

Explorations in the northern Megarid I: the Kryphtis region

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Introduction

The motives for the apparently strange choice of route by Archidamos in his first campaign against Attica¹⁾ (431 B. C.) have been variously interpreted by scholars concerned with the details of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. Some have argued that Archidamos marched northward from Megara for the purpose of contacting the Boiotians²⁾ but we can safely reject this view, since, as has been pointed out by Gomme, a simple reading of the text strongly indicates that the Boiotians had already joined the Allies at Isthmos³⁾. Others have suggested that Archidamos' attack on Oinoe was less military than political, since he was notoriously reluctant to fight with Athens and sought an amicable settlement somehow or other⁴⁾. As for this argument, it must be noted that his policy was not shared by the other contingents who later blamed him for his slack action⁵⁾. Thus Archidamos must have had some strategic reason to persuade them to march into Oinoe, or at least an ostensible one. What could this reason have been?

Only a full appreciation of the location of Oinoe makes Archidamos' decision intelligible⁶⁾. The plain of Oinoe was, and still is, the most important junction of road systems in the NW Attic frontier. If one has this area under one's control, one can deploy an army at one's disposal irrespective of the course of counterattack. It was this advantage that made Archidamos siege Oinoe at the outset of his campaign. Nowhere seems more suitable to start an invasion on Attica by land, especially for a general who knew well the naval power of Athens and always tried to keep his army away from attacks from the sea. Besides, this operation agreed with the Theban interest, whose desire was to isolate Plataia by cutting its communication routes with Athens which inevitably crossed the plain of Oinoe⁷⁾.

Thus Archidamos marched northward from Megara with good reasons. But how? There must have been some mountain roads in the northern Megarid which were passable enough for a large army by Archidamos' time. Where, then, is this road and when was this route established?

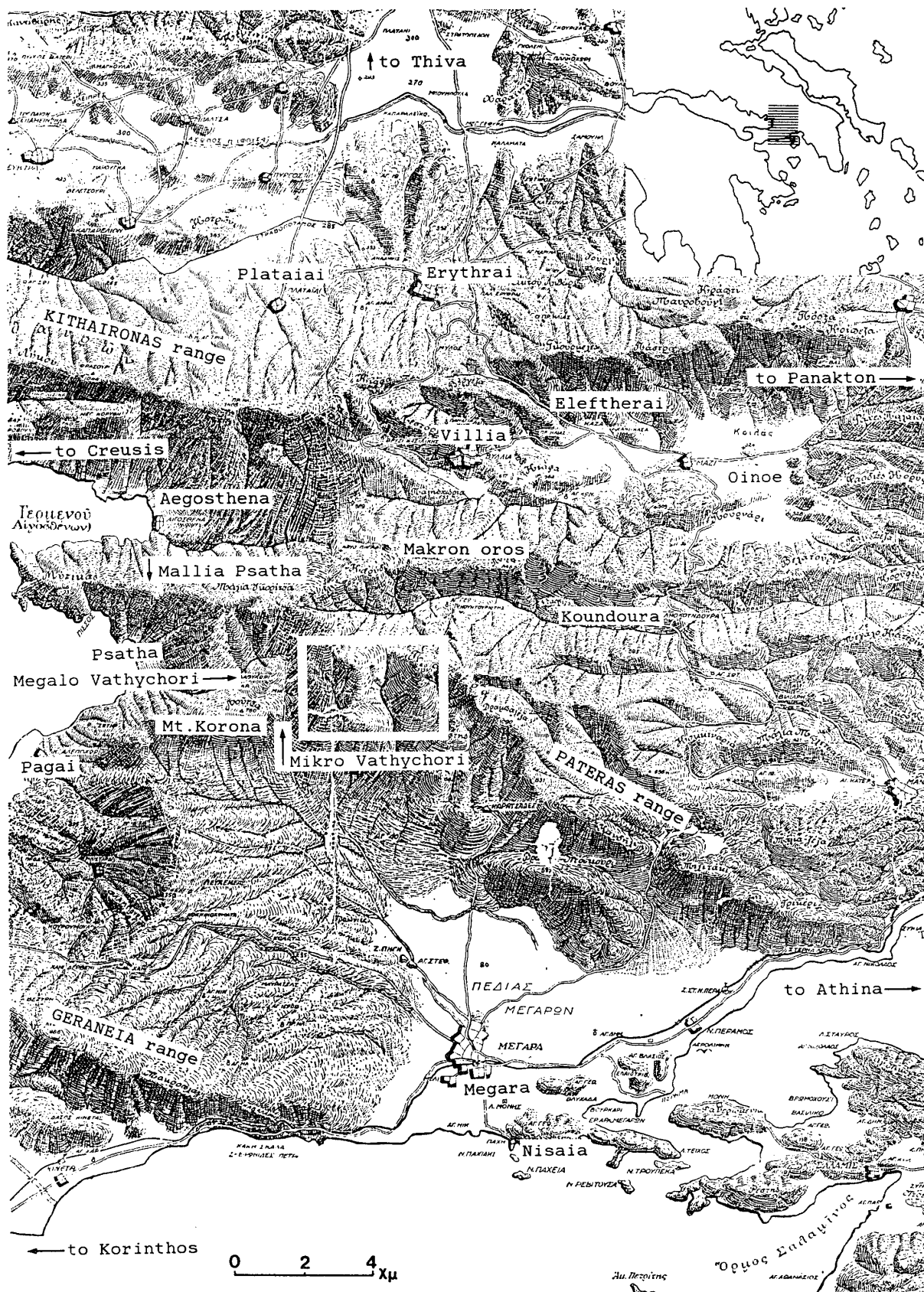


Fig. 1 Map of the northern Megarid and its environs, based on the Anaglyphos Morphi Attikis-Boiotias-Korinthias ypo D. Diamandopoulou, Athina.

I. The northern Megarid

Strabon, citing Ephoros, remarked that only Boiotia is *τριθάλαττος* and on this account it is superior to other countries with its ability for overseas trade through its many harbors⁸⁾. This might have been so, but sea routes were not always open to everyone, especially during wartime, and land transport has always been important from prehistoric times until today⁹⁾. Although the two major land gateways of Boiotia are well known as the localities of significant battles (Chaironeia against northern Greece, Oinophyta and Tanagra against Attica), another important route toward Peloponnesos, which crosses the northern Megarid, remains still somewhat obscure because of its relative remoteness from modern transport facilities.

Even the northern Megarid itself has rarely been studied in its own right. It is usually referred to as a part of NW Attica, and investigations of this mountainous area were nearly always motivated by some problems on the Attic frontier. The settlement pattern and land communication networks hitherto assumed in this area are hence expected to be heavily biased in favor of Athens¹⁰⁾.

My intention here is to document the ancient remains of this neglected side of the northern Megarid, to discuss their significance, to relate them to the supposed road network and finally to reconstruct the real state of the land communication system between the Greek mainland and Peloponnesos, which underlay the significant international affairs in Greece especially in the 5th and 4th centuries B. C.

II. The literary evidence

There is only an indirect testimony which may be helpful to guess a possible date of the establishment of the practicable road through the mountainous area of the northern Megarid. Thucydides writes that in 458 or 457 B. C., just after the battle of Tanagra, the Peloponnesians entered the Megarian territory, cut down the trees, and went back home by Geraneia and Isthmos¹¹⁾. The problem is the interpretation of the word *δενδροτομήσαντες*. It means literally "cutting trees"; but why should they trouble to cut trees in Megarid before hurrying to return home? A common interpretation is that they devastated the fruit-trees of the country, for then Megara was temporally on the side of Athens¹²⁾. Thus, Jowett and Crawley translate this as cutting down fruit-trees, and Warner even says "after cutting the plantation of trees" in his translation¹³⁾.

This interpretation seems, however, anything but convincing. Firstly, as has been

pointed out, the main concern of the Allies was to return home making the most of the opportunity of the narrow victory at Tanagra. Secondly, the racial sympathies of the Megarian were always with the Dorian Peloponnesos¹⁴⁾, and it is difficult to see any reason for the Allies to devastate their country deliberately. We should note that this campaign was motivated by the very racial sympathy of the Spartans with the Dorian poleis which had been conquered by the Phocians. Thirdly, the word *δενδροτομήσαντες* has a fairly special and concrete meaning and Thucydides used it only once on this particular occasion. Such a participle as *δηϊωσαντες* seems more appropriate for executors of devastation, even though the object is fruit-trees. These circumstances make it more plausible to connect this word with something different from usual devastation. Why did they cut trees in order to return home?

Northern Megarid is even today famous for its beautiful pine forest, although every summer some portion of this falls victim to fire. It was, therefore, necessary to cut trees whenever a large army crossed this mountainous area to provide a practicable road. I am of the opinion that this word in Thucydides refers to the fact that the Allies were obliged to cut down trees in order to pass these mountains, since there was not yet any carriageable road across the range at that time¹⁵⁾. In the campaign of 446 B. C.¹⁶⁾ and in 431 B. C., on the contrary, there is no reference to cutting trees, and on the latter occasion even the Boiotian cavalry seems to have been able to cross the mountains¹⁷⁾. This date may be considered as the *terminus post quem* of the establishment of a carriageable road in this region.

III. The archaeological evidence

Although the recognition that the mountain road from Megara to Thebes has always been an important international highway had been confidently expressed by H. J. W. Tillyard, who investigated the two fine Hellenistic towers of Vathychoria (Pl. 1-b, c, d)¹⁸⁾, it was N. G. L. Hammond who made an extensive field survey in the northern Megarid for the first time and elucidated the ancient road network through this region¹⁹⁾. Recently this network has been examined by J. Ober in relation to the border defence system of Attica, and other scholars such as A. Muller, S. Van de Maele and H. Lohmann have continued their own topographical surveys of the area²⁰⁾. In the summer of 1990 we made several field walking surveys throughout the Megarid, especially on the route from the Koundoura valley (Pl. 1-a) to the plain of Megara. On that occasion we noticed several ancient remains which had not yet been noticed or not duly published²¹⁾. The area of our concern is called Kryptis

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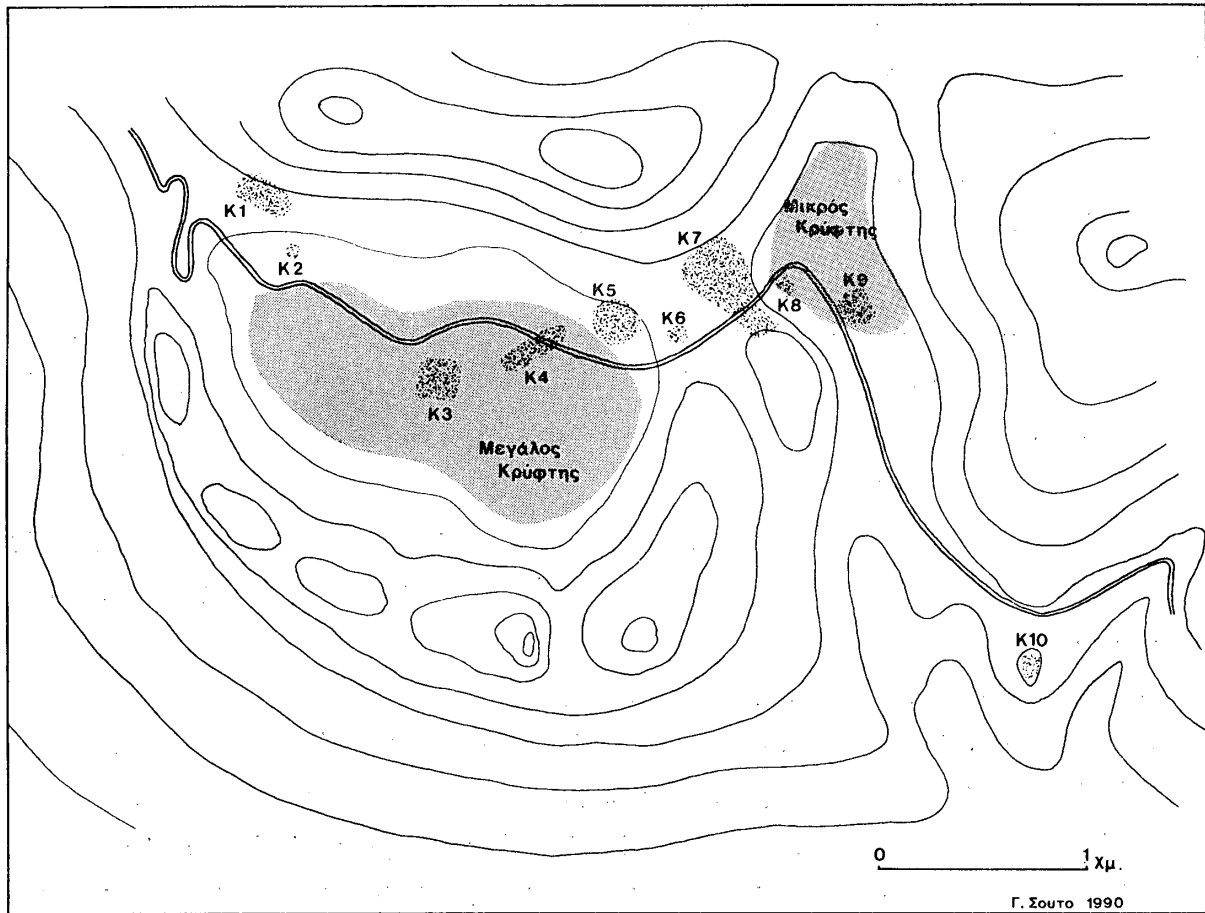


Fig. 2 Sketch map of the Kryphtis region with sites mentioned in the text. (cf. Fig. 1)

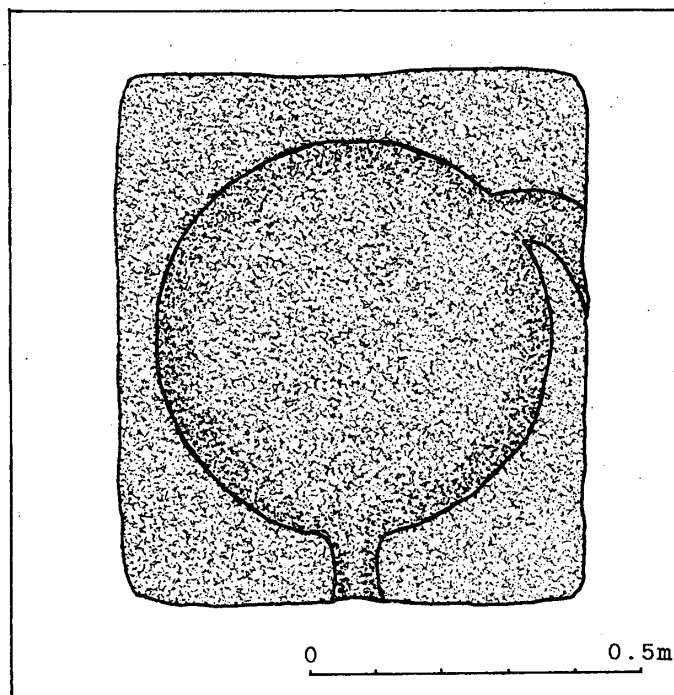


Fig. 3 Wine press of K1-b

(Pl. 2-a, Fig. 2), which means "hidden". As this name indicates, the two small basins are hidden in the Pateras range and are not easily accessible today. Here ancient remains are surprisingly plentiful as will be reported in the following.

Site K 1: Settlement

This is a fairly large complex of ruins which extend on the lower SW slope of Mikri Kolosoura.

K 1-a A small fortification or double-walled farmstead with a square tower²²⁾ (Pl. 2-c). The SE corner of the tower is preserved to a height of about 1.4m in 4 courses of rough-shaped field stones. To the north of the tower there is an entrance 1.5m in width. Glazed tiles and black-glazed sherds are abundant.

K 1-b: Limestone wine (or olive?) press reused in a wall along the slope²³⁾ (Fig. 3). Alongside it there is another stone with a ditch which apparently constituted part of the same installation.

Site K 2: Tower of rough polygonal masonry

This tower (Pl. 2-d) stands c. 50m below K 1 near the foot of the same slope but constructed with limestone of distinctly better quality. It measures 9.3 × 9.0m and has a wall of 0.6m in width. The method of construction is rather strange particularly at its corners, where huge dressed rocks are put in an upright position. Black to brown glazed ancient tiles are copious in and around the tower.

Site K 3: Isolated farmstead?

In the midst of the basin, there is a small mound with abundant Classical/Hellenistic and later material (Pl. 3-a, b, Fig. 4)²⁴⁾. There is also a pear-shaped cistern (Pl. 3-d), and rows of field stones which probably indicate the line of an ancient road as will be discussed later.

Site K 4: Road and cisterns

About 100m east of K 3 appears apparently another section of the same ancient road with nearby cisterns (Pl. 3-c)²⁵⁾. About 30m east of them there is another pear-shaped cistern where the supposed ancient road crosses the modern dirt road (Fig. 5).

Site K 5: Roman settlement

On the south-western foot of the Megali-Kolosoura, there is a settlement site with Roman cisterns²⁶⁾. The presence of a round tower, 5.4m in diameter and half-preserved, may indicate an earlier foundation of this site.

Site K 6: Pear-shaped cistern

Another pear-shaped cistern, which is still in use, sunk on a slight rise at the eastern

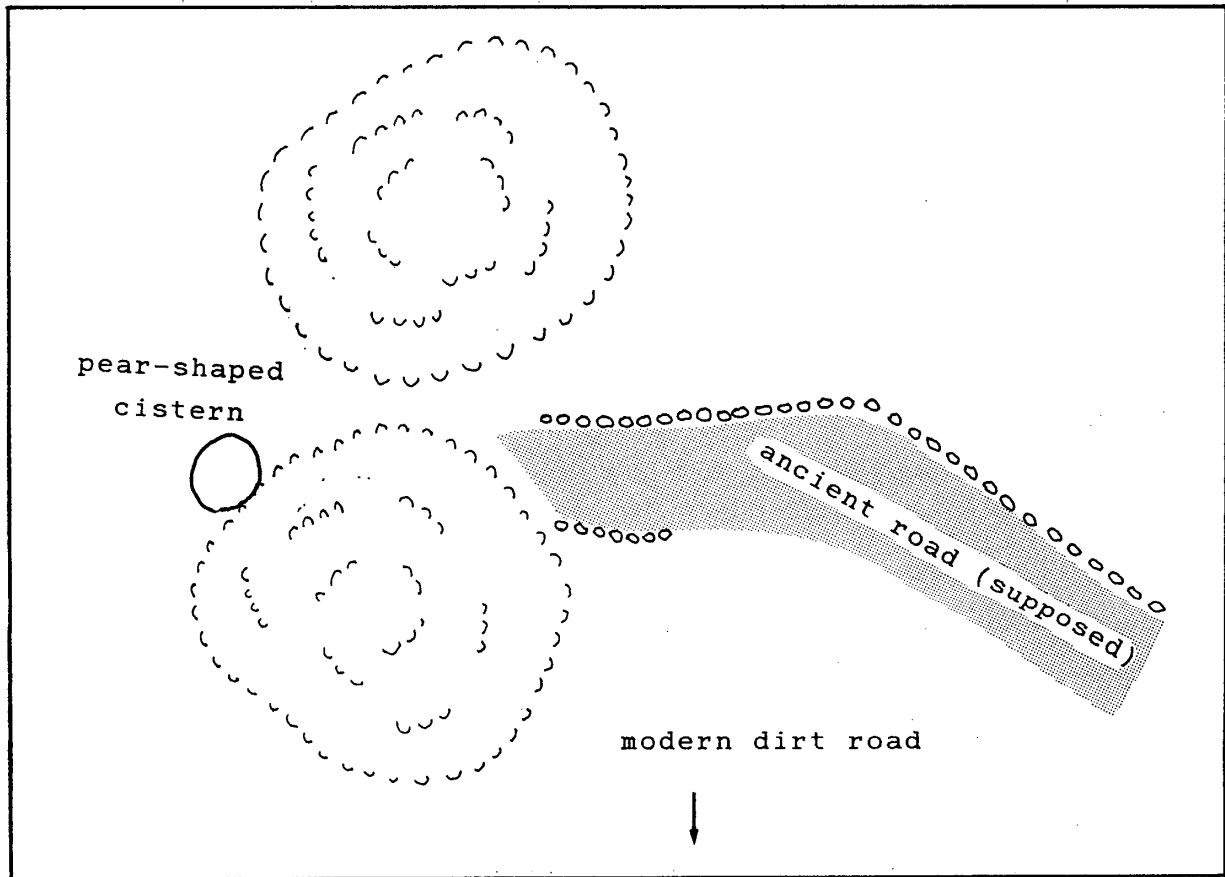


Fig. 4 Sketch plan of the northern corner of K3

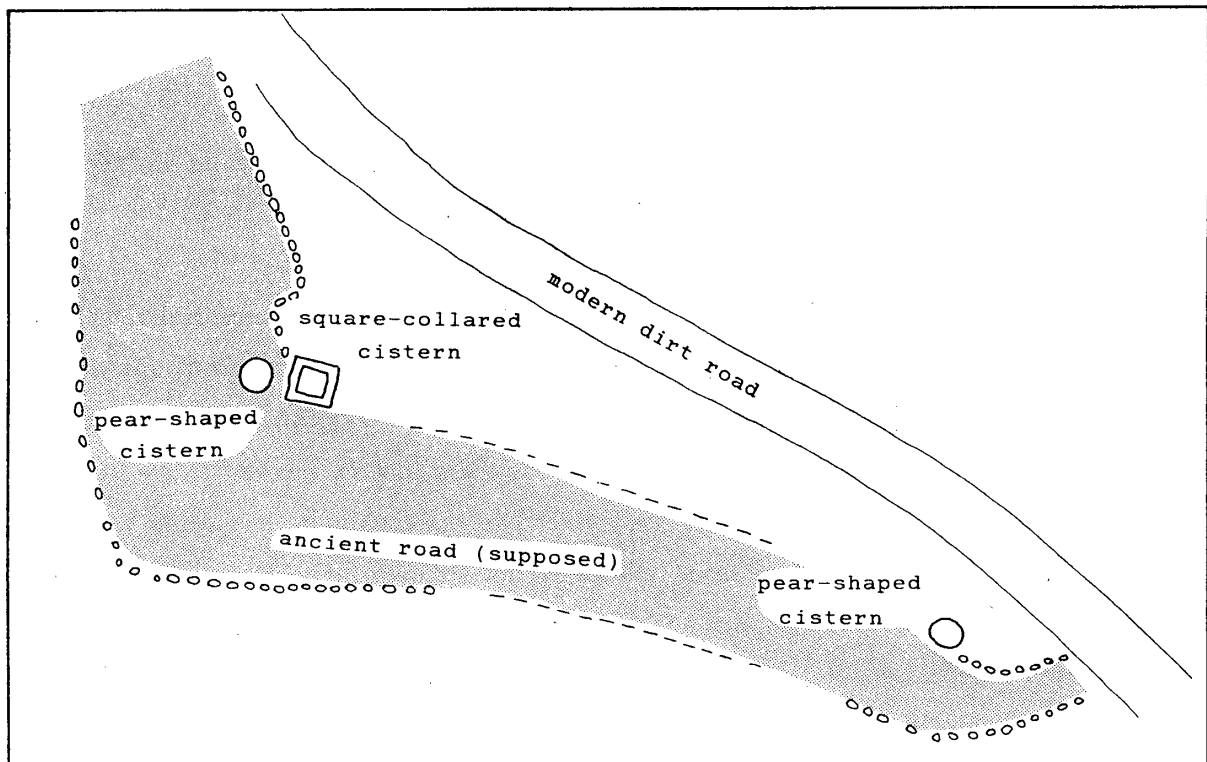


Fig. 5 Sketch plan of site K4

end of the Megalos Kryphtis²⁷⁾. There are some other traces of walls around it, including a ditch which seems to have served to collect rainwater from surrounding structures to the cistern.

Site K 7: Large settlement

On the southern slope of Megali Kolosoura extend substantial remains of a large settlement of Classical/Hellenistic date (Pl. 4-a)²⁸⁾, including a massive base of a round tower of polygonal masonry which is a characteristic building of an enclosed farmstead (Pl. 4-b, 5.7m in diameter). This must have been the most important settlement of the Kryphtis.

Site K 8: A stone heap

Before entering Mikros Kryphtis, there is a large heap of field stones whose character is unknown.

Site K 9: Mikros Kryphtis

Several Roman settlements were reported by Van de Maele and this site may be one of them (Pl. 4-d)²⁹⁾. At the northern end of Mikros Kryphtis begins a pass toward the Koundoura valley via Mylos tower.

Site K 10: Aetophoria

The rocks near the summit-pole are strewn with glazed tiles indicating the existence of an ancient structure which has now completely vanished. The view from this point toward the Megarian plain is very impressive.

IV. Discussion

Among the ancient remains observed in the Kryphtis region, the following three features are worthy of notice: towers, pear-shaped cisterns and roads.

1. Towers

The isolated tower is probably one of the most conspicuous architectural remains of Classical antiquity which we frequently come across even in the remotest countryside of Attica, Megarid, Argolid (including the famous Pyramids), and the Aegean islands (Inseltürme), especially on Thasos. The two basic questions about these towers, the exact date at which they were constructed and the purpose for which they were built, have not yet found convincing answers³⁰⁾. They have been interpreted as stations for border defence, watch-towers, lighthouses, beacon towers, strongholds for refuge, independent buildings in country farmsteads, devices for making a display of wealth, etc³¹⁾. All we can say with some certainty is that a single explanation cannot hold true for every case.

These diverse opinions on towers, however, can be put into two seemingly contrastive

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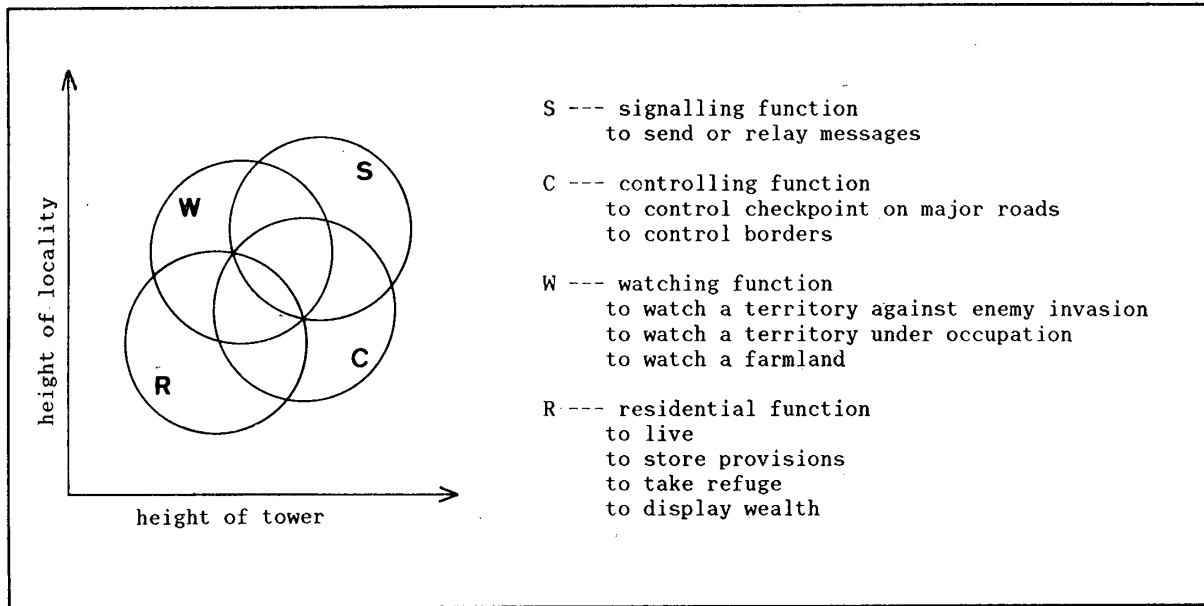


Fig. 6 An explanatory model of the functions of isolated towers

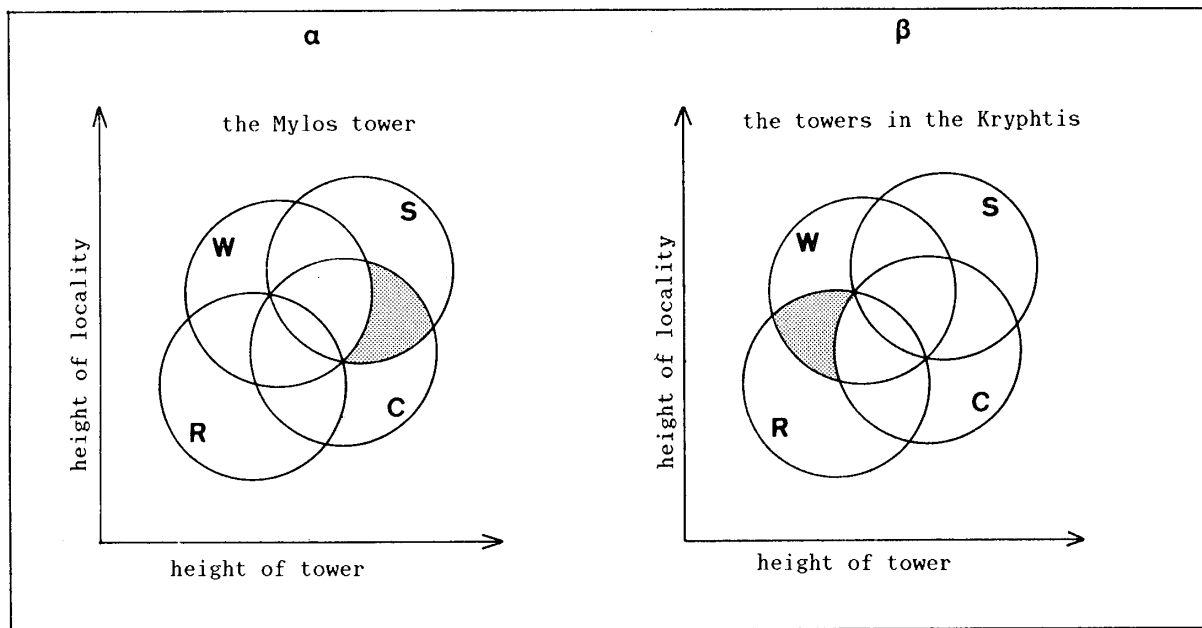


Fig. 7 Hypothetical function of the Mylos tower (a) and the towers in the Kryptis (b)

categories, one which emphasizes their strategic character and the other which makes much of their agricultural connotations. The latter has been held as a more appropriate explanation since the study of the country estates of south Attica by J. H. Young³²⁾, and also has contemporary literary testimony³³⁾. This theory, however, no matter how adequate for most of the towers in Attica, cannot hold true for, say, towers on a steep rocky summit of a remote mountain. In reality, a primary function of each tower stands on a broad spectrum

of functions from strategic-military to agricultural-non-military.

Although an interpretation of the meanings of the towers based on three semantic functions, Wehr-, Wohn- und Wirtschaftsfunktionen has been suggested by L. Haselberger³⁴⁾, I would rather propose here an alternative explanatory model based on four behavioral functions, i. e., signalling, watching, controlling and residential functions, in relation to their locational and architectural features (Fig. 6).

An ideal tower for signalling should be located on a summit of a high ridge which commands a good view at least in two directions³⁵⁾. The height of the tower itself is not so significant if the location is high enough to fulfill this specialized purpose.

An ideal watch-tower also must command a good view, but in this case a view of a certain geographical unit of some significance. This unit may vary from a small field to an entire plain. In consequence, a watch-tower need not stand on a high ridge but the tower itself should have enough height to command a sufficient view.

An ideal control tower may possess more or less similar locational features with watch towers, though the former always stands by a road of some strategic importance. There is no need for a control tower to be very high, though it is fairly desirable that a control tower, too, commands a good view in the directions where the road runs.

A residential tower must always stand near or in a building complex where people live perennially or seasonally. On that account an ideal residential tower is expected to be found on a lower locality than that of other towers. Neither has it any reason to be very high.

As has been stated above, most of the towers seem to have exercised some of these functions simultaneously. For example, the Mylos tower on the Pateras range is briefly examined below³⁶⁾. It lies on a independent knob on a high ridge (898m) and it is said to have been once c. 10m high, though it has a rather limited view. This must be a signal tower and a control tower (Fig. 7-a). As is expected from our explanatory model, an ancient road between the Koundoura valley and Mikros Kryphtis goes across the range exactly at the foot of the Mylos tower.

Then, what about the towers in the Kryphtis region? They are located on fairly flat ground and, except for K 2, they are always accompanied by other buildings. Besides, there is no evidence which suggests that they were ever very high. It is natural to classify them into typical towers of farmsteads (Fig. 7-b)³⁷⁾. The reason why such rural farmsteads came to be furnished with towers apparently in the 4th century B. C. in some particular regions, including Megarid, is still unknown. This problem will be discussed elsewhere³⁸⁾.

2. Pear-shaped cisterns

Only very little is known about the pear-shaped cisterns, which are ubiquitous in the Kryphtis region, though their close proximity to the supposed ancient road is a striking feature. In other sites such as the unexplored ancient village complex at Kyparissi, on the northern plateau of the Pateras range above the Koundoura valley, pear-shaped cisterns are in the courtyards at the back of the buildings³⁹⁾.

A similar location of pear-shaped cisterns is observed in nearby Vathchoria, especially at Tower C, which stands on the most strategic diverging point of Hammond's road (Pl. 1-d, foreground)⁴⁰⁾. Also at the series of rubble fortifications along the summits of Rachi Doskouri to the NE of Megara, a pear-shaped cistern is located by a road which diverges near the cistern⁴¹⁾.

The above observation suggests the possibility that these roadside pear-shaped cisterns not only served the local inhabitants but also served travelers who were, in the case of the Kryphtis road, heading for Attica via the Koundoura valley or coming from Attica in the direction of Peloponnesos.

3. Roads

The NW Attic frontier and its ancient road network has been discussed in detail by J. Ober, though he totally ignores the roads through the Kryphtis region, except for one which comes from the Koundoura valley toward the Megarian plain directly via the Mylos tower and Mikros Kryphtis⁴²⁾. The general ignorance of Kryphtis results from the fact that it apparently belongs to Megarid, not to Attica where most scholarly concerns are concentrated⁴³⁾.

On the other hand, the significance of the Koundoura valley, which is located on the opposite side of the Pateras range and is a natural corridor between NW Attica and the northern Megarid, has been realized only recently through the successive discoveries of hitherto unnoticed towers and other ancient remains which flank the valley. The western end of the route through Koundoura is supposed to have been connected with Hammond's road at the junction near Tower C of Vathychoria⁴⁴⁾, but the slope to the east of Tower C is rather steep and may not have been practicable⁴⁵⁾. It is, thus, reasonable to suggest that the western end of the Koundoura valley road was connected with our Kryphtis road, and led to the Megarian plain via Aetophoria, not via Mikro Vathychori⁴⁶⁾.

At first sight, the Kryphtis road is not so impressive as other major roads like the Panakton road or the section of Hammond's road near Mikro Vathychori⁴⁷⁾. Its spontaneous course in the basin strongly suggests that it was primarily a road for local residents and not a

product of major construction projects initiated by the intention of higher polities for the purpose of their special, usually military, concerns. Nevertheless, a local road can be used for a military purpose so long as it is easily passable. Thus there is no difficulty in the above hypothesis that the Koundoura and Kryphtis roads are the two ends of the same road, and this may have served as an alternative route to Hammond's road which heads for Boiotia rather than Attica.

V. Conclusions

We will never know precisely which route Archidamos took on his first campaign to Attica in 431 B. C. It is generally supposed that Archidamos took Hammond's road in order to besiege Oinoe⁴⁹⁾. There is no problem if Oinoe is modern Villia as has been proposed by Hammond. But if Oinoe is really Myoupolis, as has been maintained above, why did the Athenian garrison at the fort of Eleutherai let the Allies march by without any interference?

The result of a recent survey of surface sherds indicates that occupation at the settlement below the fortress hill of Eleutherai, i. e. Giptokastro, began in the first half of the 5th century B. C., while the fortress itself dates from the late 5th or early 4th century B. C.⁴⁹⁾. Thus we cannot deny the slight possibility that there was not yet any Athenian fortress on the hill, which was later crowned with the massive fortification wall which we see today. But historical circumstances suggest that if a need did arise to bar the Kaza pass by the Athenians, it must have been soon after the defeat at the battle of Koroneia⁵⁰⁾, which finally put an end to the Athenian dominance over Boiotia. Without doubt the strategic importance of Eleutherai was enhanced after that. So we should assume that the hill of Eleutherai had already been fortified by the campaign of the Allies in 431 B. C.. Then why could not the Athenian garrison at Eleutherai check the enemy army before it reached Oinoe?

This enigma will vanish if we assume that Archidamos did not take Hammond's road at all but marched along our Kryphtis-Koundoura road and invaded the Oinoe plain from the south, without touching any land of Eleutherai which lies on the NW edge of the plain. This explanation remains a hypothesis, though it surely is more consistent with the report of Thucydides than any other theory.

Thus we should now take the Kryphtis-Koundoura road into account as a possible candidate for the route repeatedly used by the Allies during the Peloponnesian war. The precise identification of the route of invasions has a rather secondary meaning. The point is that the establishment of such strategic roads in its frontier might have had a profound socio-economic effect on Megara. The pursuit of this subject, however, would well exceed

the limited scope of this preliminary paper.

Acknowledgments

During my stay in Greece from 1987 to 1991 on a scholarship from the Greek government (I.K.Y.), weekend walks in the Greek countryside with Yugi Furuyama, graduate student of Meiji University, were a highly enjoyable experience. This short paper has its origin in the field observations and discussions frequently made by us on such trips, though all the errors in the following arguments are my own. To him and his faithful Kentauros, a sturdy Japanese jeep, I am most grateful. I wish to express my warm gratitude to Professor Christos Doumas for his kind assistance and to Professor Keiji Baba for his invaluable enlightenment. My gratitude is also due to Professors Tsuyoshi Fujimoto, Sadao Ito, Toru Yuge and Mariko Sakurai who gave me constant stimulation, advice and encouragement. Further thanks are due to Joji and Yuki Ogita, Yoshiko Kagimoto, Kazuo Oka, Kaoru Mochizuki, Michiko Niimi and Miho Suzuki for their assistance on various occasions.

Notes

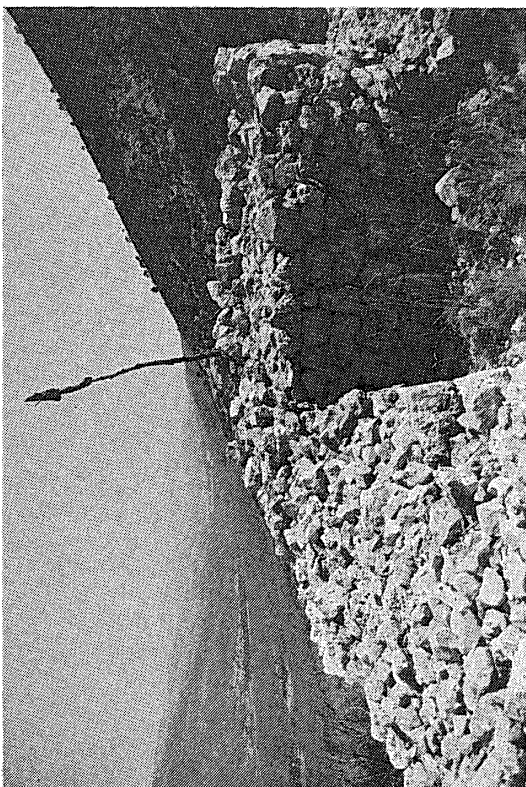
- 1) Thuc. 2.10-12, 18-19
- 2) N. G. L. Hammond, The main road from Boeotia to the Peloponnesos through the northern Megarid, BSA 49 (1954), 112.; J. Ober, Fortress Attica: Defence of the Athenian land frontier 404-322 B.C. Leiden (1985), 120, n.26.
- 3) A. W. Gomme, A historical commentary on Thucydides II, Oxford 1956, 67.
- 4) D. Kagan, The Archidamian war, Cornell U. P. (1974), 50.
- 5) Thuc. 2.18.3
- 6) Oinoe has not yet been definitely identified, hence without due excavation a further controversy on the identification of the several forts of NW Attica will remain rather a sterile one. Gomme insists that Oinoe cannot have been Gyphtokastro nor the ruins called Myoupolis (Gomme, supra n.3, 66). Hammond sought Oinoe in the modern village of Villia in vain (Hammond, supra n.2, 112). Even the Ayios Georgios fort (Pl.1-a) is named as a possible candidate for Oinoe (S. Van de Maele, An unreported ancient tower on Mount Pateras, AJA 85 (1981), 325 n.4). I fully agree with the proposal by E. Vanderpool, that Oinoe is Myoupolis in the midst of the fertile Mazi plain. As has been pointed out by him, the presence of a wall section of fine trapezoidal (polygonal) masonry in limestone on the west side, which was later incorporated into the 4th century fortification wall of ashlar masonry in conglomerate, is robust archaeological evidence. Besides, the unsuccessful besieging of Oinoe by the Allies does not necessarily mean that Oinoe was a natural stronghold such as Gyphtokastro, as has been shown by the similar inefficient long siege of Plataia by the Allies (Thuc. 2.76-78). For a recent summary of the controversy on this topic, see Ober, supra n.2, 223-226.
- 7) Thuc. 2.2-6
- 8) Strab. 9.2.2
- 9) Thucydides notes that in earlier times the Hellenes communicated with each other more by land than by sea. Thuc. 1.13.5
- 10) As a matter of fact, almost every topic in ancient Greek history is biased in favor of Athens, though with reason. In Japan, at least, most scholars working on ancient Greek history seem to be satisfied with studies of Athens, and of Sparta at best, and rarely show interest in the history

- of such important polities as Argos, Thebes and Megara.
- 11) Thuc. 1. 107-108, see also Diod. 11.79.83, 11.8.. For the date of events, cf. G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The origins of the Peloponnesian War*, London (1972), 88.
 - 12) E. L. Highbarger, *The history and civilization of ancient Megara*, part one, Baltimore (1927). 156.
 - 13) B. Jowett, *Thucydides*, Oxford (1881); R. Crawly, *Thucydides: History of the Peloponnesian war*, London (1910); R. Warner, *Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian war*, Penguin books, (1954).
 - 14) Highbarger, *op. cit.*, 161.
 - 15) Note the description in Thuc. 2.98.1, where Sitalkes passed over a mountain by the road which he himself had opened before by cutting the forest (*τεμῶν τὴν ὕλην*).
 - 16) Thuc. 1.114.2
 - 17) Thuc. 2.12.5
 - 18) H. J. W. Tillyard, *Two watch towers in the Megarid*, BSA 12 (1905-1906), 101-108.
 - 19) N. G. L. Hammond, *supra n. 2*.
 - 20) J. Ober, *supra n. 2*; A. Muller, *Megarika*, BCH 106 (1982). 379-407.; S. Van de Maele, *Fortifications antiques sur la frontière attico-mégarienne*, EMC 1 (1982), 199-205.; Van de Maele, *La route antique du port mégarien de Pagai à la forteresse d' Aigosthènes*, EMC 8 (1989), 183-188.; H. Lohmann, *Das Kastro von H. Giorgios (Erenea), zum Verhältnis von Festungswesen und Siedlungsmorphologie im Koundoura Tal*, Marburger Winckelman-Programm (1988), 34-66.
 - 21) Passing notice was paid only by S. Van de Maele. Van de Maele, *Recherches topographiques sur la frontière nord de la Mégaride*, EMC 3 (1984), 161-168.
 - 22) For a farmstead with traces of a rectangular tower, see J. E. Jones, *Two Attic country houses*, AAA VII (1974), 293-313, fig. 4 and 5. (esp. Vari house)
 - 23) The olive generally does not grow above +600 -800m. in the Mediterranean area. L. V. Watrous, *Lasithi, a history of settlement on a highland plain in Crete*, *Hesperia* supp. XVIII (1982), 8. *Kryptis* lies slightly above this threshold and neither olives nor grapes are cultivated.
 - 24) "Fortin" by Van de Maele, *op. cit.*, 163.
 - 25) "Deuxième établissement" by Van de Maele, *ibid.*
 - 26) *Ibid.* "troisième établissement"
 - 27) *Ibid.* "quatrième établissement"
 - 28) *Ibid.* on the plateau "entre le Megalose et le Mikros Kryptis".
 - 29) *Ibid.*, 166.
 - 30) R. Osborn, *Island towers, the case of Thassos*, BSA 81 (1989), 167.
 - 31) For the first six interpretations, see J. Young, *Studies in South Attica, country estates at Sou-nion*, *Hesperia* 25 (1956), 122-146. The last novel interpretation is put forward by R. Osborn. *op. cit.*, 174.
 - 32) J. Young, *op. cit.*
 - 33) F. Preisigke, *Die Begriffe ΠΥΡΓΟΣ und ΣΤΕΓΗ bei der Hausanlage*, *Hermes* LIV (1919), 423-432.; J. Hasebrök, *Nochmals ΠΥΡΓΟΣ, "wirtschaftsgebäude"*, *Hermes* LVII (1922), 612-623. A passage of Pseudo-Demosthenes XLVII, noted by Hasebrök, shows vividly the function of a tower in a farmstead.
 - 34) L. Haselberger, *Der Paläopyrgos von Naussa auf Paros*, AA (1978), 372.

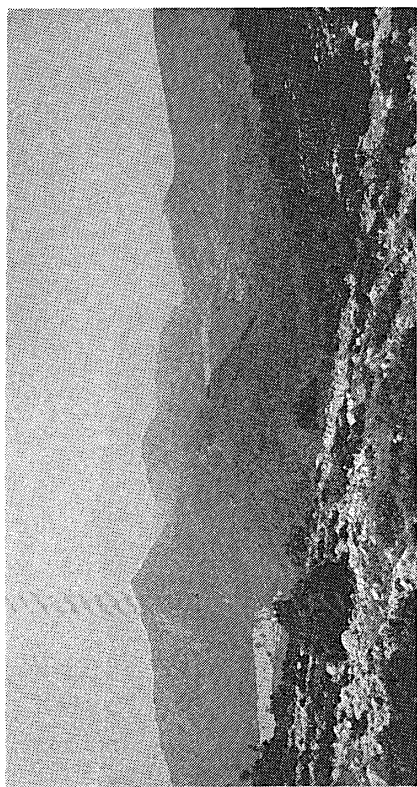
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- 35) The existence of a highly sophisticated system of signalling against emergencies is attested by Thucydides (3.22), where he describes how the Thebans besieging Plataia informed Thebes of the sudden attack from the inside, and how the Plataians attempted to confuse the enemy's signalling with their own torchlight.
- 36) S. Van de Maele, An unreported ancient tower on Mount Pateras, *AJA* 85 (1981), 325-327.
- 37) Cf. the plan of the Princess tower at Sounion, reported by J. Young, *supra* n. 31 fig. 1. Many other examples are discussed by J. Pečírka, *Homestead farms in Classical and Hellenistic Hellas*, *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne*, recueil de la travaux publié sous la direction de M. I. Finley, Paris (1973), 113-147.
- 38) Y. Suto, *Explorations in the northern Megarid II, the Koundoura valley* (forthcoming). The existence of such farmsteads in the Megarid did not escape the keen notice of E. Vanderpool. According to Pečírka, Vanderpool drew his attention to a ruin in Megaris, originally believed to be a tomb, but probably the remains of a farm. J. Pečírka, *op. cit.*, 128. Unfortunately, the exact location of this supposed farm remains unknown.
- 39) S. Van de Maele, *Kyparissi, hameu antique en attique du nord-ouest*, *EMC* 5 (1986). 129-135.
- 40) J. Ober, *supra* n. 2, 166.
- 41) S. Van de Maele, *Fortifications antiques sur la frontière attico-mégarienne*, *EMS* 1 (1982). 203-205.
- 42) J. Ober, *supra* n. 2, 126.
- 43) Cf. *supra* n. 10.
- 44) Track 3 by Hammond, see Hammond, *supra* n. 2, fig. 1.
- 45) Ober, *supra* n. 2, 126.
- 46) From the eastern foot of Aetophoria starts an hitherto unnoticed track toward the Megarian plain, which is well-engineered at the outset.
- 47) The features and meanings of ancient roads in Attica are discussed by E. Vanderpool, *Roads and forts in northwestern Attica*, *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 11 (1978), 227-245.
- 48) Cf. *supra* n. 2.
- 49) J. Ober, *Pottery and miscellaneous artifacts from fortified sites in northern and western Attica*, *Hesperia* 56 (1987), 197-227.
- 50) 447 B. C.

Explorations in the northern Megarid I



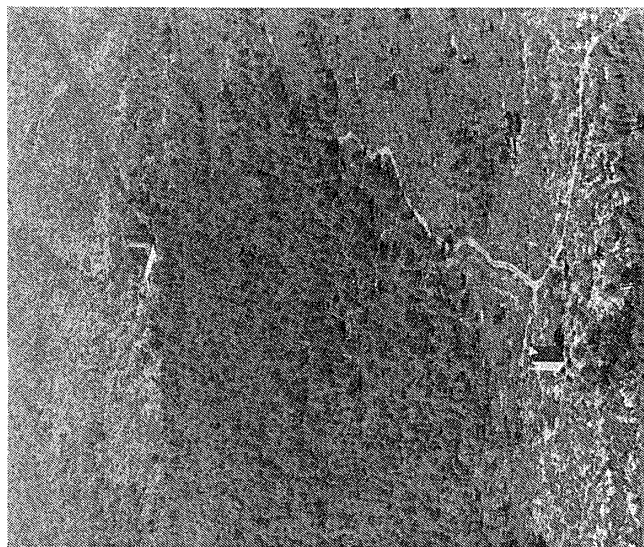
a. Ayios Georgios fort with Koundoura valley



b. Vathychoria from E



c. Megalo Vathychori from SE

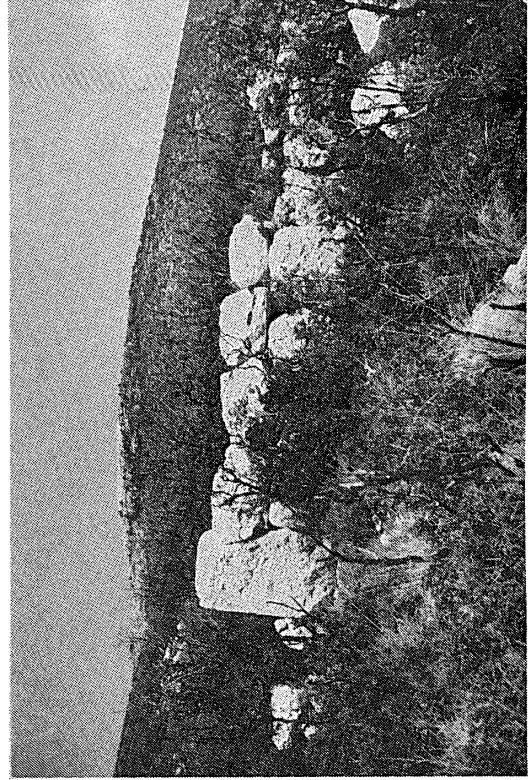


d. Two Hellenistic towers in Vathychoria

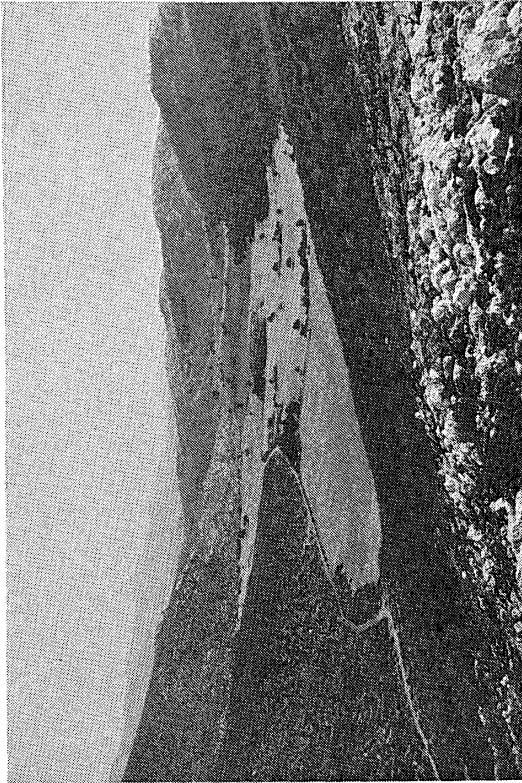
PL. 1



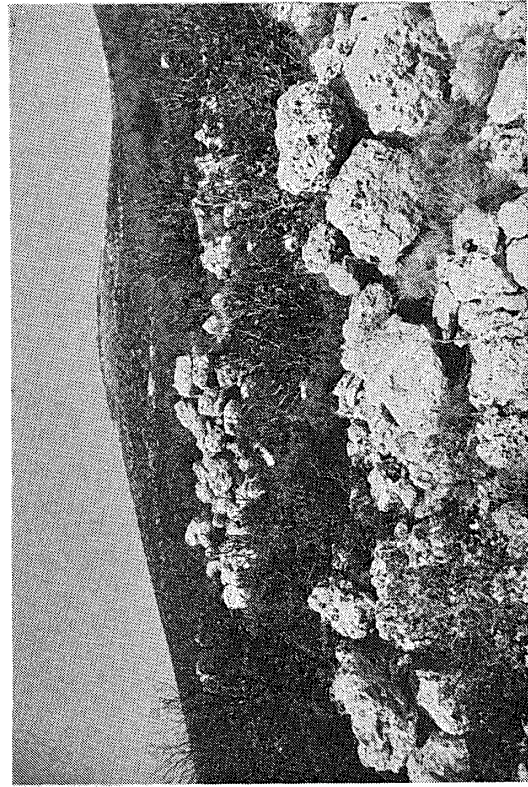
b. Glazed tiles and pithos fragment (upper right) at K1



d. K2 from S

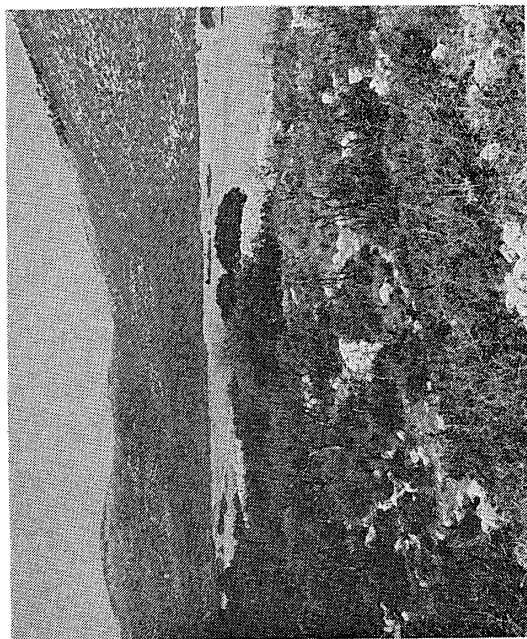


a. General view of Megalos Kryptitis from W



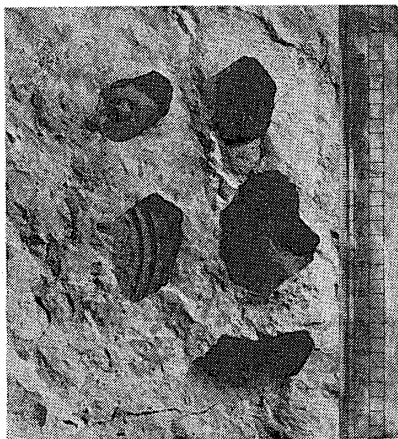
c. K1-a from S

Explorations in the northern Megarid I

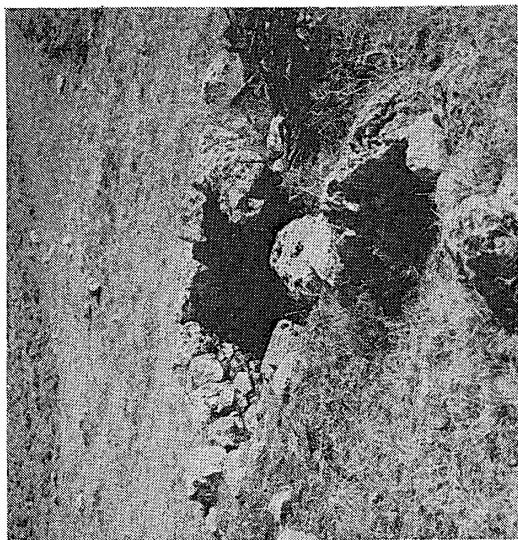


a. K3

Pl. 3



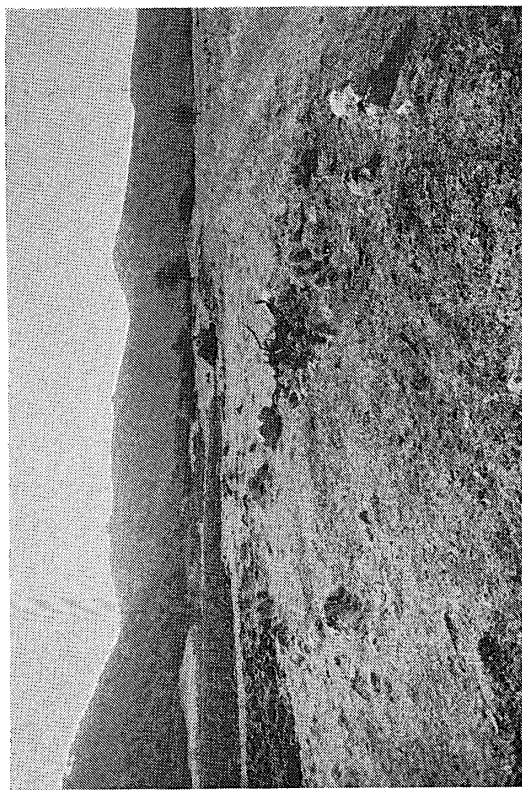
b. Sherds material from K3



c. Western cisterns at K4

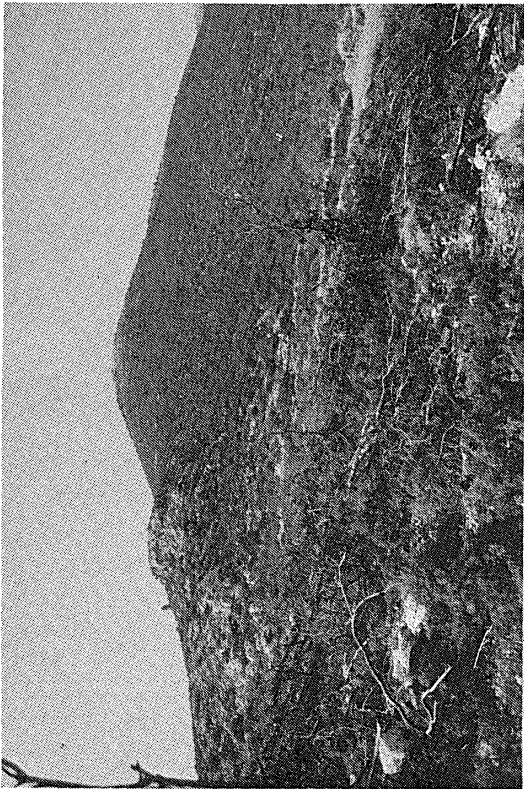


d. Pear-shaped cistern of K3



e. Eastern end of K4 from E

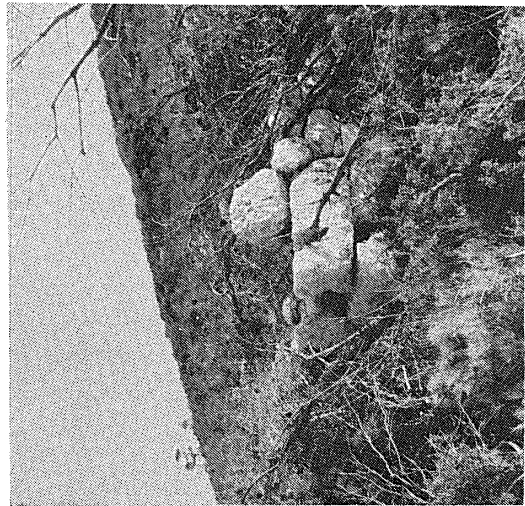
Pl. 4



a. Site K7 and Megali-Kolosoura from SE



b. Round pyrgos of K7, Mt. Elatos to the right



c. Corner stones of a foundation at K7



d. K9 in Mikros Kryptitis



e. view of the Megarian plain from Aetopholia