

ROCK-CUT INSCRIPTIONS FROM MT. HYMETTOS

(PLATES 27, 28)

1. ΚΕΘΗΓΟΥ

On the west slopes of the northern end of Mount Hymettos are located a number of ancient marble quarries which vary widely in size. One very small quarry is located about 15 paces directly uphill from a small corbeled building, built of massive stone blocks, known as the Dragon House. This and similar structures were the subject of a recent article by J. Carpenter and D. Boyd who suggest that “in all probability” the quarry provided the stone for the house.¹ In the course of several hikes in May and June of 1979 I discovered two inscriptions cut into the vertical rock faces of the quarry. Both inscriptions read Κεθήγου: the genitive form of the name Κέθηγος, in Latin, Cethegus (Fig. 1, Pl. 27). Inscription A is cut into the right face of a corner of the quarry, about 80 centimeters above modern ground level; ancient ground level may have been somewhat lower. The letters range in height from 19 cm. (the epsilon) to 10.5 cm. (the omicron). The total length of the inscription is 90 cm. The first two letters are very deeply cut, the third more lightly, and the last four very lightly. The final letters are in general smaller than the first three and have a tendency to slant downwards. Inscription B is located on a less worked face about 8 meters to the southwest of inscription A, about a meter and a half above ground level. The letters are quite well formed and carefully cut, despite the very rough texture of the surface, which forced irregular spacing, e.g. between the epsilon and the theta. The letters are regular in height, ranging from 7 cm. (the eta) to 9 cm. (the kappa), except for the upsilon, the tail of which is elongated. The total length is 68 cm. The inscription is uniformly lightly cut and is almost invisible from further than a meter or two away due to weathering of the rock. Both inscriptions appear to have been made hastily, as no attention was given to the selection or preparation of a suitable stone surface.

The inscriptions may have been cut by two different hands. The use of the cursive epsilon in A is particularly notable. This form of the epsilon is not, of course, typical for

¹“Dragon Houses: Euboia, Attika, Karia,” *AJA* 81, 1977, p. 190. The quarry area is described by A. Milchhoefer, *Erläuternder Text* to E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika* II, Berlin 1883, pp. 25–28. The Dragon House is labeled “*Steinhaus*” on *Karten von Attika* II, map 4.

I have received a great deal of help and criticism from many people in the preparation of this article. I found inscription A in the company of Mr. Nathaniel Ober who has subsequently made a number of suggestions; Professor John Traill and Dr. Judith Binder lent their expertise at several points. Professors C. G. Starr and J. W. Eadie read the typescript. Special thanks are due Adrienne Mayor who accompanied me on numerous trips to both sites, made many suggestions, and drew the figures. Finally, this article could not have been written without the aid and encouragement of Professor Eugene Vanderpool who first took me to see the Dragon House and who first discovered the *horoi* in section 2 and has kindly granted me permission to publish them here.

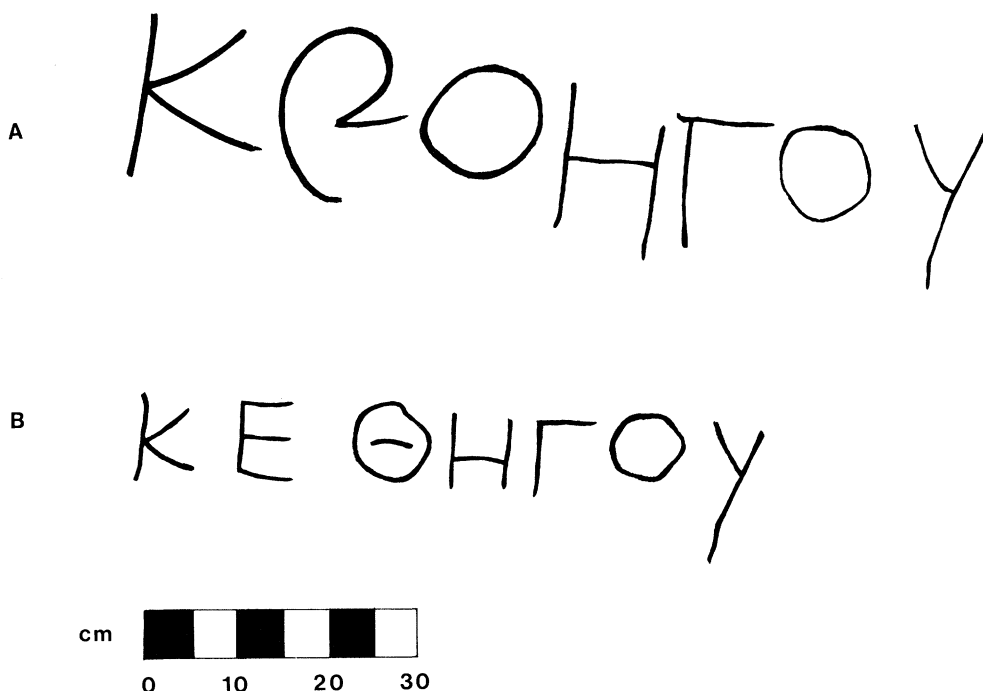


FIG. 1. The quarry inscriptions

inscriptions of any period, but is quite common on Greek cursive papyri from about the 1st century B.C. on.² Either the cutter was used to writing in cursive, or he was illiterate and following a written exemplar. The failure to cross the theta is perhaps indicative of illiteracy. The irregular depth and height of the letters of inscription A indicate very amateur work. Inscription B appears to be the work of a surer hand. The letters are smaller and, despite the irregular spacing, are quite neatly cut and regularly formed. The letter forms are not particularly characteristic and would probably fit any date from the 2nd century B.C. to the 3rd century after Christ.

The name is in the genitive case and seems to be a genitive of possession; we may assume that by these two inscriptions a man named Κέθηγος, or Cethegus, was proclaiming ownership of the area in which the quarry is located. The identity of this Κέθηγος must be a matter of speculation; no Κέθηγος appears in a published Greek inscription and no historical Cethegus is known to have had extensive dealings with the Greek world or with quarrying operations. It does seem certain that Κέθηγος must be the Greek form of the Latin cognomen Cethegus, as the Greek form of the name is not

²Cf. the chart of letter forms in E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, Oxford 1912, pp. 191–194. The other letters in the inscription are not cursive; see *ibid.*, pp. 138–139, for an example of a deed of sale in which cursive letters are mixed with uncial ones.

otherwise attested. The Cethegi were a patrician branch of the large Cornelian *gens*. A number of Cornellii Cethegi were senators and consuls from the time of the Second Punic War to the reign of Tiberius. The family then drops out of sight until the A.D. 170's.³

The history of Roman interest in Hymettian marble suggests that a date should be sought in the Augustan period for the Cethegus of these two inscriptions. According to Pliny (*N.H.* xvii.6), Hymettian marble was first imported to Rome *ca.* 100 B.C. when L. Licinius Crassus, serving as curule aedile, decorated a theater set with six columns of Hymettian marble and later installed them in his house. We may thus place the *terminus post quem* for the inscriptions at *ca.* 100 B.C. This terminus is confirmed by the presence in inscription A of the cursive epsilon, which seems to begin in papyri in the 1st century B.C.⁴ Despite Crassus' example Hymettian marble did not gain quick popularity in Rome. Crassus was censured for his luxuriousness, and there is no evidence that much Hymettian marble came to Rome during the Republic.⁵ M. E. Blake points out that no Hymettian marble was found at the Emporium in Rome, which served as the main wharf for marble imports until the marble wharves were moved up the Tiber to the Campus Martius in the reign of Augustus.⁶ It was in the Augustan period that Hymettian marble became a favored luxury building material at Rome.⁷ Horace (*Odes* ii.18.3-5) mentions architraves of Hymettian marble resting on columns imported from Africa as an example of luxurious living. After the reign of Augustus the popularity of Greek marbles faded, probably due to the exploitation of the Carrara quarries, which made imports of foreign white marbles unnecessary.⁸ The only example cited by Blake of the use of Hymettian marble in Italy after the Augustan period is the commemorative arch of Trajan at Ancona.⁹ This and a single inscribed block of Hymettian marble found in Rome show that Hymettian had not been entirely forgotten in Italy, but it

³The transliteration Κέθηγος for Cethegus is recorded in the list of consuls appended to Dio Cassius, lvii. For a list of known Cethegi see Pauly-Wissowa *RE*, s.v. Cornelius Cethegus. Related are a Cornelius Cethegus Scipio (no. 100) and a Cornelius Lentulus Cethegus (no. 215).

⁴See footnote 2 above.

⁵The censure of Crassus: Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvi.114. M. E. Blake (*Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus*, Washington, D.C. 1947, p. 52) suggests that Crassus' six columns were imported ready made. Hymettian-marble columns were found in the Mahdia wreck which was tentatively dated by the excavators to the second half of the 1st century B.C., but as the dating is only approximate and the planned destination of the ship unknown, this cannot be used as definitive evidence for Roman importation of marble during the Republic; see A. Merlin, "Fouilles sous-marines de Mahdia," *CRAI*, 1909, pp. 650-671, especially pp. 668-671.

⁶Blake, *op. cit.* (footnote 5 above), p. 52. On the wharves see R. A. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, Boston and New York 1897, pp. 524-527.

⁷See Blake, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 54, 181 for Hymettian marble in Italy during the Augustan age. Cf. J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, New York 1942, pp. 103, 155; A. K. Orlandos, *Les matériaux de Construction II*, French trans. by V. Hadjimichali and K. Laumonier, Paris 1968, p. 11, note 17.

⁸M. E. Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians*, Washington, D. C. 1959, p. 159; cf. Day, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁹M. E. Blake and D. T. Bishop, *Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva through the Antonines*, Philadelphia 1973, p. 294.

never regained much popularity after the Augustan era.¹⁰ Even in Athens Hymettian was no longer popular as a building material, although it continued to be favored for epigraphic purposes.¹¹

Another factor militates against dating the Cethegus inscriptions much after Augustus. At some point after the death of Augustus many or most of the quarries of the Empire were incorporated into the *patrimonium Caesaris*, the emperor's personal estate, and were subsequently operated by imperial freedmen and procurators. The inscribed block mentioned above reads [EV]TYCHES EX RA(tione)/PROB/ . . . /. The fact that an *ex ratione* and a *probator* were responsible for Hymettian marble is a strong indication that the Hymettos quarries were among those appropriated by the emperor.¹² It seems absurd to suppose that Cethegus, a member of a patrician family, would be an imperial freedman, and if he were an equestrian official, e.g. a *procurator*, we would expect that his title would be used.¹³ The simple genitive of possession would seem to imply a private operator, and we should therefore seek a date before the imperial takeover. This event cannot be dated with absolute certainty but seems to have occurred in the early Empire, most probably in the reign of Tiberius.¹⁴ Thus the inscriptions can be fairly securely dated to the late Republic or early Empire, and we may suggest the reign of Augustus as a strong possibility.

The relationship between the quarry, its inscriptions, and the Dragon House is a matter for speculation. Before any explanation is attempted some facts must be taken into consideration: a) The size of the quarry cutting. The Dragon House quarry appears to be the smallest of the ancient quarries visible on the northern end of Hymettos. Others of comparable size may exist, but at any rate this quarry is much smaller than the average for the area. b) The form and position of the inscriptions. Although several other rupestral inscriptions are known on Hymettos, all of these are *horoi*, either simply the word ὄρος or ὄρος with the name of the owner in the genitive. The position on a quarry face is also unique; all of the Hymettos *horoi* are found lower down on the

¹⁰The inscribed block is listed in L. Bruzza, "Inscrizioni dei marmi grezzi," *AdI* 42, 1870, pp. 106–204, no. 292.

¹¹P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo 1934, p. 214 with note 2; Day, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), p. 203.

¹²Imperial ownership of quarries and the officials who worked them were most thoroughly studied by C. Dubois (*Études sur l'administration et exploitation des carrières . . . dans le monde romain*, Paris 1908, pp. v–xxxiv). Dubois, pp. 101–102, concludes that the Hymettian quarries were, in fact, part of the *patrimonium Caesaris*.

¹³Cf. *CIL* III, 12286, a rare rupestral quarry inscription at Karystos in Euboia in the form of a dedication by a centurion of the *Legio* XV. On this and several newly reported rupestral inscriptions from the same area see now A. Lambraki, "Le cipolin de la Karystie," *RA*, 1980, pp. 31–62.

¹⁴J. A. O. Larsen ("Roman Greece," in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* IV, T. Frank, ed., Baltimore 1938, part 3, p. 462) suggests that Suetonius, *Tiberius* 49.2: "*plurimis etiam civitatibus et privatis veteres immunitates et ius metallorum ac vectigalium adempta*," refers to the takeover of, *inter alia*, the quarries. Note that *metalla* can refer to both quarries and mines. The takeover may have been gradual (cf. Dubois, *op. cit.* [footnote 12 above], pp. ix–x), but the process began, at least, as early as Tiberius' expropriation of the Carrara quarries between A.D. 22 and 27 (see *ibid.*, pp. 6–7).

foothills, an area which produces a completely different stone, and none can be definitely associated with the quarries.¹⁵ c) The presence of the Dragon House, a structure unique in Attica and, in some ways, in Greece.¹⁶

The following attempt to reconstruct the origins of the quarry, inscriptions, and the Dragon House covers the known facts, but is merely a speculation; other theories may well be advanced.

Cethegus, a member of a senatorial family, but not necessarily a senator himself, recognized the market for imported marble in Rome and bought, or leased,¹⁷ a plot of land on Hymettos in hopes of exploiting it as a quarry. The land was cleared of surface dirt and a number of blocks were cut out to test the quality of the stone.¹⁸ These "test blocks" were not cut to any particular specifications, as would be necessary if an actual contract for architectural stone were being filled, but in order to determine whether the stone was of sufficient strength and purity they did have to approximate in size and shape the types of blocks the owner hoped eventually to sell. These blocks had to be disposed of in some way and so were built into a temporary shelter for the few workmen necessary to open the test cutting.¹⁹ Perhaps this makeshift shelter would have been disassembled and larger quarters built for the workmen if the quarry had ever been put into production. After the preliminary test cutting the owner had to wait until he had a contract to fill before cutting more stone.²⁰ In the meantime until the quarry could be put into operation the owner's name on the newly quarried faces would discourage claim jumpers. Since the inscriptions were cut directly on the stone faces which he planned to quarry away in the future, the owner did not bother to have them done particularly deeply or carefully. They were, therefore, not *horoi*, which were intended as permanent fixed boundaries and which tend to be cut more deeply and carefully, but simply temporary labels of ownership. The two inscriptions could thus have been made simultaneously by two more or less literate, more or less experienced workmen. It did not really matter if the job were well done as long as the name was legible and the approximate extent of the new cutting indicated. For some reason the quarry was never further exploited. Perhaps the stone was inferior, Cethegus was a poor businessman, the market dried up due to competition from the Carrara quarries, or the quarry area as a whole was taken over by the emperor. We are left with a small preliminary quarry

¹⁵On the location of the Hymettos *horoi* see below, p. 76. On the types of stone produced by Hymettos see G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien*, Berlin 1890, pp. 23–27.

¹⁶Carpenter and Boyd, *op. cit.* (footnote 1 above), p. 189.

¹⁷The problem of personal ownership of quarries is a complex one. A. Burford (*The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros*, Toronto 1969, pp. 168–175) suggests that in classical times many quarries may have been state owned.

¹⁸What little information exists on the processes of opening a quarry is collected by A. Dworakowska in *Quarries in Ancient Greece (Bibliotheca Antiqua XIV)*, Warsaw 1975, pp. 94–98.

¹⁹On the problem of quarry dumps see Dworakowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–98.

²⁰Stone was certainly cut according to demand, and the quarry would not be worked without a contract to fill. See Dworakowska, *op. cit.* (footnote 18 above), p. 96; A. Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society*, London 1972, p. 76.

cutting, the name of its one-time owner, and a small shelter built of massive blocks for a few workmen.

The scenario suggested above does not clash significantly with the theories advanced by Carpenter and Boyd on the origins and purposes of the Hymettos Dragon House and seems to confirm their tentative date of late Hellenistic or early Roman.²¹ It also answers the puzzling question of why such a small edifice was built of such massive blocks.²² One last peculiarity of construction may also be explained. The “long, narrow blocks,” noted by Carpenter and Boyd, which jut out oddly on the west exterior of the building may have been “dummies” of monolithic columns for which the Romans frequently used Hymettian marble.²³

2. Four *Horoi*

Below the west slopes of Hymettos to the south and east of the modern suburb of Kaisariani are a series of rather small foothills (Fig. 2). One of these, directly south of the eastern end of the suburb and bounded on its north side by a stream bed (erroneously identified as the Eridanos on *Karten von Attika* II, map 4), is called Alepovouni (labeled “*Fuchsberg*” on map 4). On this hill (Fig. 3) are four hitherto unreported *horoi*, each consisting merely of the word ΟΡΟC cut into the bedrock (Pl. 28:b–e).²⁴ The hill forms a peak 299.3 m. in height at its western end. To the east of the peak runs a flat saddle, about 250 m. long, which culminates in a slight rise; the extreme eastern end of the hill has been cut away by a modern quarry. The slopes fall away fairly steeply to the north and south of the saddle, dropping down in each case to dry stream beds. The hill is lightly covered with thyme and scrub pine, but in many places the bedrock is exposed to view; it is on these horizontal surfaces that the *horoi* are cut.

Horoi nos. 1–3 run in a straight line down the center of the saddle, no. 4 is located at a right angle to the axis of nos. 1–3, at the eastern end of the saddle, part way down

²¹Carpenter and Boyd, *op. cit.* (footnote 1 above), pp. 209–211.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 191: “These are indeed colossal blocks to be used in creating such a small interior space.” The size of the blocks also disturbed Milchhoefer (*op. cit.* [footnote 1 above], p. 26), who thought the building “almost too grand” for a quarryman’s hut, but could suggest no other use for it.

²³Carpenter and Boyd, *op. cit.* (footnote 1 above), p. 192. On the use of Hymettian marble for monolithic columns see Dubois, *op. cit.* (footnote 12 above), p. 101. Unfortunately, it was not possible to test the hypothesis that the blocks came from the small quarry by measuring the quarry cuttings. The blocks of which the Dragon House is built were hacked out quickly and did not leave the neat and measurable cuttings found in large, well-worked quarries. Furthermore, the quarry is in very poor condition; some of the vertical faces have sheared away, others are about to fall (including the face on which inscription B is cut), and fallen rock from the hillside above has considerably damaged the site.

²⁴The hill can easily be approached from Athens by traveling out to Odos Vassileos Konstantinou to the outskirts of the suburb of Kaisariani. Here, at the terminal of the no. 52 city bus line, we turn right one block on Odos 2 Maiou and then bear right on Odos Eirinis, passing a children’s playground to our right. At the end of this street is a large vacant lot, used by residents of the area as a parking lot. At the southern end of the lot a good footpath leads up to the northern slopes of Alepovouni and ultimately to the peak. If we leave the path at the top of the saddle, before beginning to ascend the peak, we are about at the point of *horos* no. 1. See Figure 2.

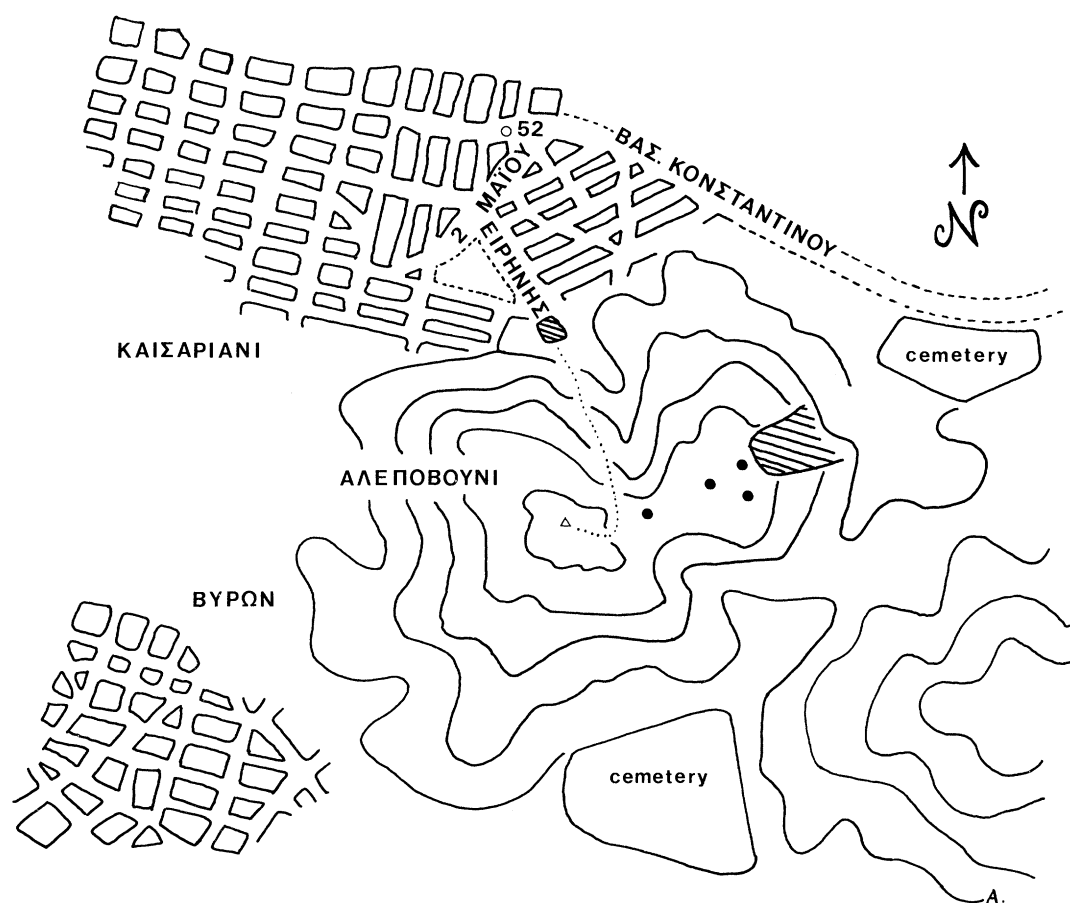
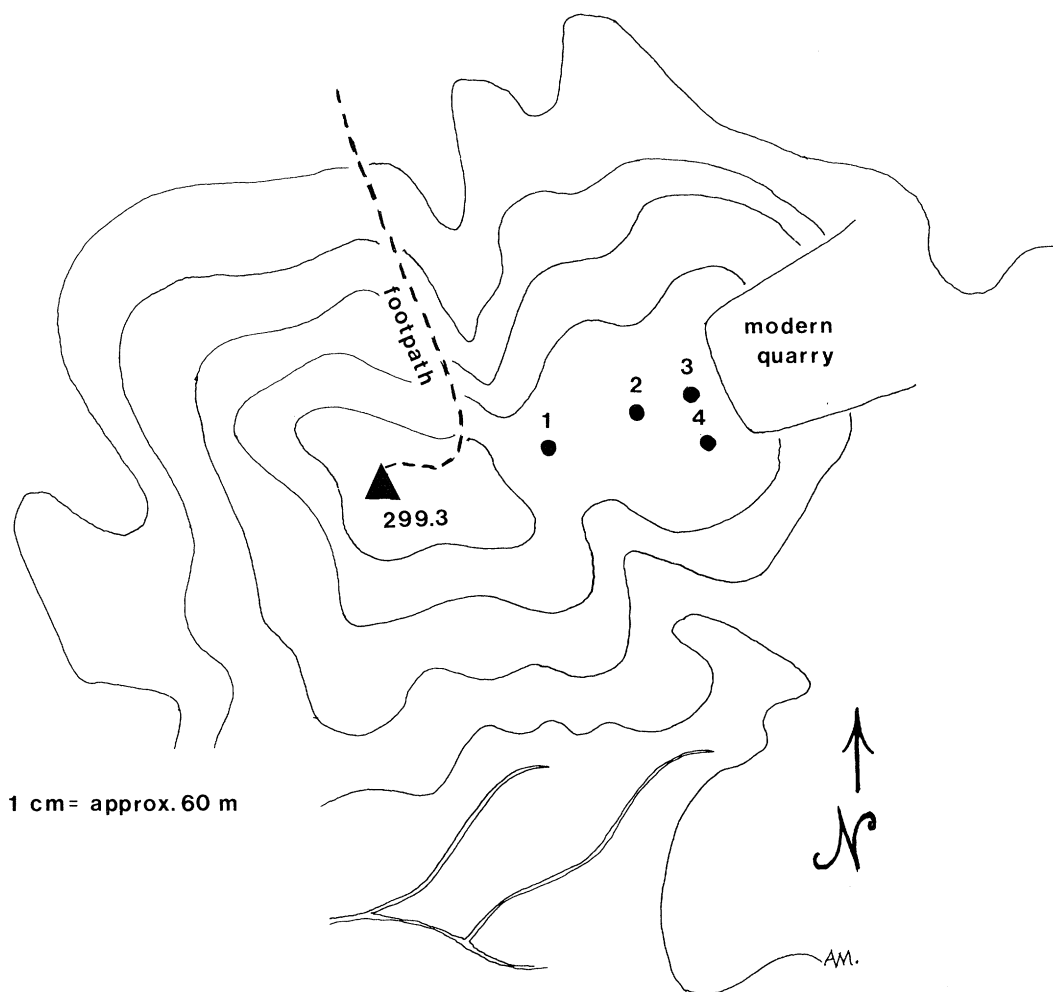


FIG. 2. The route to Alepovouni

the slope to the south. The feet of the letters of nos. 1–3 point directly towards the peak, as if they were meant to be read in a series by someone descending from the peak and walking east along the saddle. Thus the axis of each inscription is at right angles to the axis of the line they define. No. 4 is oriented with the feet of the letters pointing uphill towards no. 3, and is therefore to be read going downhill from no. 3.

Although they vary somewhat in size all four *horoi* are very similar in general appearance. The extremely small loops of the rhos are distinctive. The sigmas are lunate with a tendency to squareness. This is particularly noticeable in nos. 3 and 4. In each inscription the first three letters are very regular in height and the sigmas are considerably shorter. *Horos* no. 1 (Pl. 28:b) is located at the eastern foot of the peak, at the beginning of the saddle, on a large, flat stretch of bedrock. This is by far the largest of the four, 1.10 m. in length, the letters ranging in height from 32 to 26 cm. In the photograph the sigma resembles an omicron; this is due to cracking and weathering of the rock along the curve of the letter. No. 2 (Pl. 28:c) is 145 paces along the saddle from

FIG. 3. The location of the *horoi* on Alepovouni

no. 1 and is partly hidden by a scrub pine. This is the smallest of the series: length, 60 cm.; letter height, 17 to 12 cm. No. 3 (Pl. 28:d) is 55 paces farther along the saddle, about 35 paces from the edge of the modern quarry cut and near the end of the hilltop in a grove of pines: length, 70 cm.; letter height, 24 to 15 cm. No. 4 (Pl. 28:e) is 65 paces from no. 3, downhill to the south-southeast at right angles to the axis of the saddle: length, 80 cm.; letter height, 24 to 16 cm.

The precise area enclosed by the *horoi* cannot be determined. *Horoi* nos. 3 and 4 certainly seem to define one corner to the northeast, and the fact that no. 4 is downhill to the south of the saddle suggests that the area was located on this side of the hill. *Horos* no. 1 may be another corner point, although this is uncertain. The peak has been searched and the line of *horoi* does not seem to continue beyond the saddle. The greater size of no. 1 is perhaps an indication that it begins the series. Even if no. 1 is a cor-

ner, however, there is no way to tell at what angle the western border line would descend the hill (assuming the area is a quadrangle) and no indication of the southern termini. We can only say that the area outlined by the *horoi* included an indeterminate part of the southeast slope of the saddle.

Little can be said for certain about the date or function of these *horoi* except that the lunate sigmas should indicate a date somewhere in the Roman period. Two other rupestral *horoi* have been found in the foothills of Hymettos. *IG* II², 2519: ΟΡΟΣ (*sic*), reported by Dodwell to be “in the vicinity” of the fortified circuit on “Kaisariani Berg”, just west of and below the monastery of Kaisariani, is about one and a half kilometers to the east of Alepovouni.²⁵ *IG* II², 2525: ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ ΟΡΟΣ (*sic*), said to be “on the rocks near Karies” (which is, I presume, ‘Kara’ on *Karten von Attika II*, map 4), is about three and a half kilometers to the south-southwest. The exact location of neither of these inscriptions is presently known, but in the absence of any indication that they may be religious or public in character, it seems safe to conclude that the rupestral *horoi* from *IG* and the ones on Alepovouni mark the boundaries of private properties. At least one estate in the northwest Hymettos area is known from Roman times. *IG* II², 2776, dated to the mid-2nd century after Christ, records the estate of Claudia Damo “in Ankyle and Agryle adjoining Hymettos (πρὸς τῷ Ὑμηττῷ).”²⁶ At least two Roman mortgage stones have also been found in the Hymettos region.²⁷ The Alepovouni *horoi* would thus seem to indicate the border of a private Roman property, the exact extent of which is impossible to determine, but which included part of the southeastern slope of Alepovouni.

We are left with the question of what the property might have been used for. Several possibilities can at least be eliminated. It cannot, I think, have been a quarry property because no ancient quarry is located near by and, more cogently, because Alepovouni is outside the marble-producing area of Hymettos and is composed of limestone.²⁸ The land is too rocky, dry, and steep for agriculture of any sort, and there is no evidence of the terracing which would be necessary if an attempt had been made to improve the soil. Grazing land is a slight possibility, but the modern ground cover would make very poor grazing, even for goats.²⁹

²⁵E. Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece* I, London 1819, pp. 484–485. J. R. McCredie (*Hesperia*, Suppl. XI, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*, Princeton 1966, pp. 50–52 and pl. 2) rediscovered the site.

²⁶Lines 57–59. S. G. Miller (“A Roman Monument in the Athenian Agora,” *Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 50–95) offers a new text and a commentary on the inscription. Evidence for the location of Agryle and Ankyle is summarized in J. S. Traill, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, *The Political Organization of Attica*, Princeton 1975, pp. 37, 39.

²⁷*IG* II², 2681: “ad Hymettum”; 2642: “in Mesogea inter Pentelicum et Hymettum montes.” Day (*op. cit.* [footnote 7 above], p. 226), claims that *IG* II², 2713 was found near Hymettos, but I can find no indication of its provenance.

²⁸Cf. Lepsius, *loc. cit.* (footnote 15 above).

²⁹C. Wordsworth (*Athens and Attica*, London 1836, p. 60) records two rock-cut *horoi*, one on the western face of Mt. Lykavettos (*IG* II², 2521) and one on the hill labeled “Froschmaul” on *Karten von Attika II*, map 1, and surmised that they delineated a grazing ground.

Vergil (*Georgics* iv.127ff.) describes a similar plot of land owned by an “old Corcyrian” which possessed “a soil not rich enough for bullocks’ plowing, unfitted for the flock, and unkindly to the vine.” The only industry for which Alepovouni is really suited is the one to which the old Corcyrian turned his hand: beekeeping. Mt. Hymettos was, of course, one of the premier honey-producing regions of the ancient world, and honey from here was widely exported in Roman times.³⁰ The excellence of Hymettos honey was often attributed to the wild thyme on which the bees fed, and thyme is still the dominant form of vegetation on Alepovouni.³¹ The location of the property on the southeast side of a hill fits nicely with the advice of ancient experts on the best location for apiaries.³² The objection may be raised that bees are unlikely to respect man-made boundaries and that therefore *horoi* would be unnecessary in a beekeeping operation. It was, however, recognized in antiquity that bee colonies kept too close together led to problems: Plutarch (*Solon* 23.6) records that one of Solon’s agricultural laws forbade the establishment of a new apiary within 300 feet of an existing colony. Vergil (*Georgics* iv.10–12) and Columella (*de re rustica* ix.4.1) also warned the prospective beekeeper about the dangers of allowing cattle or sheep near the apiary, and Varro (*de rerum rusticarum* i.16) considered good boundaries a necessity in any agricultural enterprise. Thus the establishment of *horoi* around a bee farm would be quite logical, especially in light of the development of large-scale commercial apiaries in the Roman period.³³ It is possible that the two rupestral *horoi* from Hymettos listed in *IG* also delineated bee farms, but until their exact positions are determined it would be rash to form even tentative conclusions concerning their precise nature.

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³⁰Day, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), p. 158 with notes 232–236.

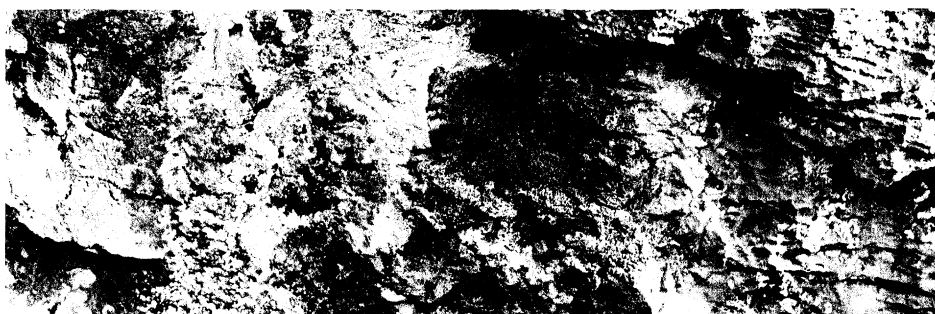
³¹On the belief that Hymettos thyme made especially good honey see Pliny, *N.H.* xxi.57. Thyme as food for bees is suggested by, *inter alios*, Vergil (*Georgics* iv.31). Columella (*de re rustica* ix.4.2,6) also considered thyme best and included pine (the other form of vegetation on Alepovouni) in his list of alternatives.

³²Columella (*de re rustica* ix.5.1), for example, suggests a position facing the noonday sun in winter with (ix.7.5) the hives opening towards the southeast. He further recommends (ix.5.1) that the apiary be located at the foot of a hill so that the pollen-laden bees may fly home on a downhill slope. Varro (*de rerum rusticarum* iii.16.12) suggests that the apiary face the point at which the sun rises in winter. Pliny (*N.H.* xxi.80) suggests due east.

³³H. M. Fraser (*Beekeeping in Antiquity*, 2nd ed., London 1951, p. 47) suggests that Varro’s section on beekeeping (iii.16) was written with the large-estate owner in mind. I have found no “beehive sherds” of the type described in J. E. Jones, A. J. Graham, and L. H. Sackett, “An Attic Country House below the Cave of Pan at Vari,” *BSA* 68, 1973, pp. 397–414, but the hives may have been located at the bottom of the hill, which is now a cemetery, and may not have been of clay. Columella (*de re rustica* ix.6.1–2) mentions various hive-building materials and considered terracotta the worst possible choice, much preferring wood, reeds, or cork, none of which would leave any traces.



a. ΚΕΘΗΓΟΥ (A)



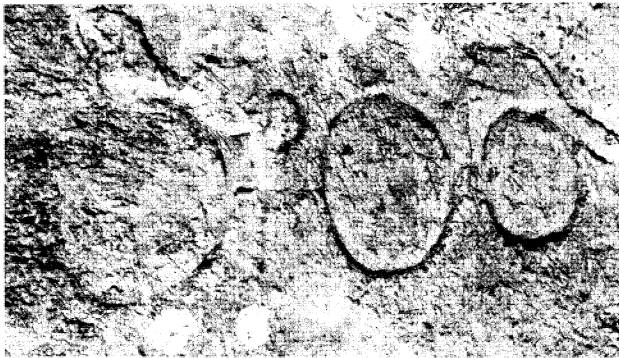
b. ΚΕΘΗΓΟΥ (B)



c. ΚΕΘΗΓΟΥ (B)



a. Alepovouni from the southwest



b. *Horos* 1



c. *Horos* 2



d. *Horos* 3



e. *Horos* 4