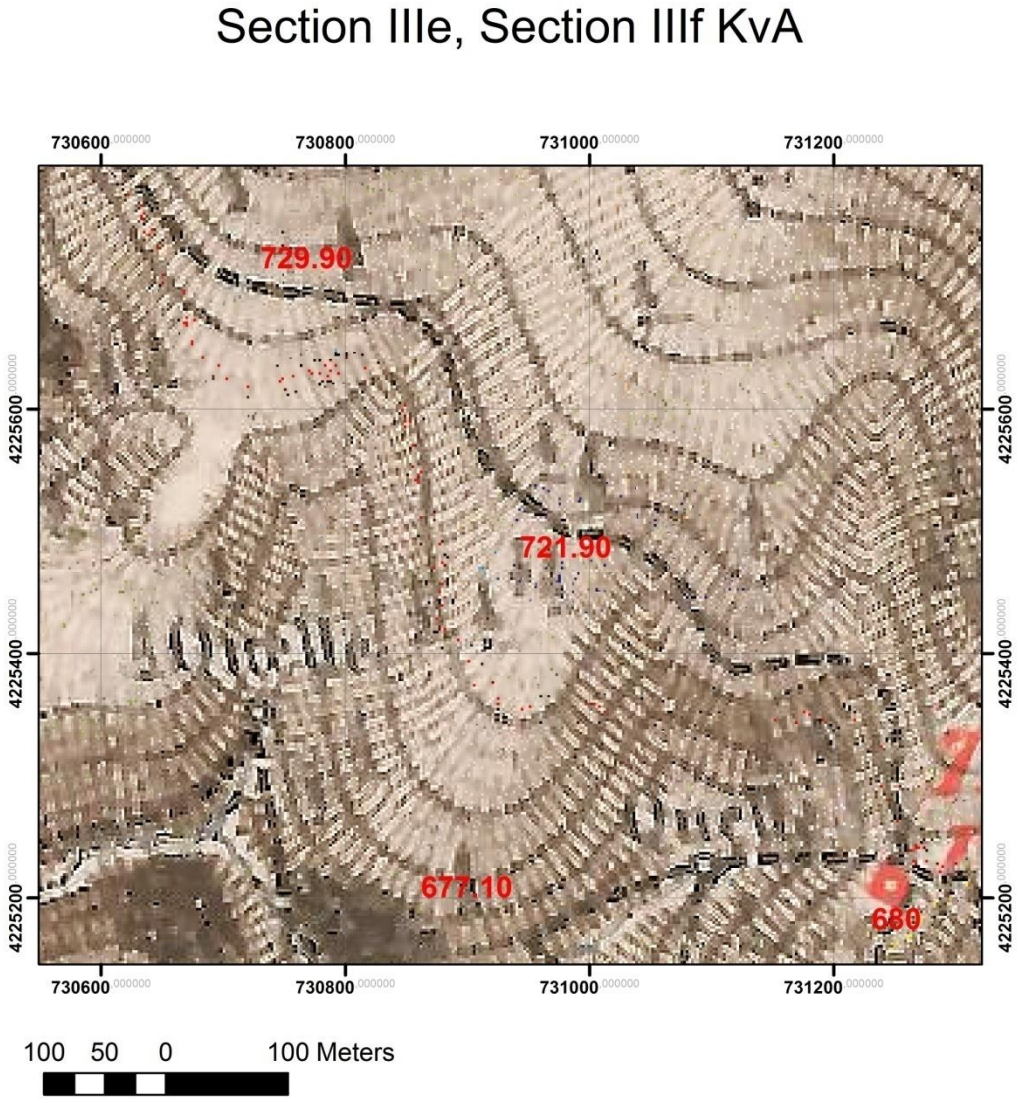


Figure 158. Sections IIIe and IIIf as shown in the *KvA*. Detail from *KvA* XXIV = *Phyle*.



Figure 159. Large retaining wall (centre) of the old road to Moungoultos. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 160. Accessible stretch of Kounizos' streambed. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 161. Natural formation resembling the result of wheeled traffic on the Kounizos' streambed. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 162. Remains of a cobbled section of the old road near the rock-cut pass. Detail of fig. 145. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 163. Battered remains of the old road north of the rock-cut pass. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 164. Battered remains of the old road north of the rock-cut pass. Photograph taken from northwest.



Figure 165. Possible ancient structure along the course of the old road. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 166. Possible ancient structure on the course of the old road. Photograph taken from northwest.



Figure 167. Ancient building block re-used in the possible ancient structure's southeastern corner. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 168. Hypocaust-like tile near the possible ancient structure. Photograph taken from southwest.



Figure 169. Stamped terracotta element near the possible ancient structure.



Figure 170. Possible ancient structure. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 171. Ancient spring near the possible structures and along the course of the old road. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 172. Ancient spring near the possible structures and along the course of the old road. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 173. Retaining wall of the old road ramp to Hill 721.90. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 174. Wide and low terraces. This area was possibly exploited for agriculture in antiquity as well. Photograph taken from northwest.



Figure 175. Remains of a possible ancient structure. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 176. Remains of the retaining wall of the old road. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 177. Remains of a wall, possibly a structure. Photograph taken from northeast.



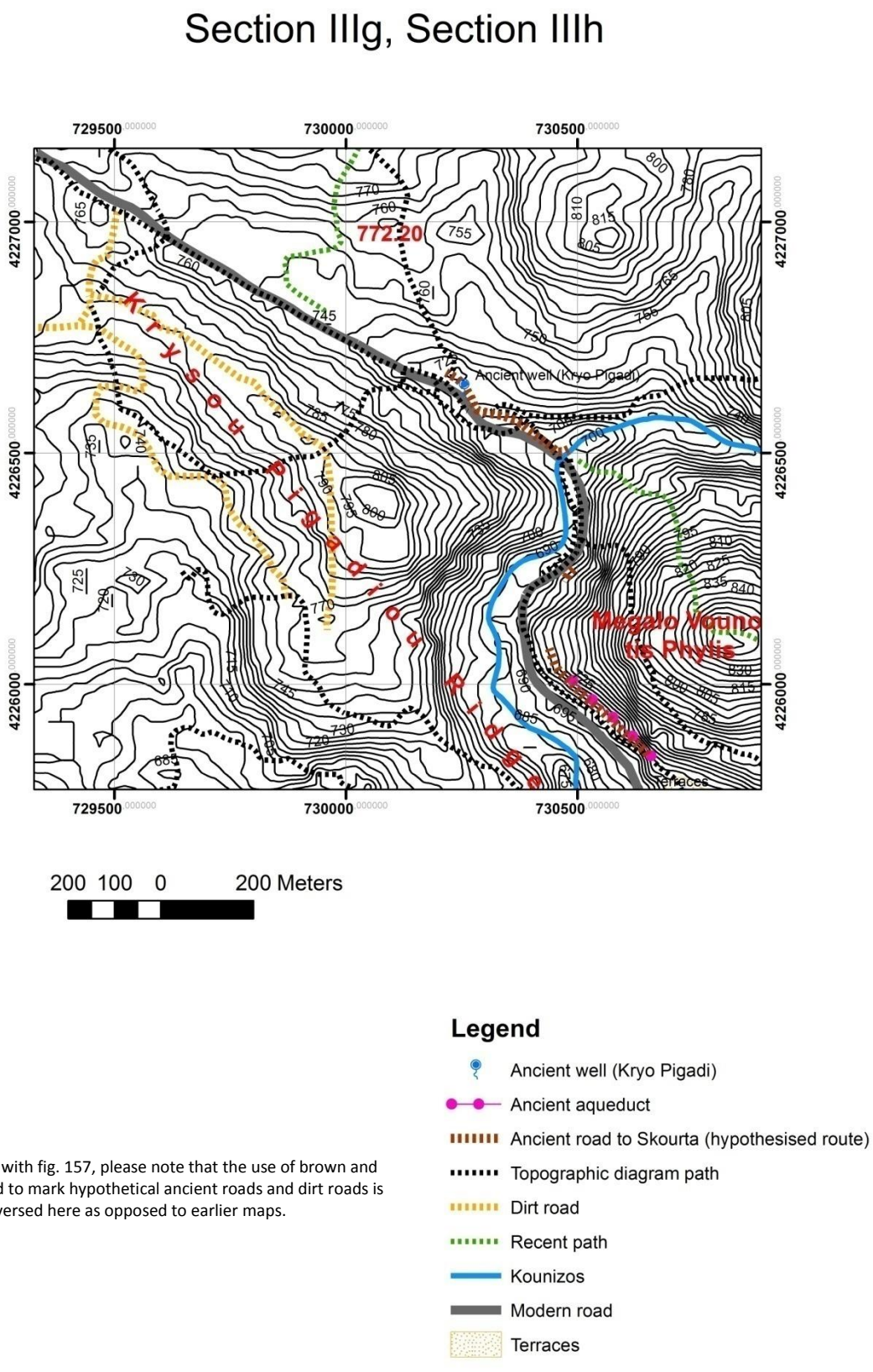
Figure 178. Remains of a possible ancient structure. Photograph taken from northeast.



Figure 179. Ashlar block from a possible ancient structure. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 180. Retaining wall of the old road north-west of Hill 721.90. Photograph taken from east.



As with fig. 157, please note that the use of brown and red to mark hypothetical ancient roads and dirt roads is reversed here as opposed to earlier maps.

Figure 181. Map of Sections IIIg and IIIh, prepared by the author.

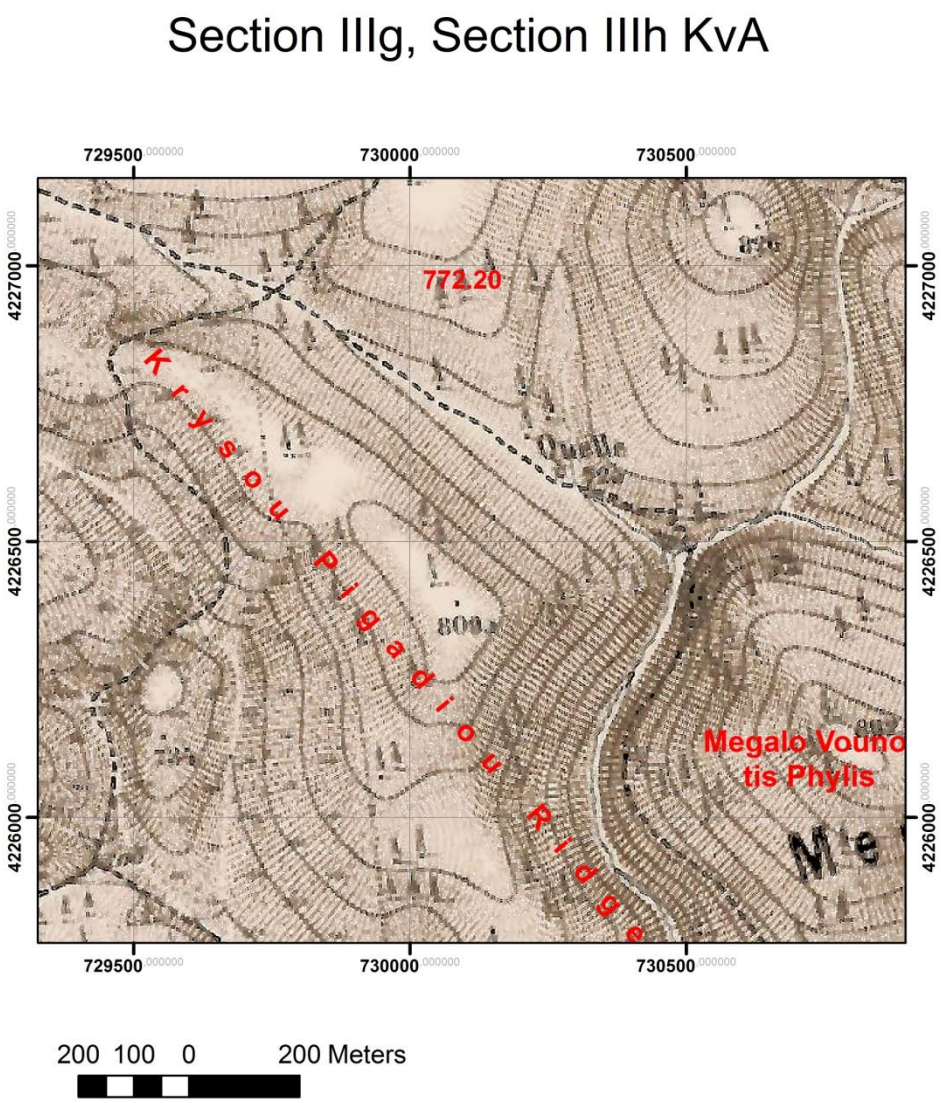


Figure 182. Sections IIIg and IIIh as shown in the *KvA*. Detail from *KvA* XXIV = *Phyle*.



Figure 183. Stretch of the old road north west of Hill 729.90. This road can be tracked through its retaining wall and its wide surface. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 184. Bifurcation between the old road (left) and the probably ancient path along the ancient aqueduct (right). Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 185. Carving belonging to the aqueduct or the ancient road. These lie along the same route as the old road, but with opposed slopes. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 186. Old road. As the slope becomes steeper, the width of the road decreases to 2.5m. Photograph taken from northwest.



Figure 187. Old road. The old road surface widens again where the slope is less pronounced. Photograph taken from east.

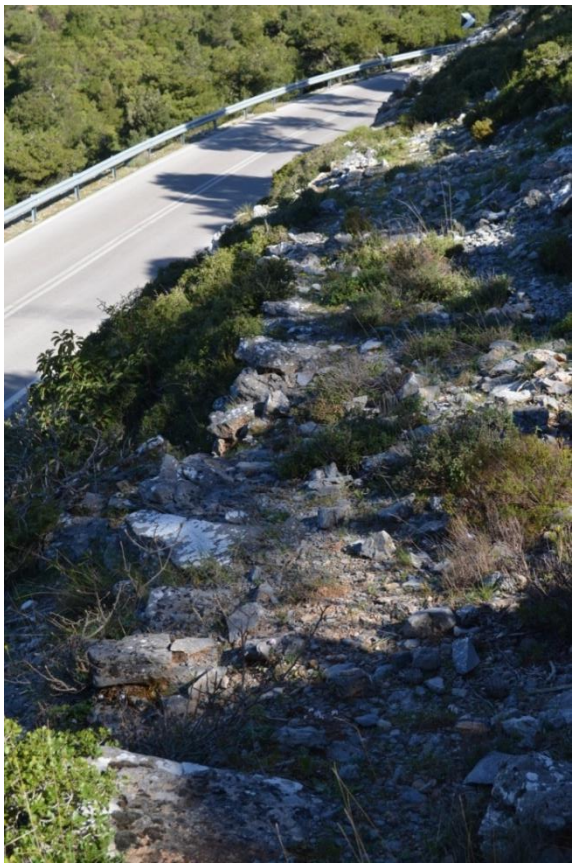


Figure 188. The course of the old road is cut by the modern thoroughfare to Skourta. Photograph taken from northeast.



Figure 189. First stretch of the aqueduct visible on the right side of the old road as one proceeds towards the west. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 190. Carved aqueduct as it appears as one proceeds on the ancient path to the west. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 191. Detail of one of the best preserved stretches of the aqueduct. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 192. Detail of one of the best preserved stretches of the aqueduct. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 193. One of the stretches of the aqueduct. Photograph taken from west.

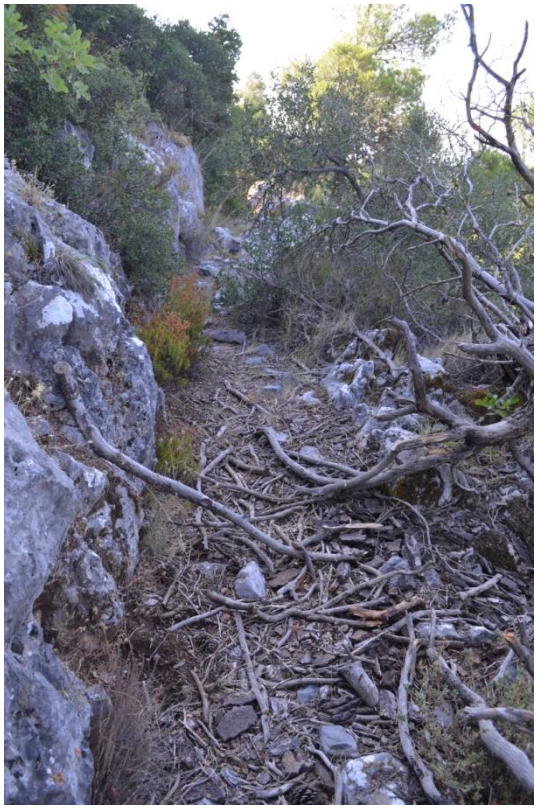


Figure 194. One of the stretches of the aqueduct. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 195. Detail of the aqueduct. In this stretch the uphill sidewall appears vertical. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 196. Detail of the aqueduct. In this stretch the uphill sidewall appears to be leaning outward. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 197. Detail of the aqueduct floor. Certain parts are heavily battered. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 198. Particularly battered stretch of the aqueduct. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 199. Carving along the uphill side resembling a wheel rut. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 200. Remains of the retaining wall on the downhill side of the aqueduct. This can be found in several stretches throughout the length of the aqueduct, and it probably supported a path or a road. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 201. Remains of the retaining wall on the downhill side of the aqueduct. This can be found in several stretches throughout the length of the aqueduct, and itprobably supported a path or a road. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 202. Remains of the retaining wall on the downhill side of the aqueduct. This can be found in several stretches throughout the length of the aqueduct, and it probably supported a path or an actual road. Photograph taken from southwest.



Figure 203. Retaining wall made of small rough stones in the last identifiable stretch of the probable ancient path. Photograph taken from southwest.



Figure 204. Retaining wall made of small rough stones in the last identifiable stretch of the probable ancient path. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 205. Particularly wide stretch of the probably ancient path; more than 4m here. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 206. Stretch of the battered carving that seems to have been cobbled. However, this is probably the result of the erosion and deterioration of the limestone. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 207. Potsherds found on the route of the probable ancient path.



Figure 208. Black-glazed potsherd found in the area of the probable ancient path.



Figure 209. Black-glazed potsherd found in the area of the probable ancient path.



Figure 210. Possible wide road stretch south of the crossing of the Kounizos stream. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 211. Possible artificially shaved rock on the route to Skourta indicating the course of the ancient road. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 212. Old (probably ancient) retaining wall of the road to Skourta. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 213. Possible old crossing point of the Kounizos stream. This is possibly a natural dam/bridge. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 214. Possible wheel rut on the Kounizos streambed. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 215. Possible wheel rut on the Kounizos streambed. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 216. Massive retaining wall possibly belonging to the ancient road. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 217. Surface of the alleged ancient road, 3m wide in this stretch. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 218. Massive retaining wall possibly belonging to the ancient road. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 219. Massive retaining wall possibly belonging to the ancient road. Photograph taken from northeast.



Figure 220. Probable ancient well from the exterior (with modern additions). Photograph taken from east.



Figure 221. Probable ancient well, interior (with modern additions). Photograph taken from east.



Figure 222. Probable ancient well, interior (with modern additions). Photograph taken from northwest.



Figure 223. Probable ancient wall south of the ancient well. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 224. Probable ancient wall south of the ancient well. Photograph taken from west.

Section IVa

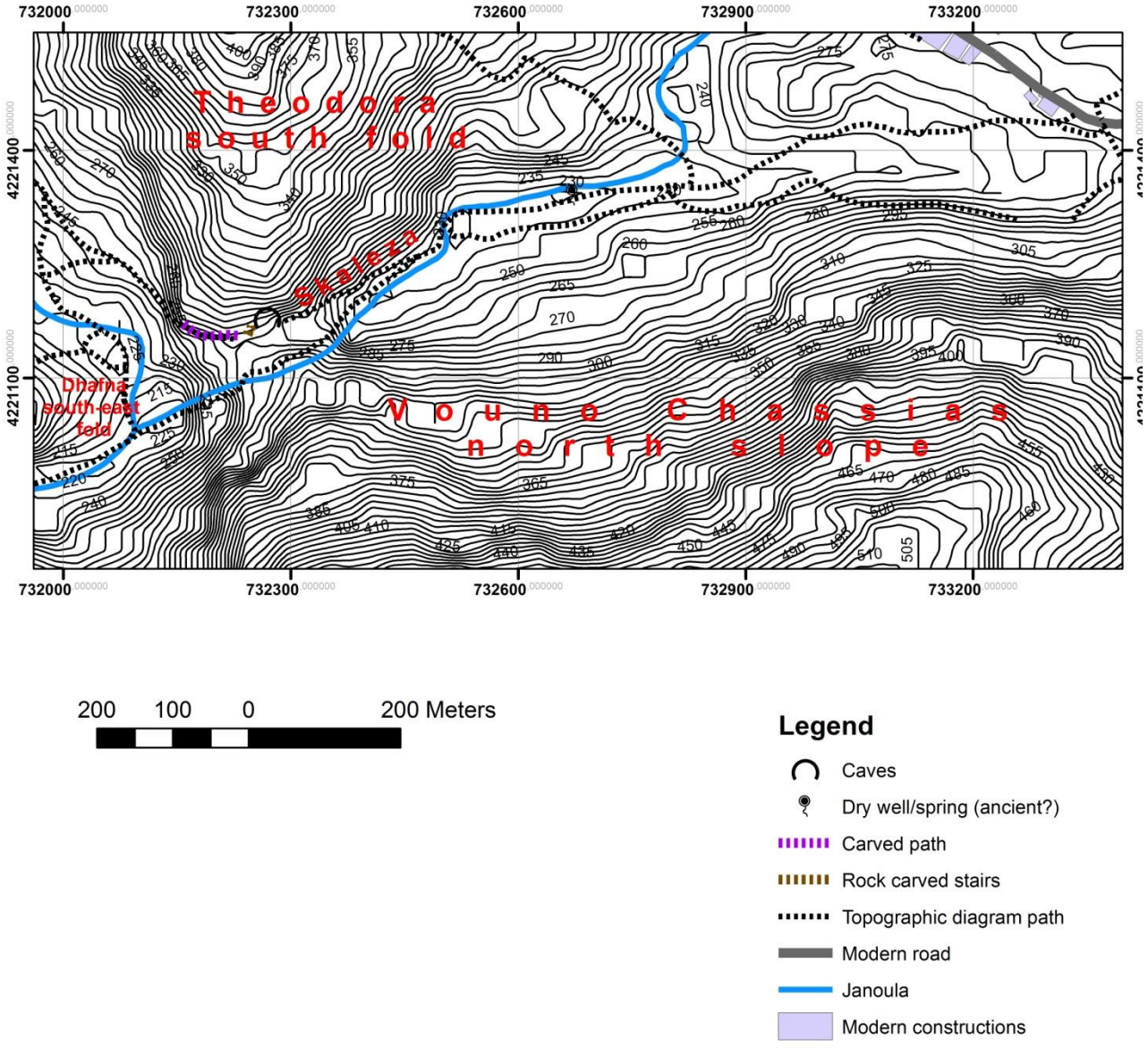


Figure 225. Map of Section IVa, prepared by the author.

Section IVa KvA

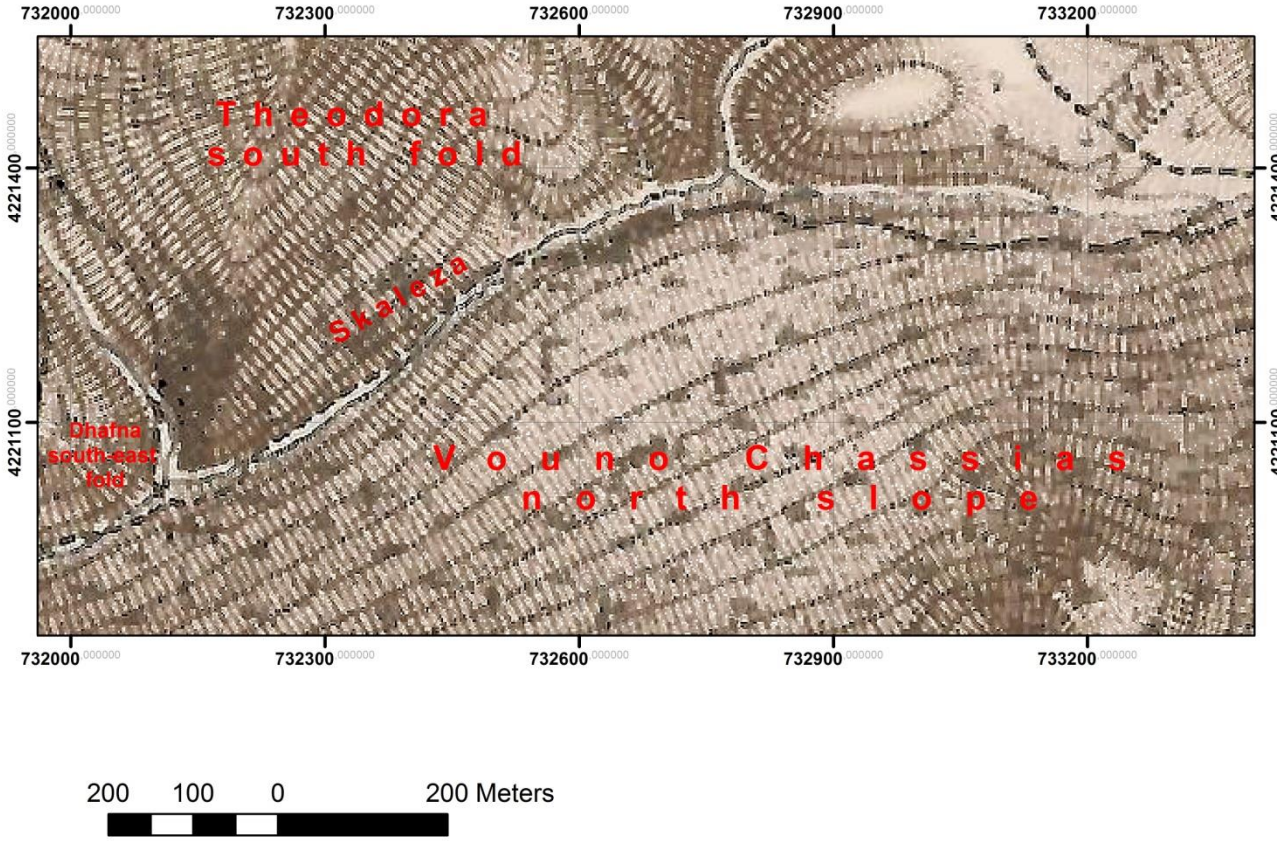


Figure 226. Section IVa as shown in the *KvA*. Detail from *KvA* XXIV = *Phyle*.



Figure 227. Uphill side the path's retaining wall. Photograph taken from east.

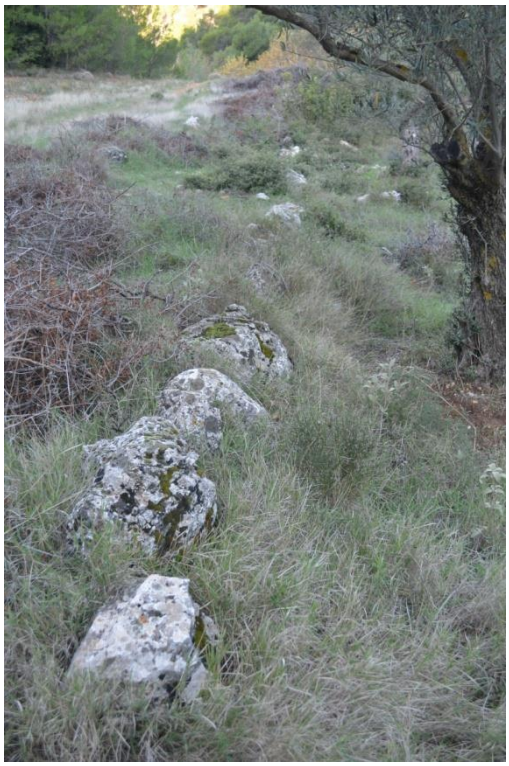


Figure 228. Downhill side of the path's retaining wall. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 229. Bifurcation along the path. One branch (possibly the older one) continues closer to the streambed. Photograph taken from northeast.



Figure 230. Particularly narrow stretch of the old path. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 231. Dry well (or spring) along the route of the old path. Photograph taken from northwest.

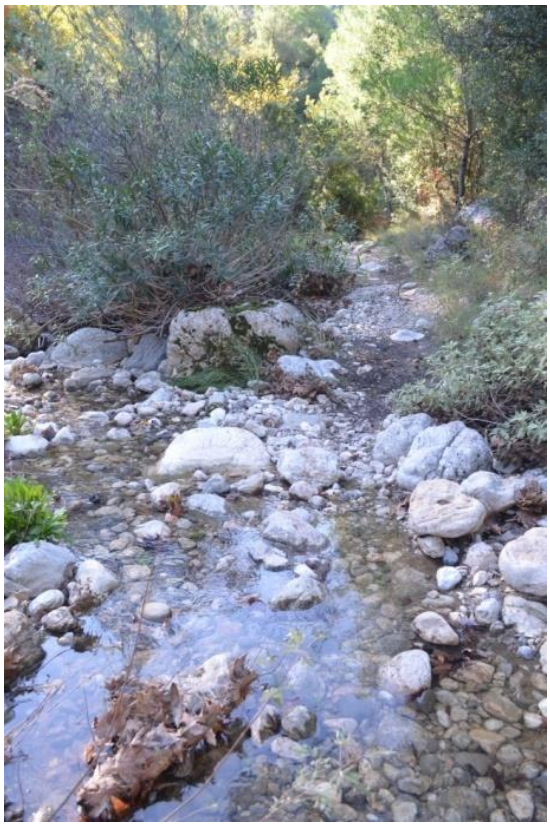


Figure 232. The old path crosses the Janoula River twice. This is the first crossing point as one proceeds from the west to the east. Photograph taken from northeast.



Figure 233. Bifurcation along the old path near the caves. One branch goes up to the caves, the other continues along the north side of the Janoula. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 234. Caves on the southernmost fold of Theodora. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 235. Carved path and stairs along the path to the caves. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 236. Carved stairs along the path to the caves. Photograph taken from east.

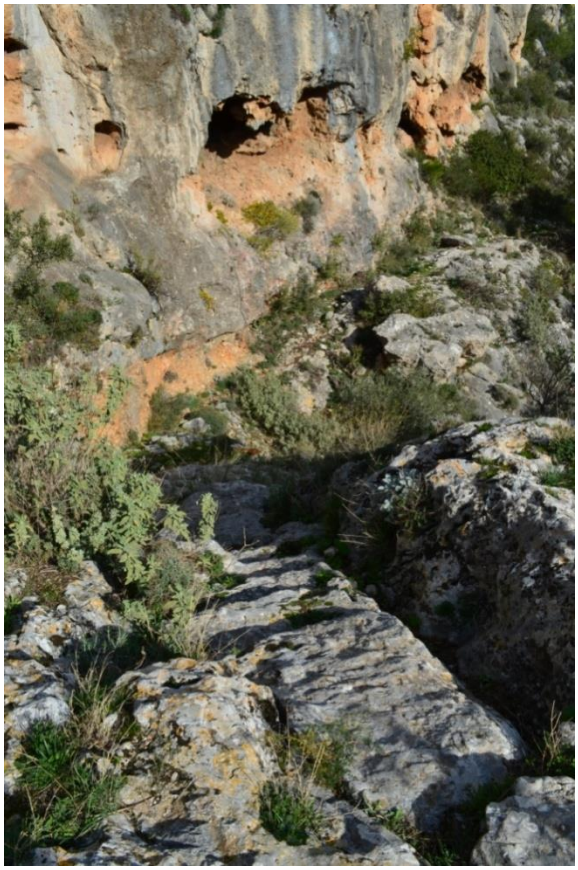


Figure 237. Carved stairs along the path to the caves. Photograph taken from northwest.



Figure 238. Carved path southwest of the caves. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 239. Detail of the carved path southwest of the caves. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 240. Retaining wall 50m south of the path. Photograph taken from northeast.



Figure 241. Retaining wall 50m south of the path. Photograph taken from southwest.

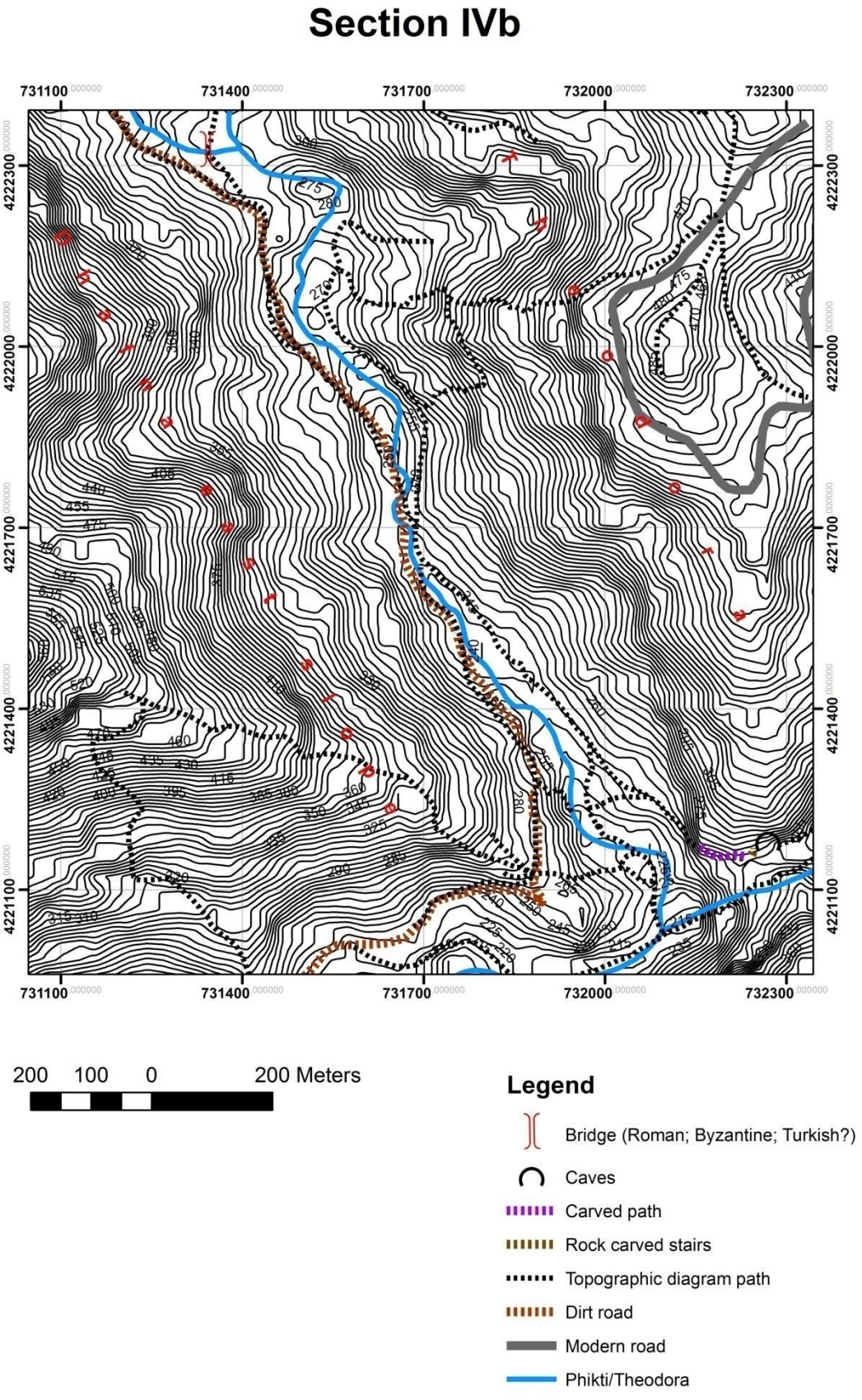


Figure 242. Map of Section IVb, prepared by the author.

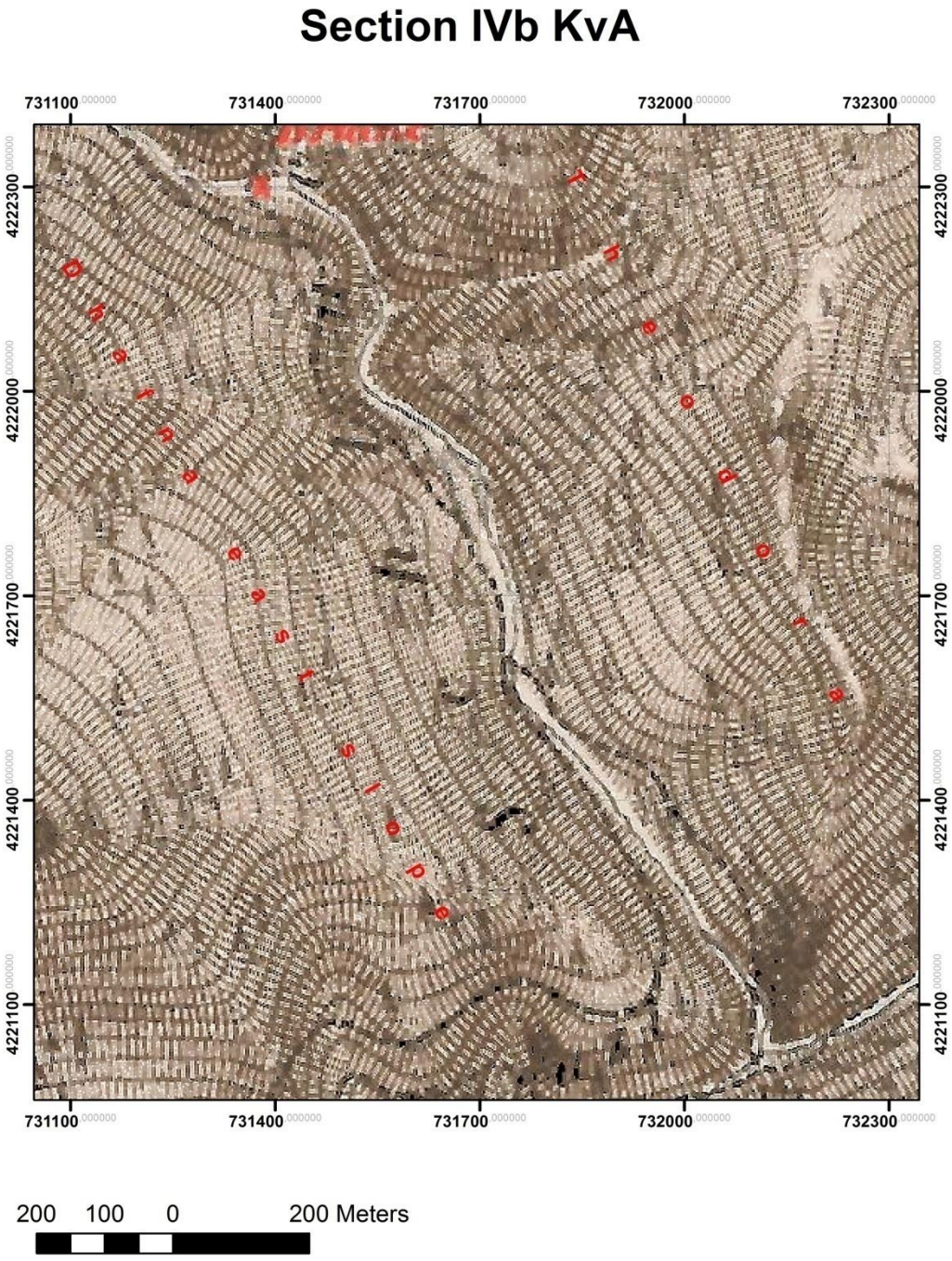


Figure 243. Section IVb as shown in the *KvA*. Detail from *KvA* XXIV = *Phyle*.



Figure 244. The modern dirt road that stretches along the southern and western slopes of Mount Daphna. Photograph taken from east.

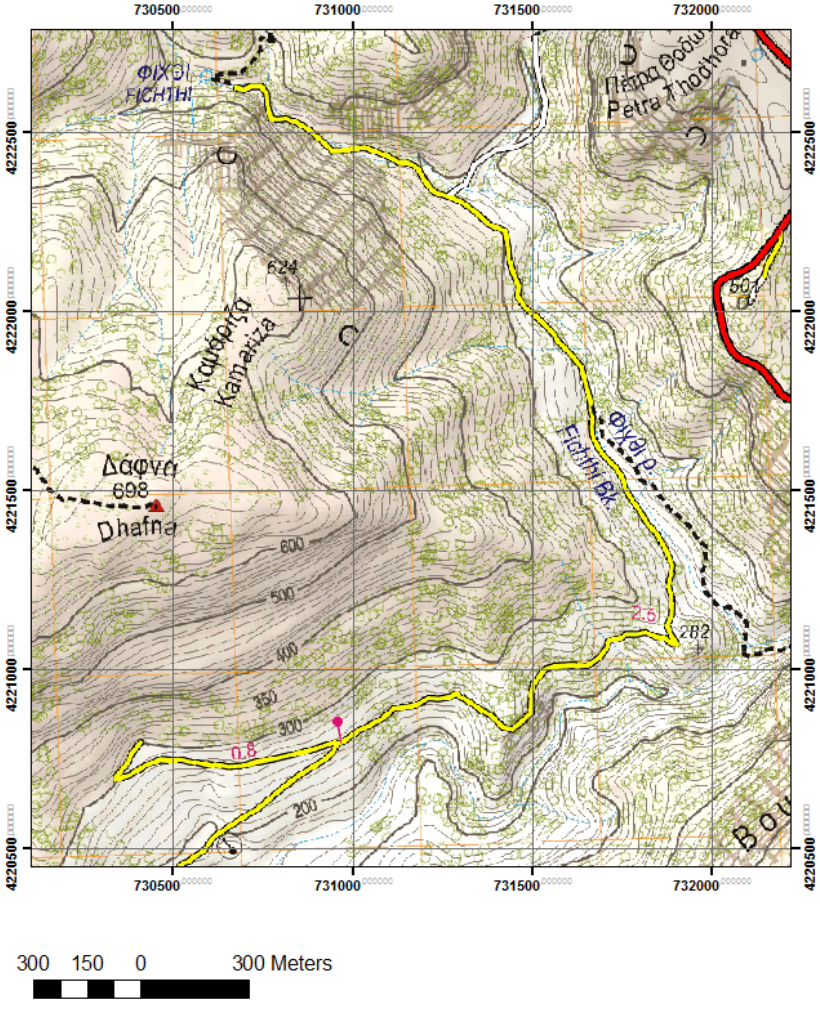


Figure 245. The modern dirt road that stretches along the southern and western slopes of Mount Daphna. Detail from *Map of Mt. Parnitha* by Anavasi Editions (ADAMAKOPOULOS 2006).



Figure 246. Downhill retaining wall of one of the paths that stretches east of the Phikti stream. Photograph taken from southwest.

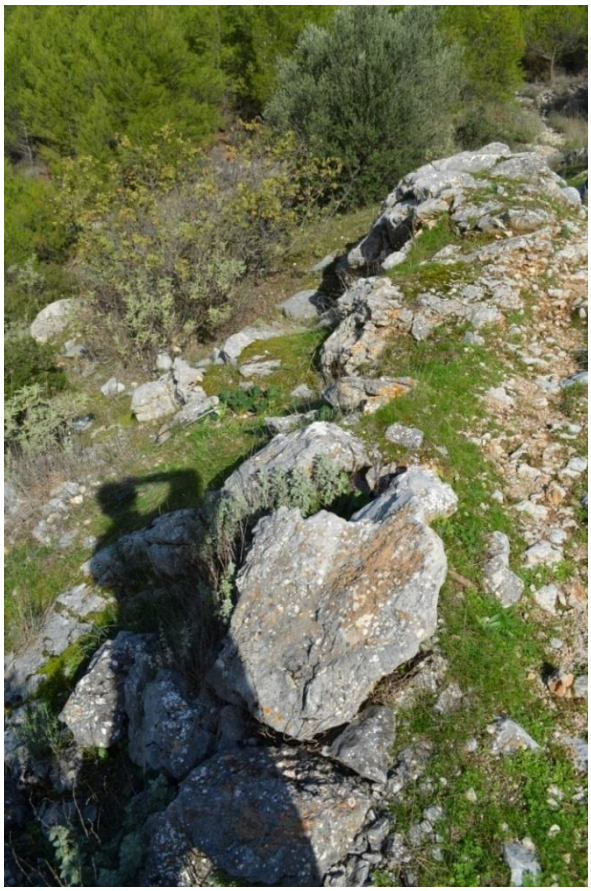


Figure 247. Downhill retaining wall of one of the paths that stretches east of the Phikti stream. Photograph taken from southwest.



Figure 248. A path zigzags up the southwest ledge of Theodora for a short stretch. It meets another path which is partially carved. Photograph taken from southwest.



Figure 249. Ruined stone and cement bridge. Photograph taken from east.



Figure 250. Ruined stone and cement bridge. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 251. Ruined stone and cement bridge. Photograph taken from southwest.

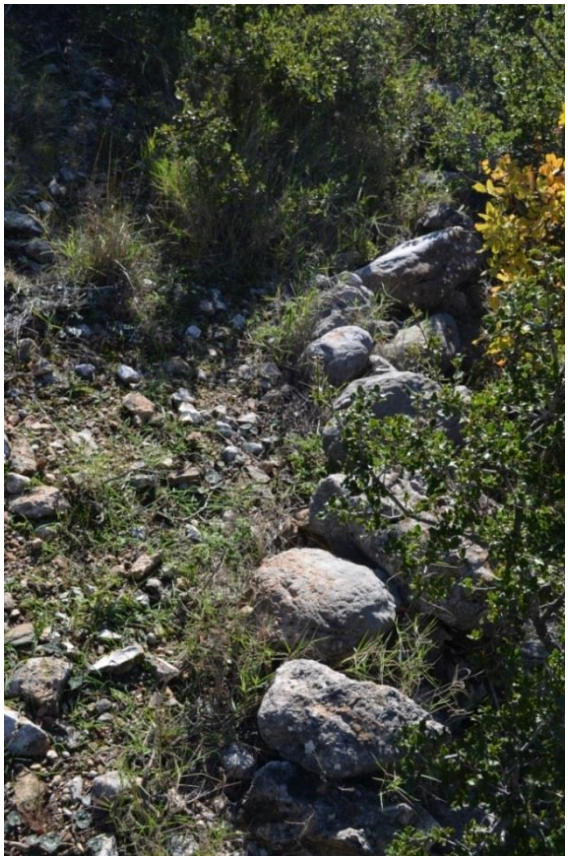


Figure 252. Retaining wall of the path that stretches along the eastern bank of the stream. Photograph taken from southeast.



Figure 253. Retaining wall of the path that stretches along the eastern bank of the stream. Photograph taken from south.

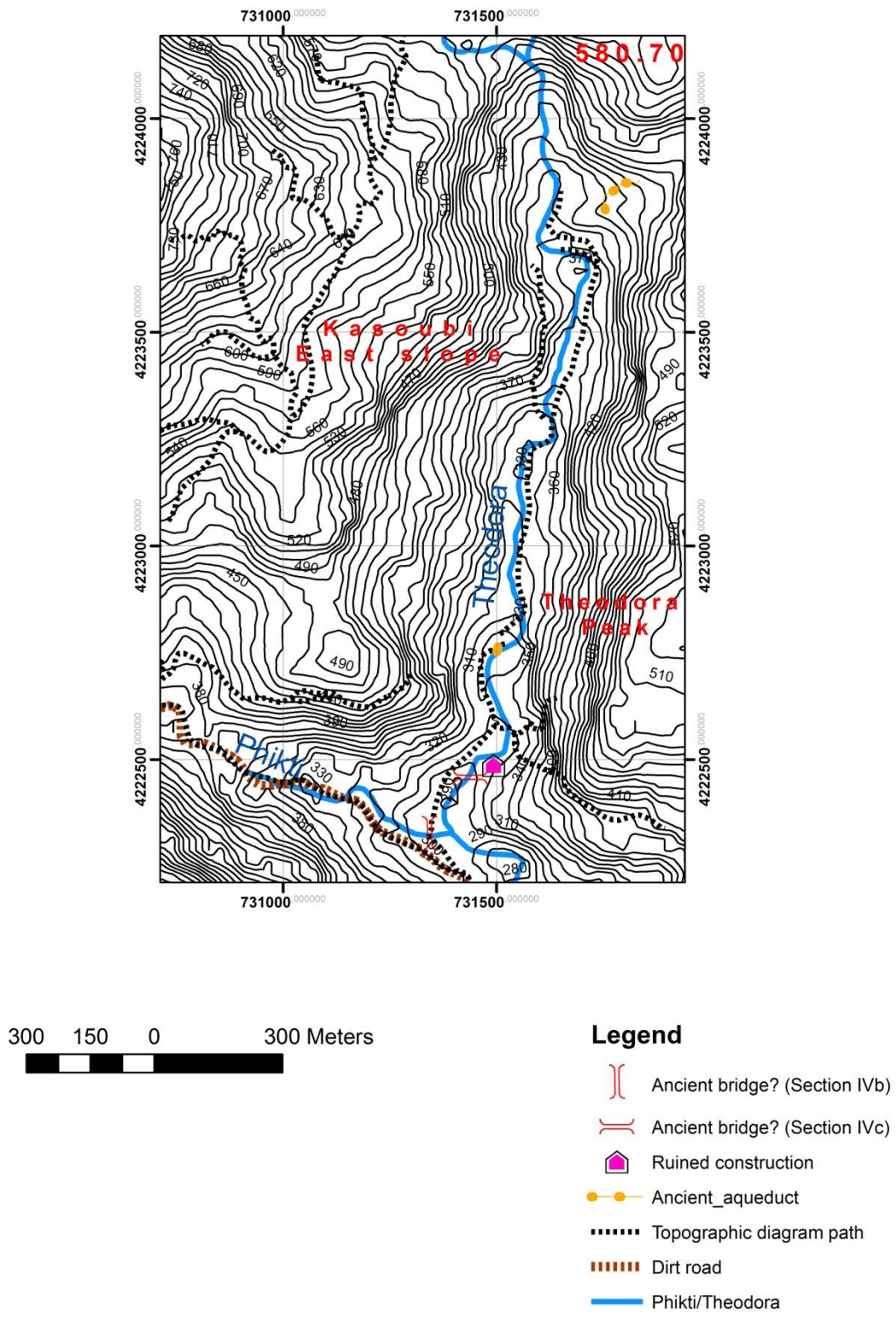


Figure 254. Map of Section IVc. Map by the author.

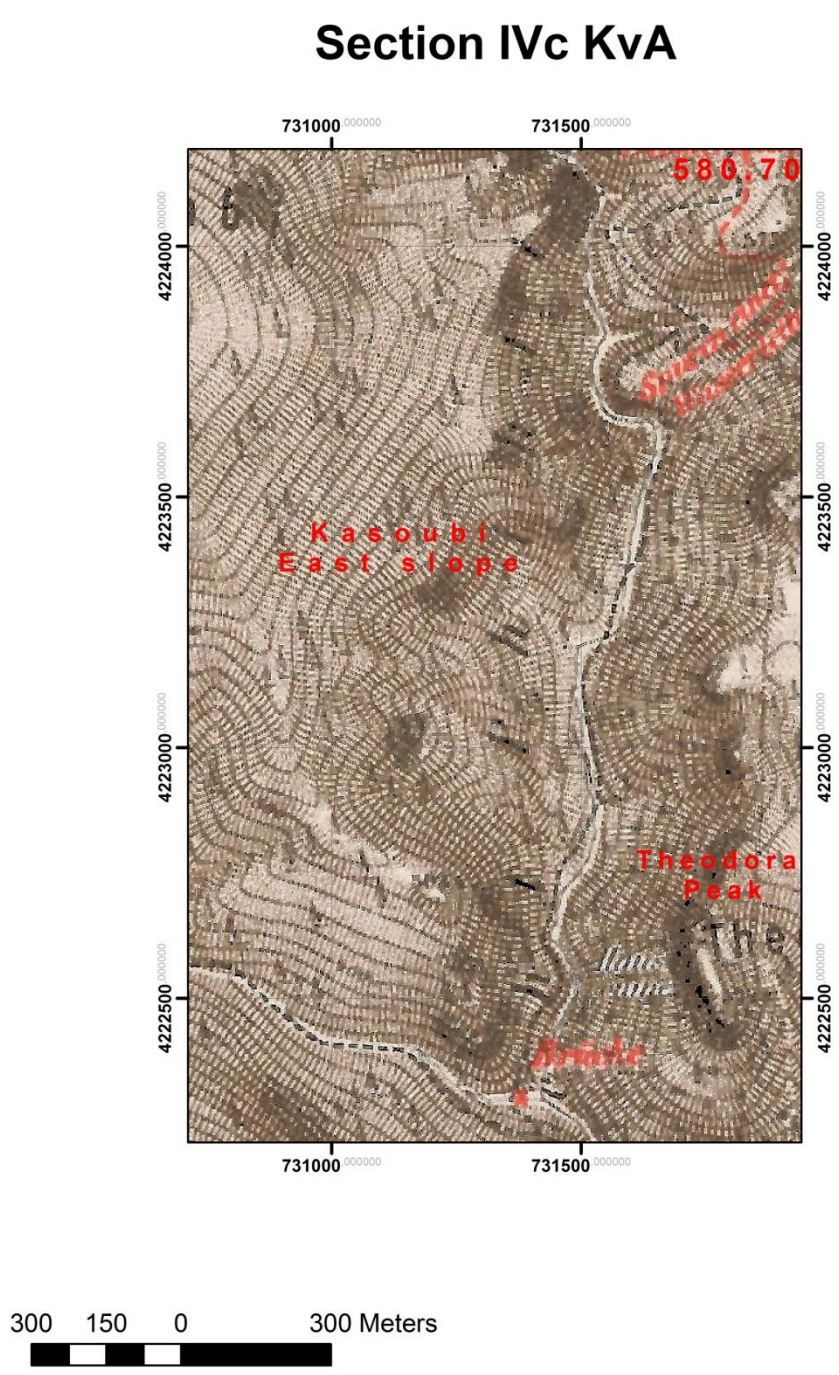


Figure 255. Section IVc as shown in the KvA. Detail from *KvA* XXIV = *Phyle.*



Figure 256. Possible ruined bridge across the Theodora. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 257. Possible ruined bridge across the Theodora. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 258. Ruined construction northeast of the bridge. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 259. The modern path and the topographic diagram path meet at a point on the Theodora streambed. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 260. First visible stretch of the ancient carved aqueduct. Photograph taken from west.



Figure 261. First visible stretch of the ancient carved aqueduct. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 262. First visible stretch of the ancient carved aqueduct, proceeding from south. In detail. Photograph taken from north.



Figure 263. First visible stretch of the ancient carved aqueduct. In detail. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 264. Wide stretch of the path. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 265. The path becomes gradually narrower and steeper as the Theodora gully gets more precipitous. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 266. View of the gully of Theodora as it starts to become more steep. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 267. Ancient carved aqueduct. Steep stretch. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 268. Ancient carved aqueduct. Steep stretch. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 269. Ancient carved aqueduct. Horizontal stretch. Photograph taken from southwest.



Figure 270. Ancient carved aqueduct. Stretch on the south slope of Hill 580.70. Photograph taken from south.



Figure 271. Metal handles at a very steep stretch of the path across the south-west slope of Hill 580.70. Photograph taken from south.