

POTTERY AND MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS FROM FORTIFIED SITES IN NORTHERN AND WESTERN ATTICA

(PLATES 25–31)

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|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Hymettos tower | 8. Kabasala fort/Panakton | 14. Bathychoria tower C |
| 2. Skala Oropou/Oropos | 9. Myoupolis/Oinoe | 15. Agios Georgios |
| 3. Kotroni/Aphidna | 10. Plakoto | 16. Panagia saddle |
| 4. Katsimidi | 11. Gyphtokastro | 17. Kantili towers |
| 5. Beletsi | 12. Karoumpalo towers | 18. Kerata west peak |
| 6. Phyle fort | 13. Zikos' road | 19. Boudoron |
| 7. Aigaleos tower | | |

THE CHRONOLOGY and function of ancient fortifications in northern and western Attica have long been a matter of scholarly debate.¹ Among the most important dating criteria for many of these sites, very few of which have been even summarily excavated, is the scatter of pottery sherds on the surface. Advances in the chronology of black and plain wares have made it possible to assign dates to sherds which were undatable a generation

¹ For a bibliography, see *FA* (see below), *passim*, esp. p. 8, note 18. To this should now be added Munn (see below).

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- Agora IV* = R. H. Howland, *The Athenian Agora, IV, Greek Lamps and Their Survivals*, Princeton 1958
- Agora V* = H. S. Robinson, *The Athenian Agora, V, Pottery of the Roman Period: Chronology*, Princeton 1959
- Agora XII* = B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora, XII, Black and Plain Pottery*, Princeton 1970
- Edmonson = C. N. Edmonson, "The Topography of Northwest Attica," diss. University of California at Berkeley, 1966
- FA* = J. Ober, *Fortress Attica: Defense of the Athenian Land Frontier, 404–322 B.C.* (*Mnemosyne Suppl.* 84), Leiden 1985
- FMCA* = J. R. McCredie, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XI, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*, Princeton 1966
- Heimberg = U. Heimberg, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben III*, Berlin 1982
- "Koroni" = E. Vanderpool, J. R. McCredie, A. Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp on the East Coast of Attica," *Hesperia* 31, 1962, pp. 26–61
- Miller = Stella G. Miller, "Menon's Cistern," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 194–245
- Munn = M. H. Munn, "Studies on the Territorial Defenses of Fourth-Century Athens," diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1983
- "Phyle" = W. Wrede, "Phyle," *AM* 49, 1924, pp. 153–224
- Thompson = H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3, 1934, pp. 311–480

I could not have undertaken to write this catalogue without a great deal of expert advice. I would like to express my special thanks to John Camp II, who devoted a good many hours to identifying black and plain

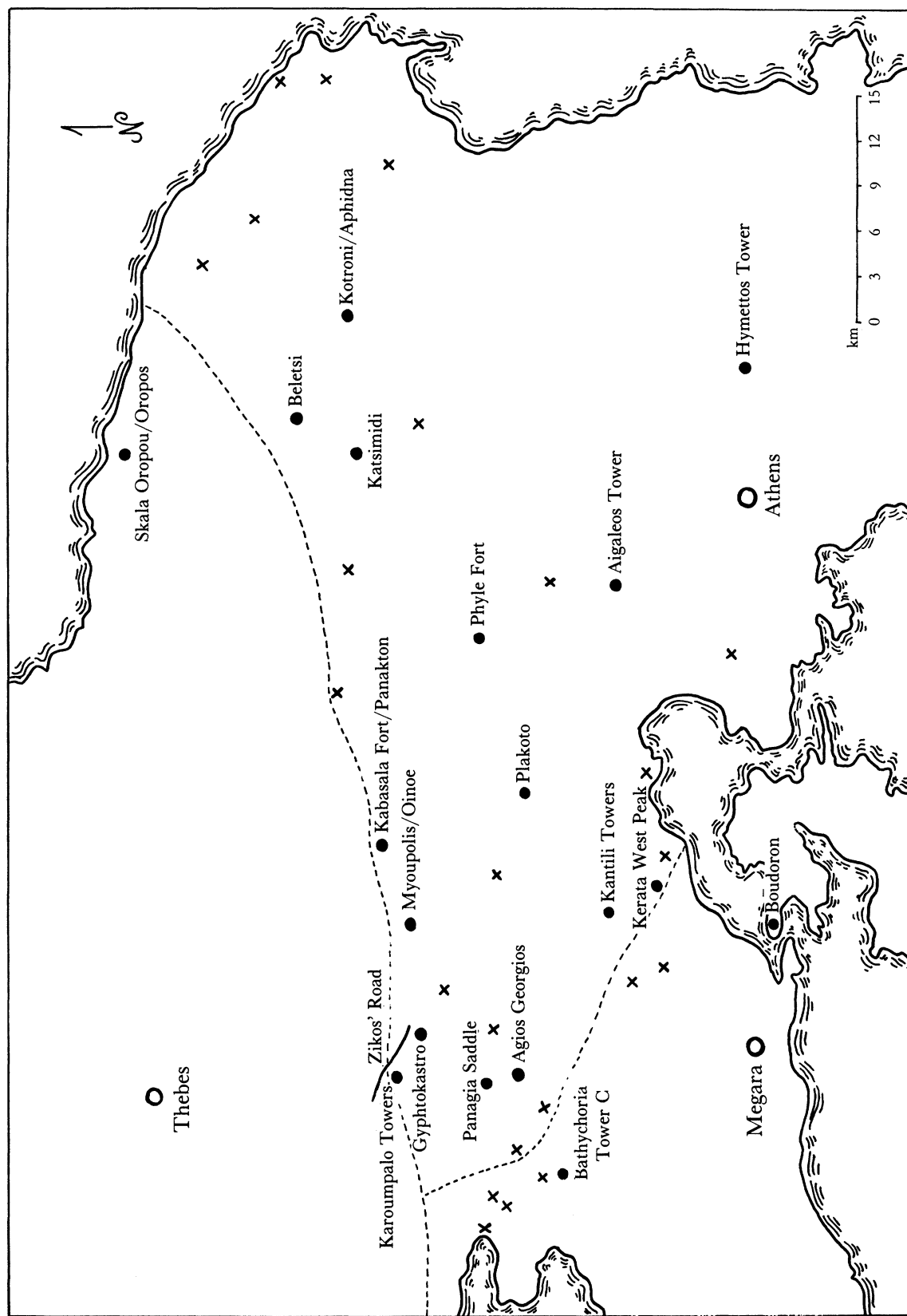


FIG. 1. Map of northern and western Attica showing locations of fortified sites

ago. Although surface pottery is obviously a less secure chronological indicator than pottery found within a stratified excavation context, surface sherds point to periods during which a site was occupied and so constitute a primary resource for investigators interested in the occupation history of unexcavated sites. It is as a contribution to the history and chronology of the fortified sites of northwestern Attica that I offer the present catalogue of pottery and miscellaneous artifacts stored in the antiquities collections of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (hereafter ASCS) and of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens (hereafter DAI), along with surface material I have noted during my own field studies.

The sites represented in the catalogue are either fortifications proper (fortresses, small circuits, or military towers), walled settlements (Kotroni/Aphidna, Myoupolis/Oinoe), or settlements located close to fortresses (Eleutherai, Agios Georgios). I have not included material from fortified sites which have been recently excavated or are in the process of being excavated.² A number of fortified sites have not yielded diagnostic sherds; in other cases the few diagnostic sherds known do not contribute anything to our knowledge of the history of the site (e.g. Aigosthena). These sites are not included in the present catalogue.

Most of the artifacts described are chance surface finds, and all are from the three sources mentioned above. Sherds in the ASCS collection were picked up by various members of the School. In no case is the name of the collector or an accession date indicated for a particular sherd, and it is seldom possible to determine a provenience more exact than the site as a whole. The sherds, along with other artifacts in the collection, have been carefully catalogued, however, and are labeled individually according to site of origin.³ The artifacts in the DAI sherd collection were picked up by the archaeologist and topographer Walther Wrede, mostly during the 1930's and 1940's. Wrede had a wide interest in the Attic countryside; his publications include a general guide to Attica, a study of Attic masonry styles, and the results of his excavation of the Phyle fort.⁴ There is, however, no record indicating what end Wrede had in mind when he collected the sherds, and his collection cannot be considered any more systematic than the ASCS collection. Wrede's sherds were catalogued,

wares, John Oakley, who identified and helped with the descriptions of the decorated wares, Judith Binder and Hector Williams for help in dating late Roman lamps, John Slonaker who directed the surveying for figures 3 and 13, and Michele Mayor for setting type for the figures. I am, of course, responsible for any remaining errors in identifications, dates, or comparanda. I am deeply grateful to Richard Roehm, who took most of and developed all the photographs for the plates and to Adrienne Mayor who drew the pottery profiles and site plans. My thanks to the Director of the American School of Classical Studies for permission to publish material from the School collection and to the Director and staff of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens for permission to publish material from the Wrede collection and for providing facilities for its study. My work in the ASCS and DAI collections was made possible by grants from the Department of History and Philosophy and the Office of the Vice-President for Research of Montana State University.

² For example, the round tower near the Dema wall, which was excavated in 1979 (see Munn, *passim*), and the fortress at Rhamnous, which is being excavated by B. Petrakos: see the series of reports in *Πρακτικά*, 1979— and B. Petrakos, *Rhamnous, A Concise Guide*, Athens 1983.

³ The cataloguing of the ASCS antiquities collection is an ongoing project but is mostly complete, thanks to the efforts of Daniel J. Pullen and a number of other scholars associated with the School.

⁴ *Attika*, Athens 1934; *Attische Mauern*, Athens 1933; "Phyle."

labeled, and made available for study in the 1970's.⁵ The artifacts that I observed on the surface were recorded during field trips undertaken from 1978 to 1985.⁶

The haphazard manner in which the ASCS and DAI material was collected demands that some care be used in analyzing the catalogue as a whole. The precise motives of the various collectors cannot be determined, and we have no indication of the criteria according to which certain items were picked up and retained or others discarded. It seems probable that many collectors had no particular selection criteria, and any given site lot may include material collected by several individuals. Given the interests of the majority of the members of the ASCS and of Wrede, we may presume a bias toward glazed pottery over coarse wares and toward ancient over Mediaeval or modern material generally. The resulting collection is therefore neither scientifically random nor purposively non-random and cannot be analyzed statistically as, for example, can surface pottery collected by modern archaeological surveyors.⁷ On the other hand, the variety of collectors and collecting periods has resulted, for some sites, in a rich assortment of artifacts and probably more than would be turned up by a single sweep by an intensive survey. We can never be certain that *all* occupation periods are represented by the material from any given site, but the catalogue does give a reasonable indication of at least some of the periods during which a site was occupied and in some cases allows us to suggest when the site was first occupied. I hope that excavations and surveys will eventually be carried out at the sites listed below. Until that time, the catalogue should be of use to those interested in patterns of settlement in northwestern Attica, as well as those interested in the military organization of the Athenian borderlands.

My own fieldwork was concerned with the Classical period of occupation; hence the Classical material is most thoroughly described. I have, however, attempted to include in the catalogue all diagnostic sherds from the Geometric through the late Roman periods. For some sites the ASCS and DAI collections include large quantities of non-diagnostic body sherds and coarse wares; I have not, generally, included these in the catalogue, but the presence of non-diagnostic pottery in the various collections is indicated for each site. I have not catalogued artifacts postdating Late Antiquity (6th century after Christ) but have indicated the presence of Mediaeval pottery in the site descriptions. Several of the sites yielded prehistoric material; this is described briefly, but a more thorough study by a prehistorian (especially of the material from Kotroni/Aphidna) is highly desirable. I have leaned heavily on the relevant volumes of the Athenian Agora excavations for comparanda. Dates given in *Agora* XII for late 4th-century B.C. shapes have been revised where necessary

⁵ See F. Brommer, "Antiken des Athener Institutes," *AM* 87, 1972, pp. 256–281, a very useful catalogue of sites represented in the Wrede collection, along with brief descriptions of the material from each site and such notes as exist as to the dates and conditions of collection.

⁶ The dates of my visits to the various sites are listed in *FA*, chap. VII (notes).

⁷ For an overview and bibliography of modern survey technique, see *Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Area* (*BAR International Series* 155), D. R. Keller and D. W. Rupp, ed., Oxford 1983, chaps. 1–4.

in accordance with the redating of H. A. Thompson's Hellenistic pottery Group A on the evidence of the Koroni excavation in eastern Attica.⁸

Full descriptions and bibliographies for each of the sites may be found in *FA*. I have included here plans and photographs only of sites for which accurate plans or photographs have not been published or are especially difficult to obtain. The order of sites is counter-clockwise from the northeast, following the order adopted in *FA*. Unless otherwise indicated, all pottery is black glaze on pink-buff Attic fabric. *FA* numbers refer to the site descriptions in Chapter VII of that volume. ASCS numbers refer to the sherd collection or other catalogue number in the American School antiquities collection. DAI numbers refer to the catalogue number in the Wrede collection. "JO" indicates that the sherd was seen by myself on the site.

CATALOGUE

D. = diameter, H. = height, p. = preserved, Th. = thickness, W. = width. All measurements are in meters. The ancient name, where known and differing, follows the current name. Elevations noted in parentheses are above sea level.

1. Hymettos tower (*FA* 1a, ASCS A34)

Watchtower located on a secondary peak (726 m.) at the northern end of Mt. Hymettos.

All sherds were seen either on top of the tower itself or in the rubble immediately surrounding the tower.

1.1. Lamp fragment, disk and side (JO = *FA*, p. 133, sherd d). Unglazed. 4th or early 3rd century B.C.

around wick hole. Crumbling, orange clay. 6th century after Christ.

1.2. Body sherd, West Slope ware (JO = *FA*, p. 133, sherd e). White painted decoration on black glaze. 3rd century B.C.⁹

In addition to the sherds described above, there are numerous body sherds and glazed roof tiles in the rubble around the tower. The three sherds published by McCredie (*FMCA*, p. 118; now in the ASCS collection) from this site are all late 5th or early 4th century. The new material suggests that occupation here continued into the Hellenistic period, with perhaps a period of reoccupation in Late Antiquity.

1.3. Pl. 25. Roman lamp fragment, nozzle and disk (JO = *FA*, p. 133, sherd f). Disk: small circles. Rim: globules; in front, loops. Raised edge

2. Skala Oropou/Oropos (*FA* 1g)

Fortification associated with a settlement, located on a hill (80 m.) above the harbor of the modern town of Skala Oropou.

All sherds from a recently plowed field on the east side of the acropolis hill.

⁸ On the chronological significance of the Koroni material, see E. Vanderpool, J. R. McCredie, and A. Steinberg, "Koroni: The Date of the Camp and the Pottery," *Hesperia* 33, 1964, pp. 69–75 and the recent comments by S. Rotroff in *The Athenian Agora, XXII, Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls*, Princeton 1982, pp. 107–108.

⁹ On the dates of West Slope ware, see Thompson, pp. 438–447.

2.1. Pheidias mug, body fragment (JO = FA, p. 140, sherd a). Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 217; third quarter of 5th century B.C.

2.2. Fig. 4:a. Lekanis(?), lid fragment (JO = FA, p. 140, sherd b). Broken underside. Good black glaze; scraped band on concave upper surface. 5th or 4th century B.C.

2.3. Fig. 4:b. Kantharos, foot fragment (JO = FA, p. 140, sherd c). Small, molded ring foot. Late 4th or, more probably, 3rd century B.C.

3. **Kotroni/Aphidna** (FA 2a, ASCS A8, DAI 197)

Fortified deme center located on a hill (366 m.) in the center of the plain of Aphidna, about 3 km. south of the town of Kapandriti.

Exact provenience of the artifacts is not indicated, but they are likely to have come from the relatively flat top of the hill, within the circuit wall.

3.1. Pl. 25. Bowl fragment, handle and body (DAI). Handmade. Brownish red fabric outside, dark red inside. Neolithic?

3.2. Pl. 25. Stone celt fragment (DAI). Hard, gray stone; well worked and smoothed. D. 0.045. Cf. S. A. Immerwahr, *The Athenian Agora*, XIII, *The Neolithic and Bronze Ages*, Princeton 1971, nos. 222–224. Neolithic?

3.3. Pl. 25. Decorated body sherds, numerous (ASCS, DAI). Dark paint or glaze on lighter fabric. Neolithic—Late Helladic.

3.4. Pl. 25. Gray Minyan ware, numerous body sherds (ASCS, DAI). Middle Helladic.

3.5. Pl. 25. Handle, matt painted (ASCS). Dark brown paint on hard, tan fabric. Middle Helladic.

3.6. Goblet, foot fragment (DAI). Light-tan fabric; brown glaze decoration. Late Helladic.

3.7. Goblet, foot fragment (DAI). Similar to No. 6.

3.8. Fig. 4:c, Pl. 25. Goblet fragment, stem and foot (ASCS). Brownish glaze on stem and top of foot. Light-tan fabric. D. foot, 0.045. Late Helladic.

3.9. Goblet, foot fragment (ASCS). Similar to No. 8.

3.10. Goblet, stem fragment (ASCS). Similar to No. 8.

3.11. Body sherds, several (DAI, ASCS). Brown glaze decoration on light-buff fabric. Late Helladic.

Many coarse-ware sherds and black-glazed roof tiles were noted in the field in which the three catalogued sherds were seen. Many sherds can also be seen on the west slopes of the hill and in the fields below. No. 1 seems to confirm occupation here around the time of the Peloponnesian War, when Oropos served as an Athenian base (Thucydides, VIII.60.1).

3.12. Pl. 25. Krater(?), body fragment (ASCS). Geometric design on outside in reddish glaze; black glaze inside. Geometric.

3.13. Pl. 25. Open shape, body fragment (ASCS). Geometric design on outside in black glaze; black glaze on inside. Tannish fabric. Geometric.

3.14. Pl. 25. Pyxis, red-figured body fragment (ASCS). Outside: female(?) figure in mantle and chiton standing above ornamental band. Inside: wide reserved band. This sherd is described by McCredie (*FMCA*, p. 82 and note 170) as “possibly a stand.” Second quarter of 5th century B.C.

3.15. Skyphos, Corinthian type, two body fragments (DAI). One fragment with horizontal black-glazed band; one with vertical banding. 5th century B.C.

3.16. Pl. 25. Skyphos, Attic type, foot fragment (DAI). Torus ring foot. Brownish black glaze; reserved: resting surface and underside. Circle on center of underside. 5th century B.C.

3.17. Pheidias mug (or ribbed oinochoe), body fragment (ASCS). Third quarter of 5th century B.C.

3.18. Pl. 25. Bell-krater, red-figured body fragment (ASCS). Ornamental band, stopped meander. 5th or 4th century B.C.

3.19. Fig. 4:d. Bowl, rim fragment (ASCS). Out-turned rim. Good reddish black glaze, misfired. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 802–808; Thompson, A 71. 4th or early 3rd century B.C.

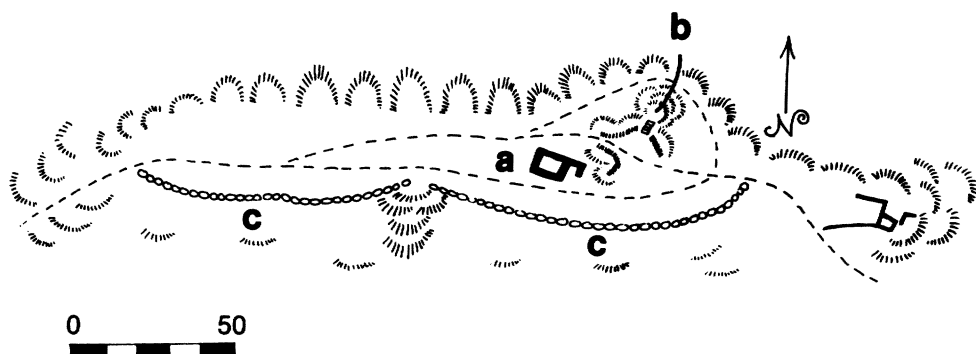


FIG. 2. 4. Katsimidi fortification, sketch plan based on the plan by C. von Strantz in E. Curtius, *Sieben Karten zur Topographie von Athen*, Gotha 1868, pl. 7. a "watchtower" b highest crag and lookout post c rubble circuit wall

3.20. Fig. 4:e, Pl. 25. Kantharos, foot fragment (DAI). Molded foot, concave underneath; deeply grooved resting surface. Dull black glaze; reserved: resting surface. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 701–704. Second half of 4th or early 3rd century B.C.

3.21. Lamp, nozzle fragment (DAI). Black glazed. Probably *Agora* IV, Type 25A. 4th or 3rd century B.C.

3.22. Kantharos, foot fragment (ASCS). Molded foot. Similar to examples found at Koroni. Reddish glaze on buff fabric. First or second quarter of 3rd century B.C.

3.23. Bowl, rim fragment (ASCS). Outturned rim. 3rd century B.C.

3.24. Pl. 25. Ribbon kantharos, fragment of handle and lip (DAI). Dull black glaze. 3rd or 2nd century B.C.

Surface sherds are fairly numerous on the hilltop; great numbers of coarse-ware sherds and roof tiles can also be seen on the lower north and northwest slopes of the hill. In addition to the catalogued items there are considerable numbers of nondescript and

cooking wares in the ASCS and DAI collections. Similar material from this site is in the British School at Athens, sherd collection, lot Attica 2. Nos. 1 and 2 suggest that occupation on the site began in the Neolithic period. Cf. a chert blade found by McCredie (*FMCA*, p. 82). The considerable amounts of Gray Minyan ware in both the ASCS and DAI collections suggest a significant settlement in the Middle Helladic period. Nos. 6–11 indicate Mycenaean occupation, confirming the report of S. Wide ("Aphidna in Nordattika," *AM* 21, 1896 [pp. 385–409], p. 388) that Mycenaean material was present at the site (questioned by McCredie, *FMCA*, p. 82, note 169). The site was probably re-occupied (although continuous occupation is a possibility) by the Geometric period (Nos. 12, 13). The absence of datable material from the Archaic period may be due merely to accidents of collection. Certainly the site was occupied in the mid-5th century, through the 4th, and into the 3rd. Whether the absence of late ancient material is significant or not is unclear. Byzantine yellow-glazed sherds in ASCS and DAI collections demonstrate later reoccupation.

4. Katsimidi (FA 2c). Fig. 2, Pl. 26:a–c

Fortification on the peak of a steep hill (850 m.) on the west side of the Klidi pass, about 7 km. north of the town of Barimpompi.

Sherd found at the eastern end of the peak.

4.1. Fig. 4:f. Spur kantharos fragment, shoulder and lower handle (JO). Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 700–714. Second half of 4th century. Note, however, that similar examples were found by McCredie

(*FMCA*, p. 56, no. 1, pl. 3:2) at Kastraki, dated by him to the last quarter of the 4th century, and at "Leipsydion" (*FMCA*, pp. 60–61, no. 1, pl. 3:1), dated by him to the late 4th or early 3rd century.

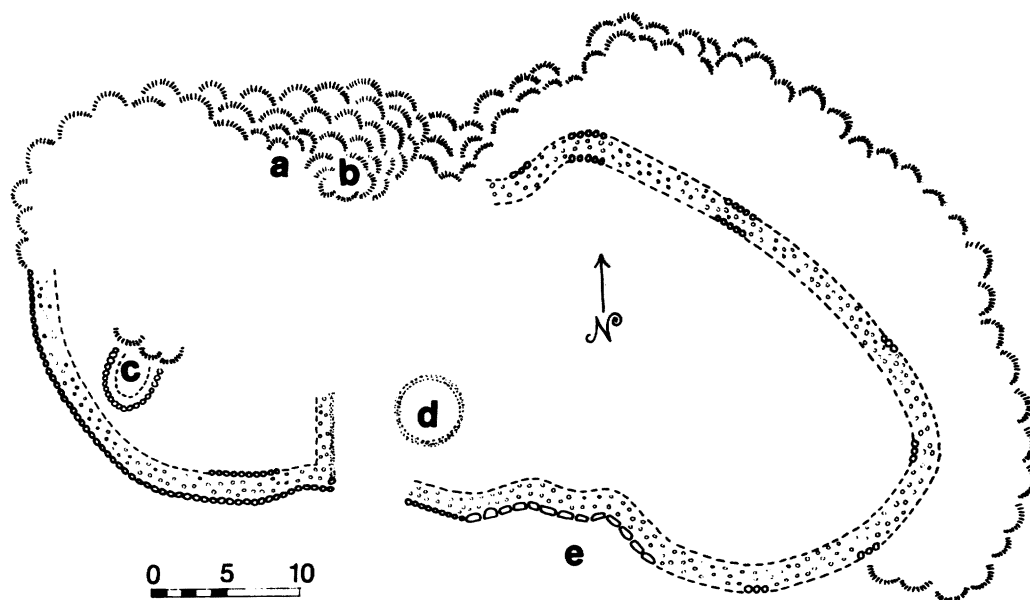


FIG. 3. 5. Beletsi fortification, plan. a rupestral inscription b highest point and lookout post c ancient(?) semicircular structure d modern(?) round structure e best-built section of the circuit wall

Coarse-ware sherds are quite common on the site, as are roof tiles, but this is the only diagnostic sherd I have seen in three visits. Access to Katsimidi was re-

stricted until recently and the only previously published photographs and plan of the site are in volumes which are very rare (cf. *FMCA*, pp. 57–58).

5. **Beletsi** (*FA* 2d, DAI 205). Fig. 3, Pl. 26:d, e

Fortification on the peak of Mt. Beletsi (841 m.), a western extension of Mt. Parnes, 4.5 km. to the west-northwest of Kapandriti.

All JO sherds are from the topmost crag of the peak, at the north side of the site.

5.1. Pl. 26. Pheidias mug, foot fragment (DAI). Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 217. Third quarter of 5th century B.C.

5.2. Pl. 26. Bowl or one-handler, lip fragment (DAI). Fine black glaze. 5th or early 4th century B.C.

5.3. Fig. 4:g. Bowl, foot fragment (JO). Ring foot, worn resting surface. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 778–800. Late 5th or early 4th century B.C.

5.4. Fig. 4:h. Bowl, foot fragment (JO). Ring foot. Worn black glaze inside, unglazed outside. 5th or 4th century B.C.

5.5. Roman pot, body sherd (DAI). Deeply combed outside. 5th century after Christ.

5.6. Pl. 26. Roman lamp, rim fragment (JO). Paneled rim with zigzag. Crumbling, orange clay. 6th century after Christ.

5.7. Pl. 26. Bronze arrowhead (DAI). Barbed, three-edged with interior cast socket. H. 0.023; W. (at barbs) 0.010; D. socket 0.0035. Cf. A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, Edinburgh 1964, p. 152, fig. 10: 3B.5; D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus, X, Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds*, Baltimore 1941, no. 2122 (type G IV). On date, see Robinson, p. 405. First half of 4th century B.C.

5.8. Obsidian blades (JO, DAI). Three in DAI, several others noted by author at peak.

5.9. Pl. 26. Rupestral inscription.

BAP

On the horizontal face of a small triangular outcrop overlooking a steep drop at the north side of the site (see Fig. 3 at a). The inscription is apparently complete as it was cut; there is no sign of breakage at either side of the outcrop. Letter height: 0.20; total length of inscription: 0.395. The letters are cut deeply and evenly. The tops of the letters point to magnetic north.

The obsidian blades may represent a prehistoric occupation (cf. *FA*, p. 144 with note 40), but the earliest period of historic occupation appears to be late 5th or early 4th century B.C. (Nos. 1–4). Other evidence for Classical occupation: T. Tunberg and C. E. Dull report a 4th-century sherd (see *FA*, *loc. cit.*); Munn (p. 155, note 30) reports a black-glazed ring foot to a cup or bowl, datable to the 5th or 4th century B.C. Nos. 5 and 6 appear to represent a reoccupation; the disk to another lamp of the 5th or 6th century after Christ was

seen by Munn (*loc. cit.*). The arrowhead is evidence for the military nature of the site, and the date of the type offered in *Olynthus* X (see No. 7) agrees with my tentative date for the first historic period of occupation.

The significance of the rupestral inscription (No. 9) is unclear. It is presumably an abbreviation. One possible reading might be Βάρ(αθρον). A *barathron* was a place from which criminals were thrown to their deaths.¹⁰ According to Lysias (xiii.78), the democratic opponents of the Thirty Tyrants, who occupied a stronghold near Phyle in 404/3, had a special place at which they killed “bandits and evildoers”; it is possible that 4th-century border garrisons sometimes executed non-citizen criminals by throwing them over a cliff. The existence of a *barathron* at Beletsi, which was apparently occupied at about the same time as the Phyle stronghold, is at least conceivable, and a single step forward off the inscribed ledge at Beletsi would certainly result in a fatal fall. Other readings may, of course, be advanced.

6. Phyle fort (*FA* 3a, DAI 38)

Fortress located on a steep hill in the southern foothills of Mt. Parnes, about 6 km. (by winding road) north-northwest of the town of Chassia (Phili).

At least some of the DAI material is probably from Wrede’s excavation of the fortress; see “Phyle.” Nos. 7 and 8, for example, are not typical surface finds.

6.1. Fig. 4:j. Pyxis, foot fragment (DAI). Ring foot, slightly profiled on outside. Dull black glaze; reserved: resting surface and underside. Traces of circles in reddish glaze on underside. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1509. 5th century B.C.?

6.2. Pl. 27. Askos, spout fragment (DAI). Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 1174–1178. Fourth quarter of 5th–first half of 4th century B.C.

6.3. Fig. 4:k, Pl. 27. Cup-kantharos, foot (DAI). Four palmettes within rouletting. Molded foot, concave beneath; grooved on resting surface. Good black glaze; reserved: resting surface. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 672. Second or third quarter of 4th century B.C.

6.4. Fig. 4:i. Cup-kantharos or kantharos fragment, handle and bowl (DAI). Fine black glaze.

Second or third quarter of 4th century B.C.

6.5. Spur kantharos fragment, handle and rim (DAI). Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 707–710. Second or third quarter of 4th century B.C.

6.6. Ribbed oinochoe, body fragment (DAI). Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 104, 130, 131, 134. 4th century B.C.

6.7. Fig. 4:l, Pl. 27. Attic skyphos, type A, foot and much of body (DAI). Mended from two pieces. Torus ring foot. Good black glaze; reserved: resting surface and underside. Circle and dot on underside in black glaze. The lack of extreme bulging in the upper body separates this example from the skyphoi in Thompson’s Group A. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 350. Second or third quarter of 4th century B.C.

¹⁰ See *RE* II, 1896, s.v.

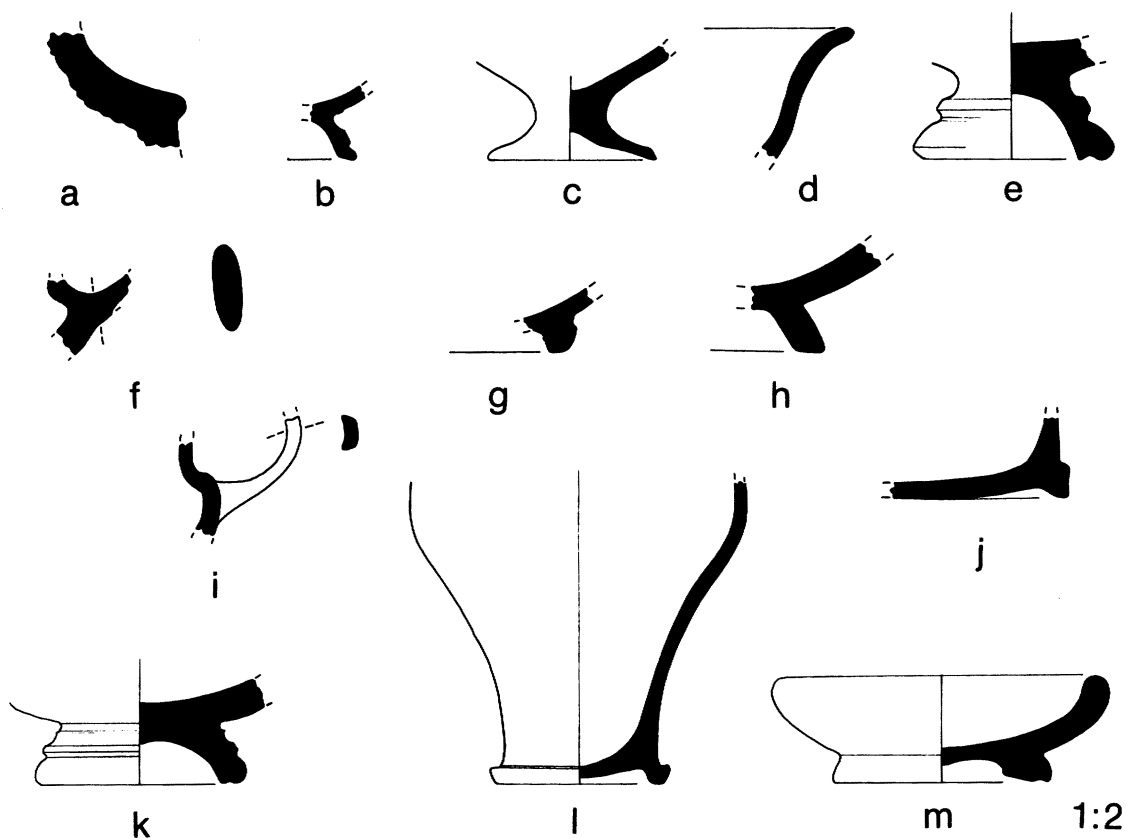


FIG. 4. Pottery from Skala Oropou/Oropos(2), Kotroni/Aphidna (3), Katsimidi (4), Beletsi (5), Phyle fort (6)

6.8. Fig. 4:m, Pl. 27. Small bowl with broad base, complete profile (DAI). Four palmettes inside. Scraped band at join of body and foot. Grooved ring foot. Slight nipple on underside. Purplish glaze; reserved: resting surface. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 882–889. Early 4th–early 3rd century B.C.

6.9. Pl. 27. Open shape, red-figured body fragment. Upper half of head of youth in profile to left, wearing fillet. Late 5th or 4th century B.C.

6.10. Moldmade bowl, base fragment (DAI). Late 3rd or 2nd century B.C.

6.11. Pl. 27. Roman lamp fragment, rim and disk (DAI). Framing ring; rim: small circles. Crumbling, tan clay. 5th or 6th century after Christ.

6.12. Pl. 27. Roman lamp, handle fragment (DAI). Pierced handle; crumbling, tan clay. Possibly = Wrede, “Phyle,” p. 220, no. 36. 5th or 6th century after Christ.

6.13. Lead clamp for mending a pot (DAI).

Wrede makes note of the black-glazed pottery uncovered in his excavation (cf. his comments in “Phyle,” p. 200: “Massen von schwarzen Firnischerben” found in the fill of the terrace built against the inside walls), but he did not publish detailed lists of it, since there was inadequate basis for a detailed chronology of black pottery at the time. Nos. 1–7 (perhaps retained by Wrede as examples?) demonstrate that the fort hill was occupied during the 4th century, almost certainly by mid-century. This tends to confirm the evidence of the red-figured bell-krater and other red-figured fragments found in the excavation (“Phyle,” pp. 212–216). Furthermore, S. Rotroff’s refined chronology of moldmade bowls in *Agora* XXII (footnote 8 above) allows us to date the moldmade bowls published by Wrede (pp. 216–218, fig. 16) to ca. 225–175 B.C. The bowl fragments were

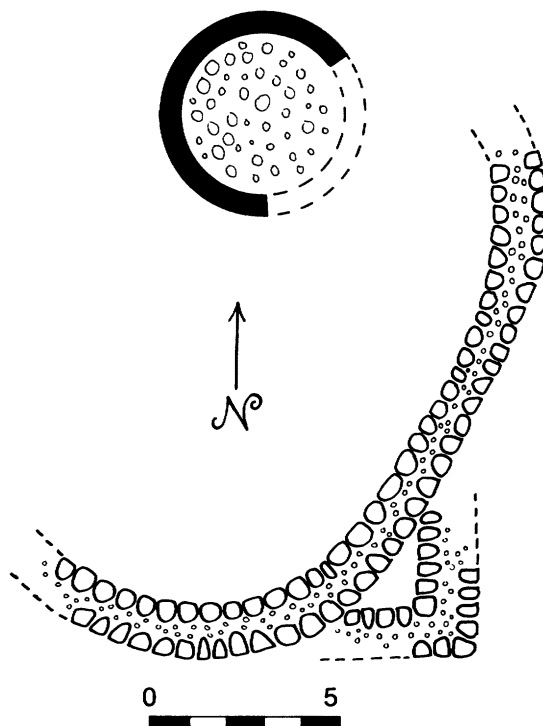


FIG. 5. 7. Aigaleos tower, plan

included in the fill of the terrace built against the walls of the fort ("Phyle," p. 200) and therefore provide a *terminus post quem* of the late 3rd or early 2nd century for the construction of the terrace. This new dating allows an old chronological controversy to be put to rest.

G. Sjöflund ("The Dating of Ancient Fortifications in Southern Italy and Greece," *OpArch* 1, 1935 [pp. 87–119], pp. 109–110) considered the terrace to be contemporary with the architecture of the existing fort. Sjöflund argued that the fill provided a "most definite *terminus a quo*, viz. the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. [for the construction of the terrace]" and stressed that "not a single potsherd in the filling belongs to so late a date as the second century B.C." (*loc. cit.*, citing Wrede's own comments, "Phyle," pp. 221ff.). Hence Sjöflund dated the existing remains of the fort to the early 3rd century B.C. Since the moldmade bowls in the terrace

fill are from the late 3rd or early 2nd century, Sjöflund's proposed chronology is disproved. The building style of the fort, which Wrede thought indicated an early 4th-century date and Sjöflund found consistent with an early 3rd-century date, is clearly insufficiently developed for the late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C.¹¹ We must, therefore, assume that the fill was, as Wrede thought, deposited some time *after* the fort was built, and the major argument against an early to mid-4th-century date for the existing fort is eliminated.

The moldmade bowls, along with fragments of West Slope ware also noted by Wrede ("Phyle," p. 200), suggest continued occupation of the fort at least down to the last quarter of the 3rd century. Nos. 11 and 12 constitute evidence for a Late Antique reoccupation of the fortress. This was probably the period during which the terrace was built against the inside walls of the fort.

¹¹ On the characteristics of developed Hellenistic fortifications, see F. E. Winter, *Greek Fortifications* (Phoenix, Suppl. 9), Toronto 1971, pp. 324–332; A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification*, Oxford 1979, pp. 426–428.

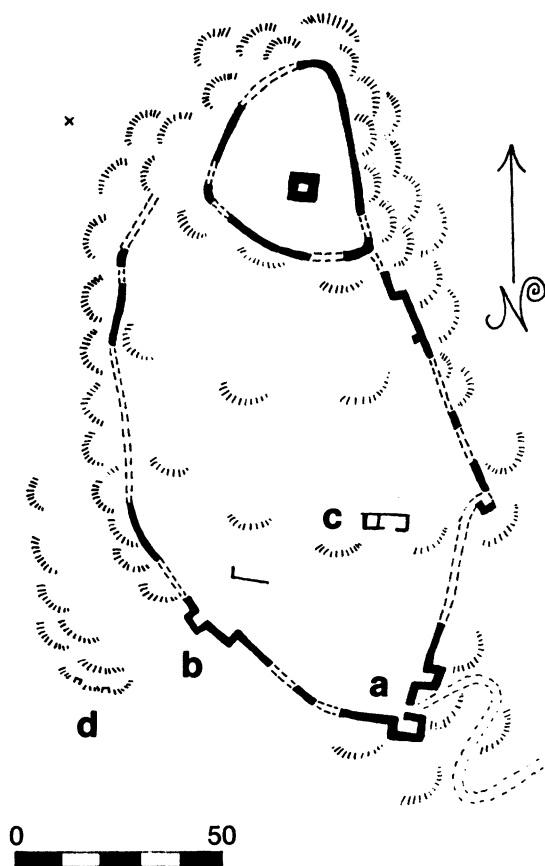


FIG. 6. **8.** Kabasala fort/Panakton, plan based on the plan by M. Zagorissiou in M. Petropoulakou and E. Tsimpidis-Pentazos, *Ancient Greek Cities*, 21, Attiki, Athens 1973, fig. 31. **a** main gate **b** sherd concentration **c** Mediaeval building **d** niches

7. Aigaleos tower (FA 3d, DAI 45). Fig. 5

Signal tower located on the highest peak (453 m.) of Mt. Aigaleos, between the Thriasian and Athenian plains.

Nos. 1 and 2 are from the immediate vicinity of the tower.

7.1. Fig. 7:a. Saltcellar, lip fragment (JO = FA, pp. 148–149, sherd a). Convex walled. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 943–946. Second quarter of 4th century B.C.

7.2. Fig. 7:b, Pl. 27. Bowl, foot fragment (JO = FA, p. 149, sherd b). Grooved ring foot, D. 0.075. Fine black glaze; totally glazed. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 832. Third quarter of 4th century B.C. Note, however, that a similar example was found by McCredie at the Patroklos Island site (*FMCA*, p. 23, no. 4, pl. 3:13). If this site is a Ptolemaic camp, as McCredie suggests, the shape probably continues well into the 3rd century.

7.3. Cup, foot fragment (DAI). Reddish glaze. Archaic or Classical.

I noted a fair number of black-glazed and coarseware sherds in the immediate vicinity of the tower. J. E. Jones, L. H. Sackett, and C. W. J. Eliot ("Τὸ Δέμα: A Survey of the Aigaleos-Parnes Wall," *BSA* 52, 1957 [pp. 152–189], p. 186) report finding the foot of a kantharos dating to the fourth quarter of the 4th century B.C. The four diagnostic sherds from the site are sufficiently close in date to indicate occupation in the Classical—early Hellenistic periods, with mid-4th century occupation probable.

8. Kabasala fort/Panakton (FA 4a, ASCS A63). Fig. 6

Fortress on the south slope of a conical peak (713 m.) at the southwestern end of the Skourta plain, between the towns of Kako Nistiri (Panakton) and Kabasala (Prasinon).

Black-glazed sherds are quite profuse just outside the southeast wall of the fort; apparently they have been washed out of the fort by rains. All JO sherds are from this area.

8.1. Pl. 27. Decorated body sherd (ASCS). Hand-made, burnished exterior, decorated with dark brown paint. Light-tan to pinkish fabric, poorly fired and grayish at center. Neolithic or Early Helladic.

8.2. Pl. 27. Open shape, decorated body sherd (ASCS). Concentric circles in worn black glaze. Protogeometric.

8.3. Pl. 27. Closed shape, decorated body sherd (ASCS). Concentric circles in worn black glaze. Protogeometric.

8.4. Pl. 27. Column-krater, red-figured upper-body fragment (ASCS). Decorative band at shoulder: tongue pattern. Below: head of youth to left. *Ca.* 460–430 B.C.

8.5. Fig. 7:c, Pl. 27. Skyphos, Attic type (ASCS). Torus ring foot; D. 0.104. Fine black glaze; scraped band at join of body and foot; reserved: underside. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 343–345. 460–420 B.C.

8.6. Fig. 7:d. Pheidias mug, foot fragment (ASCS). Very low foot; D. 0.112. Fine black glaze; reserved: resting surface, underside with glazed circle near outer edge. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 202, 203. Third quarter of 5th century B.C.

8.7. Pl. 27. Pheidias mug, foot fragment (ASCS). Recessed underside. Very worn black glaze. Third quarter of 5th century B.C.

8.8. Pl. 27. Bell-krater, red-figured body sherd (ASCS). Part of mantled figure. Second or third quarter of 5th century B.C.

8.9. Fig. 7:e, Pl. 27. Kantharos, foot and part of body (ASCS). Ridged inside. Nipple on underside. Ring foot, D. 0.045. Poor, worn black glaze; reserved: resting surface and underside. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 646. Third quarter of 5th century B.C.?

8.10. Fig. 7:f, Pl. 27. Lekythos, rim fragment (ASCS). Fine black glaze. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1123. *Ca.* 425 B.C.

8.11. Fig. 7:g. Concave-walled saltcellar, foot fragment (ASCS). Recessed underside; foot grooved on the resting surface. D. foot 0.068.

Good black glaze; reserved: underside. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 934, 935. Fourth quarter of 5th century B.C.

8.12. Lamp, fragment of rim and filling hole (ASCS). Good black glaze. Cf. *Agora* IV, no. 243, Type 24A. Third or fourth quarter of 5th century.

8.13. Fig. 7:h. Bowl, foot (JO). D. foot 0.043. Splotchy black glaze; reserved: underside. Heavy gray fabric with orange slip. Probably Boeotian. Cf. Heimberg, no. 292. Mid-5th century B.C.

8.14. Fig. 7:j. Lekanis(?), foot fragment (JO). Ring foot, D. 0.118. Streaky black glaze. 5th century B.C.?

8.15. Fig. 7:i, Pl. 27. Kantharos, foot (ASCS). Slight depression in center of bowl; slight nipple on underside. Molded foot, concave beneath, groove on inside edge of resting surface. Second or third quarter of 4th century, possibly later.

8.16. Bowl fragment, foot and lower body (ASCS). Ring foot, D. 0.088. Streaky black glaze. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 828–842. Second or third quarter of 4th century.

8.17. Bowl, rim fragment (ASCS). Outturned rim. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 802–808. 4th century B.C.

8.18. Large fish-plate, foot fragment (ASCS). High ring foot, grooved resting surface. Reserved: resting surface. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1071 and fish-plates found at Koroni. Mid-4th–early 3rd century B.C.

8.19. Pl. 27. Bowl, base fragment (ASCS). Stamped palmettes and rouletting. 4th century B.C.

8.20. Pl. 27. Plate, base fragment (ASCS). Stamped palmettes. 4th century B.C.

8.21. Bowl, rim fragment (ASCS). D. 0.156. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 830–842. Third quarter of 4th century B.C.

8.22. Fig. 7:k. Bowl or one-handler, foot fragment (JO). Rouletting and stamped palmette. Ring foot with groove in resting surface. Reddish glaze; reserved: resting surface and underside. 4th century B.C.

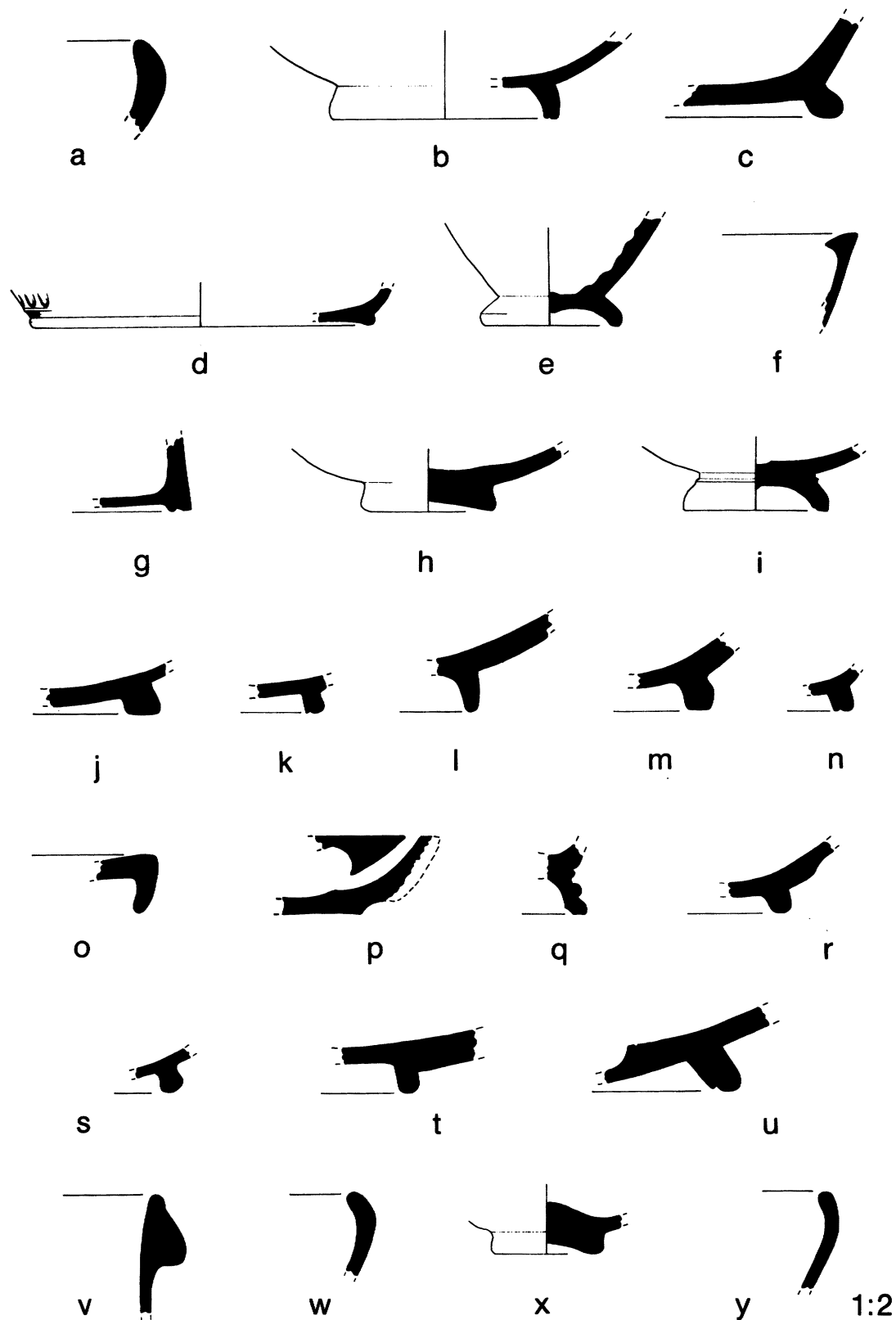


FIG. 7. Pottery from Aigaleos tower (7), Kabasala fort/Panakton (8), Myoupolis/Oinoe (9), Plakoto (10)

8.23. Fig. 7:l. Bowl, foot fragment (JO). Rouletting. Ring foot, worn resting surface; D. 0.096. Scraped band on lower body; groove at top of foot. Totally glazed. Cf. Miller, no. 25. Late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.

8.24. Fig. 7:m. Bowl or one-handler, foot fragment (JO). Ring foot, worn resting surface; D. 0.084. Totally glazed. Cf. Miller, no. 35. Late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.

8.25. Fig. 7:n. Bowl, foot fragment (JO). Ring foot; grooved on resting surface. Totally glazed; light-gray fabric. Cf. Thompson, A 20. Late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.

8.26. Fig. 7:o. Fish-plate, rim fragment (ASCS). Turned-down rim, D. 0.15. Reserved: band at edge of lip. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 1061–1076; “Koroni,” no. 20. 4th or early 3rd century B.C.

8.27. Fig. 7:p, Pl. 27. Lamp, nozzle fragment (ASCS). Glazed base. Cf. *Agora* IV, no. 303, Type 25B. Last quarter of 4th or first quarter of 3rd century B.C.

8.28. Fig. 7:q. Kantharos, foot fragment (JO). Molded foot, concave beneath; groove on inside edge of resting surface, D. 0.046. Reddish glaze; reserved: underside. 4th or 3rd century B.C.

8.29. Fig. 7:r. Bowl, foot fragment (JO). Carination on lower body. Ring foot with worn resting surface, D. 0.096. Totally glazed. Classical or Hellenistic.

8.30. Pl. 27. Miniature bowl, base. Completely glazed. D. base 0.020. A votive? Classical or Hellenistic.

8.31. Pl. 27. Stele base (JO). Inside a post-Classical building within the walls (Fig. 6 at c), near the south gate. Grayish white limestone, 0.65 x 0.25 x 0.40 thick. Stele cutting: 0.33 x 0.09 x 0.06 deep.

No. 1 provides the only evidence in the ASCS and DAI collections for prehistoric occupation of the site, but a recent Stanford University survey of the area has turned up Middle and Late Helladic material. Nos. 2 and 3 suggest the existence of an early Dark Age settlement on the hill; the steep hillside location resembles the sites of other settlements from this period, and the Stanford survey has confirmed occupation here in the Protogeometric and Geometric periods.¹² There can be no doubt that the site was occupied by the mid-5th century and that occupation continued, at least sporadically, down to the late 4th or early 3rd century. After that time there is no evidence for occupation of the site until the Mediaeval period. Mediaeval yellow- and green-glazed wares are quite common on the site, and several examples are in the ASCS collection. The probably Boeotian bowl, No. 13, and other gray-fabric body fragments on the site and in the ASCS collection demonstrate that some non-Attic wares were used here. It is tempting to guess that the Boeotians who destroyed the fort of Panakton in 422 B.C. (Thucydides, v.3.5) left this pottery, but this is hardly a necessary thesis; cf. the Boeotian material found at Eleutherai (11B below). The votive(?) miniature may suggest religious activity on the hilltop; cf. the rock-cut niches nearby the fort (Fig. 6 at d, Pl. 27:a; cf. *FA*, p. 153). The stele base, No. 31, is interesting in light of the scarcity of published inscriptions from northwestern Attica.

9. Myoupolis/Oinoe (*FA* 4b, ASCS A66, DAI 7)

Fortified deme center located at the eastern edge of the Mazi plain, about 3 km. east of the town of Mazi (Oinoe).

9.1. Fig. 7:s. Bowl or one-handler, foot fragment (ASCS). Ring foot, D. 0.092. Reserved: underside. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 765, 802. *Ca.* 450–350 B.C.

9.2. Plate, rim fragment (JO = *FA*, p. 154, note 69). Fine black glaze. Slight ridge under lip. Mid-4th century B.C.

¹² M. H. Munn and M. L. Zimmermann Munn, “The Countryside of Panakton on the Attic-Boeotian Frontier: First Season of the Stanford Skourta Plain Project,” paper given at 87th General Meeting of the AIA, abstract *AJA* 90, 1986, p. 195, and personal communication from M. H. Munn.

9.3. Fig. 7:t. Plate, foot fragment (ASCS). Ring foot, D. approx. 0.14. Dull black glaze on resting surface and underside. Inside very worn. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 1059–1060; “Koroni,” no. 13. Mid-4th–mid-3rd century B.C.

9.4. Fig. 7:u, Pl. 28. Fish-plate, foot fragment (ASCS). Scraped groove around central depression. Grooved ring foot, D. 0.142. Good black glaze. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 1069–1076; “Koroni,” no. 22. Late 4th–mid-3rd century B.C.

9.5. Lamp, nozzle fragment (ASCS). Black glaze. Probably *Agora* IV, Type 25A. Ca. 375–275 B.C.

9.6. Convex-walled saltcellar(?), foot fragment (ASCS). Probably 4th century B.C.

9.7. Pl. 28. Pyramidal loom weight, upper part (ASCS). Hard, orange fabric with white inclusions. Max. H. (at break) 0.025, max. W. (at break) 0.054. Cf. Thompson, pp. 475–476; “Koroni,” no. 90; G. R. Davidson and D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, *Small Objects from the Pnyx I*, Princeton 1943, pp. 65–94. The Thompson and Koroni examples and the closest Pnyx parallel, all unglazed coarse fabric, are Hellenistic.

9.8. Pl. 28. Stamped amphora handle (ASCS). Medium-coarse orange clay with white and black inclusions, no glaze or slip. Knidian.

KY-----NE

YΣ---HTPI

O

Kυ[δοοθε]υε|ύς[Δημ]ητρ[ό]ς[v]

Identical to A. Dumont, *Inscriptions céramiques de Grèce*, Paris 1872, p. 293, nos. 140, 141. Cf. *ibid*,

10. Plakoto (FA 4e, ASCS A64, DAI 12)

Signal tower and small fortification located on the east end of a ridge at the northern edge of the Thriasian plain, about 6.5 km. north of Eleusis.

10.1. Fig. 7:v. Cup-kantharos, rim fragment (DAI). Molded rim, D. 0.15. Worn black glaze. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 649–663. This example is rather large and therefore probably fairly early in the series. Early to mid-4th century B.C.

10.2. Fig. 7:w. Convex-walled saltcellar, rim fragment (DAI). Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 946, 949. Second or third quarter of 4th century B.C.

10.3. Fig. 7:x. Lamp, foot (JO = FA, p. 158). *Agora* IV, Type 25A. Ca. 375–275 B.C.

p. 293, nos. 142, 143 and p. 175, no. 200; V. Grace, “Stamped Amphora Handles Found in 1931–1932,” *Hesperia* 3, 1934 (pp. 197–310), nos. 180–183. For the date, see V. Grace, “The Middle Stoa Dated by Amphora Stamps,” *Hesperia* 54, 1985 (pp. 1–55), pp. 31–35: Knidos period VI A. 107–98 B.C.

9.9. Pl. 28. Roman plate, rim fragment (DAI). Two grooves just below the lip. Very poor black glaze. *Agora* V, Group K. 3rd or 4th century after Christ.

9.10. Pl. 28. Roman plate, body fragment (DAI). African red slip with stamped pattern. *Agora* V, Group L. 3rd–5th century after Christ.

9.11. Pl. 28. Several body fragments of late Roman wares (DAI). Unglazed, deeply combed outside. *Agora* V, Group M. 5th and 6th centuries after Christ.

9.12. Pl. 28. Roman plate, rim fragment. Cf. *Agora* V, M350. Late 6th century after Christ.

Diagnostic sherds are relatively scarce on the surface, but masses of coarse ware can still be seen. The catalogue includes no certain 5th-century pieces, but Edmonson (p. 32) records pottery indicative of occupation “from the (mid- ?) fifth century to the Hellenistic period” including “red-figured ware, quantities of fifth and fourth century black-glazed, stamped, and rouletted wares, some West-slope ware and ‘Megarian Bowls’.” On the basis of this description and the catalogue we may guess that the site was continuously occupied from (at least) the 5th century B.C. to the 6th century after Christ. Edmonson (*loc. cit.*) also notes the existence of Byzantine material, to the 10th century after Christ.

10.4. Fig. 7:y. Bowl, rim fragment (ASCS). Incurved rim, dull black glaze. 3rd or 2nd century B.C.?

Nos. 1 and 2 provide tentative confirmation of the early or mid-4th century date I had suggested for this site in FA on the basis of No. 3 and the building style of the tower.

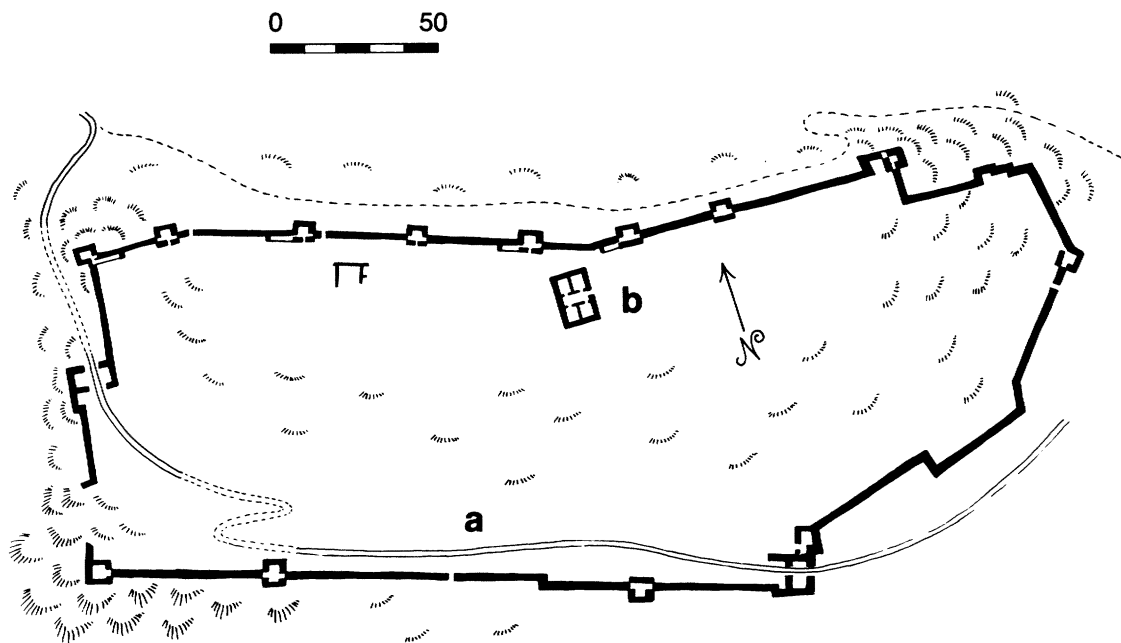


FIG. 8. 11. Gyphtokastro, plan based on the plan by E. G. Stikas, «Ἀνασκαφή Ἐλευθερῶν (Πανάκτου)», *Πρακτικά*, 1938, pp. 41–49, pl. 1. **a** road through the fort **b** internal building (“citadel”)

11. Gyphtokastro (FA 5a, ASCS A54, DAI 1, 2). Fig. 8, Pl. 28

Fortress on top of a steep hill on the southeast side of the Kaza pass, to the east of the modern Athens-Thebes highway. An ancient roadway (see Fig. 8 at a) passes through the site, entering the east gate, running inside the south wall, and out the west gate. Although the traces of the ancient road are obscured by modern roadbuilding about 100 meters west of the west gate, it obviously originally joined the main ancient road through the pass (see FA, pp. 119–120). A temple site and a settlement (ancient Eleutherai) are below the fortress hill to the east.

A. Fortress hill

Black-glazed sherds are most commonly found near the peak of the hill inside the north wall. All JO sherds are from this area. This find-pattern, however, is determined at least in part by the thick vegetation covering much of the southern side of the site. The ground slopes to the south, and were the vegetation cleared, we might expect to find many more sherds in this sector.

11.1. Horizontally ribbed mug, two body sherds (DAI 1). Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 198–200. Second half of 5th century B.C.

11.2. Fig. 9:a. Krater, handle fragment (JO). Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 60. Second half of 5th century B.C.

11.3. Fig. 9:b. Bowl or one-handler, foot fragment (JO). Low ring foot. Late 5th or early 4th century B.C.

11.4. Mug, lip fragment (DAI 1). Late 5th or early 4th century B.C.

11.5. Skyphos, handle fragment (DAI 1). Late 5th or early 4th century B.C.

11.6. Fig. 9:c. Mug(?), foot (DAI 1). Ring foot, D. 0.095. Recessed underside, worn. Dullish black glaze on inside, brighter, streaky black glaze on outside and underside; reserved: resting surface. Late 5th or early 4th century B.C.?

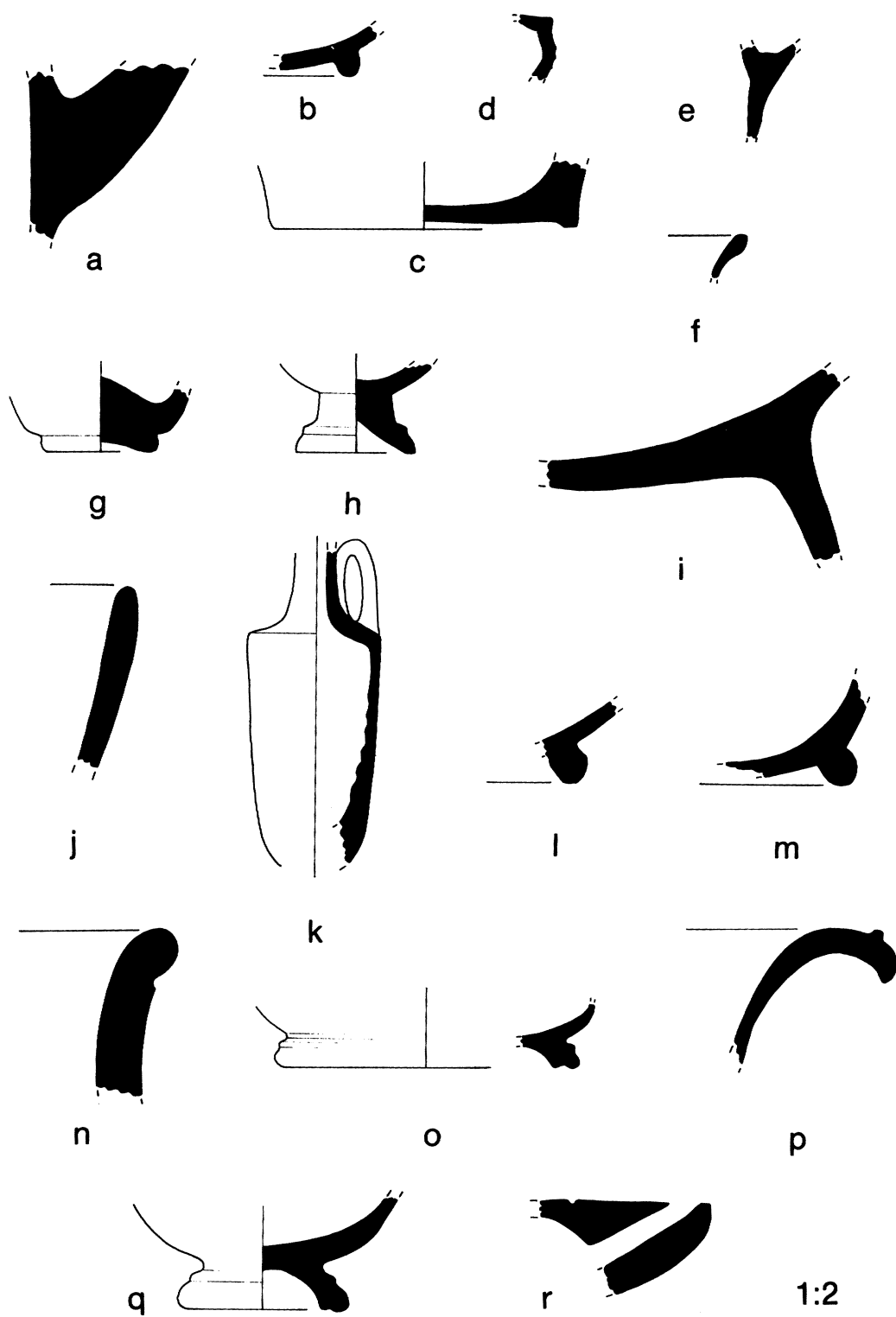


FIG. 9. Pottery from Gyphtokastro/Eleutherai (11): pre-Classical and Attic

11.7. Fig. 9:d. Kantharos, body sherd. Perhaps a Boeotian Type 6; cf. Heimberg, nos. 73–84. Cf. also *Agora* XII, no. 700. *Ca.* 400–325 B.C.

11.8. Krater, rim fragment (ASCS). 4th century B.C.?

11.9. Fig. 9:e. Open shape, handle and body fragment (JO). Good black glaze. Classical: probably 4th century B.C.

11.10. Fig. 9:f. Open shape, rim fragment (JO). Good black glaze. Classical: probably 4th century B.C.

11.11. Fig. 9:g. Lamp, base (JO). *Agora* IV, Type 25A. *Ca.* 375–275 B.C.

11.12. Fig. 9:h, Pl. 28. Kantharos, foot (JO). Molded foot, convex underside; D. 0.037. Mis-fired, reddish black glaze. Hellenistic.

11.13. Pl. 28. Ceramic disk, cut from wall of an open-shape, black-glazed pot (DAI 1). D. 0.018, Th. 0.003. A gaming piece?

11.14. Pl. 28. Lead disk with central hole (DAI 1). D. 0.031, Th. 0.006; D. (center hole) 0.006. No visible decoration but otherwise similar to No. 70.

11.15. Pl. 28. Pyramidal loom weight (DAI 1). H. 0.071, W. (base) 0.035. Hole at top, W. 0.004. No glaze or slip. Hard, orange clay with numerous inclusions, especially white. Similar to Myoupolis No. 9.7. Probably Hellenistic.

11.16. Pl. 28. Obsidian blades, numerous (DAI, JO).

Nos. 1–10 suggest an original historic occupation date of the late 5th or early 4th century; cf. Edmonson (p. 58): “a few sherds which may be late fifth century have been found, but the earliest securely dated pottery is from the first half of the fourth century.” The subsequent history of the fortress remains more obscure. Edmonson (*loc. cit.*) notes that “Hellenistic and early Roman sherds are rather rare, while late Roman and Byzantine wares are the most common.”

B. Settlement east of fortress hill/*Eleutherai*

The settlement area includes the temple site and two later basilicas, as well as graves. All DAI sherds are from graves near the “Ruine der Gendarmeriestation,” a few hundred meters southeast of the foot of the fortress hill.¹³ Nos. 21–23 and probably many of the other fragments in the ASCS collection also came from accidentally opened graves; cf. Edmonson (pp. 40–41):

Special mention might be made of a chance discovery just southeast of the ruined Khani [= Wrede’s “Gendarmeriestation”], where a pit dug to roast a lamb broke through at least one early grave. A great many sherds were taken from the pit and the surrounding earth in September, 1958, and several pots could be reconstructed almost entirely. The pottery (now in the collection of the American School at Athens) is a homogeneous body of material, including several lekythoi and some low bowls whose shapes and fabrics show them to be Boiotian of the late sixth and early fifth century, all of types common in tombs, and one Attic lekythos from the period before 490. All the pottery showed signs of burning, and it probably came from one or more cremation burial.

Neolithic material

11.17. Fig. 9:i, Pl. 28. Bowl, foot fragment (ASCS). Handmade. High ring foot. Burnished inside and out. Reddish gray fabric, dark gray interior. Middle Neolithic.

11.18. Fig. 9:j, Pl. 28. Bowl, rim fragment (ASCS). Burnished red slip over dark gray fabric. Middle Neolithic.

11.19. Pl. 30. Spindle whorl (ASCS). Handmade.

D. 0.068, Th. 0.031, D. (center hole) 0.014. Hard, orange-tan fabric with many inclusions. Cf. Immerwahr (under 3.2 above), no. 236. Late Neolithic.

11.20. Pl. 30. Spindle whorl (ASCS). Handmade. D. 0.069, Th. 0.030, D. (center hole) 0.014. Hard, orange fabric, fewer inclusions than No. 19. Picked circular decoration on one side. Otherwise similar to No. 19.

¹³ On the identification of the settlement below Gyphtokastro as *Eleutherai*, see *FA*, p. 223, with literature cited. The excavations of the temple and basilica sites are described by E. G. Stikas, «*Ἀνασκαφή Ἐλευθέρων*», *Πρακτικά*, 1939, pp. 44–52. Provenience of the Wrede material: Brommer (footnote 5 above), p. 256.

Classical pottery, Attic

11.21. Fig. 9:k, Pl. 29. Secondary lekythos, neck, shoulder, and part of body; black-figured decoration (ASCS). Mended from several fragments. D. (at shoulder) 0.041, p.H. 0.097. Shoulder decorated with rays; upper ornamental band of dots at an angle; body decoration: sphinxes(?); lower body: black with two narrow reserved bands. Very soft, orange fabric, decoration very faded. *Ca.* 480–450 B.C.

11.22. Pl. 29. Shoulder lekythos, decorated in red figure; five fragments (ASCS). Parts of three palmettes on shoulder in black. Ornamental band below body-shoulder join: running meander to right. Body fragments, from the back of the vase: solid black save for ornamental bands; lower ornamental band undecorated save for two lines. Fabric gray from reduction in a fire. First half of 5th century B.C.

11.23. Pl. 29. Cup or cup-skyphos, body fragment with black-figured decoration (ASCS). Decoration: palmette and simplified vine tendrils. Fabric gray from reduction in a fire. First half of 5th century B.C.

11.24. Fig. 9:l. Skyphos, Attic type, foot fragment (DAI 2). Torus ring foot. Fine black glaze; reserved: resting surface. Dark tan fabric. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 342. Early to mid-5th century B.C.

11.25. Skyphos, Attic type, rim fragment (ASCS). Good black glaze. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 342. Early to mid-5th century B.C.

11.26. Fig. 9:m, Pl. 29. Skyphos, Attic type, foot fragment (ASCS). Mended from two fragments. Torus ring foot, D. 0.108. Scraped band between body and foot. Reserved: resting surface; underside glazed red. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 342. Early to mid-5th century B.C.

11.27. Pl. 29. Bell- or calyx-krater, decorated in red figure; four fragments (ASCS). Provenience: fields east of the fortress hill. Perhaps from a grave disturbed by deep plowing; not part of the grave lot described by Edmonson (p. 215 above). Slanted palmette pattern on rim; two reserved bands on inside of rim. Below: head of rider to left; head of horse to right. Painting apparently incomplete as background has not been filled in. Inscription in black glaze near rim: *καλ[ος]*. 440–430 B.C.

11.28. Cup or stemless, two handles (ASCS). Fine black glaze. 5th century B.C.

11.29. Bowl, foot fragment (ASCS). Fine black glaze. 5th century B.C.

11.30. Fig. 9:o. Large closed shape, foot fragment (ASCS). Molded ring foot, D. 0.09. Reserved: band at join of body and foot, resting surface. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 54. Late 5th or early 4th century B.C.

11.31. Pl. 29. Large closed shape, body sherd decorated in red figure (ASCS). Shoulder of figure (Athena?) in chiton and top of mantle (or aegis?). Late 5th or early 4th century B.C.

11.32. Fig. 9:n, Pl. 29. Bell- or calyx-krater, rim fragment decorated in red figure (ASCS). Streaky black glaze; reserved band inside rim; part of ornamental band composed of slanted palmettes beneath lip. 5th or 4th century B.C.

11.33. Fig. 9:p, Pl. 29. Hydria, neck fragment decorated in red figure (ASCS). D. neck 0.182. Worn black glaze, misfired red. Reserved band inside lip. Outside of lip decorated with an egg pattern. 5th or 4th century B.C.

11.34. Pl. 29. Knob handle of a lekane(?) (ASCS). Ridged on top. Very worn black glaze. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1277. First quarter of 4th century B.C.?

11.35. Fig. 9:q, Pl. 29. Cup-kantharos, foot and lower bowl (ASCS). Four stamped palmettes inside bowl. Molded foot, grooved resting surface; D. 0.051. Fine black glaze; totally glazed. Dark tan fabric. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 672. Second quarter of 4th century B.C.

11.36. Fig. 9:r, Pl. 29. Lamp, nozzle (ASCS). Groove around disk. *Agora* IV, Type 25A. *Ca.* 375–275 B.C.

Classical pottery, non-Attic

11.37. Pl. 29. Cup or cup-skyphos, rim and upper body fragment with black-figured decoration (ASCS). Solid black band on outside of rim; decoration below: horizontal limbs, left, connected to vertical mass, center; double row of dots slanting downwards to right. Grayish fabric, probably Boeotian. First half of 5th century.

11.38. Pl. 29. Skyphos(?), body fragment with black-figured decoration (ASCS). Decoration: feet

and shanks of striding figure to right; one foot of an animal (dog?) to right. The figures stand on a solid black band which is separated from the black at the bottom of the fragment by a reserve band. Below: solid black. Grayish tan fabric. First half of 5th century B.C.

11.39. Fig. 10:a, Pl. 30. Kantharos, Boeotian type, foot (ASCS). Mended from three fragments. Ring foot, D. 0.068. Dull black glaze; reserved: resting surface and underside. Light-gray fabric. Cf. Heimberg, no. 37, Type 3. Second quarter of 5th century B.C.

40–56. Long-stemmed Boeotian kantharoi: Heimberg, Type 1. Streaky black glaze on soft, orange fabric. The shape is most common in the 5th century, although some late 4th-century examples are known. All of the fragments in the ASCS and DAI collections appear to be 5th century.

11.40. Fig. 10:c, Pl. 30. Rim and handle fragment (ASCS). Mended from several pieces. High-swung handle attached to outturned rim. Cf. Heimberg, no. 15. First third of 5th century B.C.

11.41. Rim and handle fragment (ASCS). Similar to No. 40.

11.42. Fig. 10:d, Pl. 29. Rim, handle, and handle support-bar fragment (ASCS). Cf. Heimberg, no. 3. Mid-5th century B.C.

11.43. Handle and lip fragment (ASCS). Similar to No. 42.

11.44. Fig. 10:b. Rim fragment (ASCS). Outturned lip. Cf. Heimberg, no. 4. Middle to third quarter of 5th century B.C.

11.45. Fig. 10:f. Lower bowl, stem, and foot (ASCS). Mended from several fragments. Beaded hollow stem. D. bowl (at rise) 0.165; D. foot 0.116. Reserved: band at top and bottom edges of outer face of foot plate, resting surface, underside. Black-glaze circle on underside. Cf. Heimberg, nos. 3, 6, 9. Middle to third quarter of 5th century B.C.

11.46. Bowl fragment (ASCS). Similar to no. 45.

11.47. Bowl fragment (ASCS). Mended from two fragments. Similar to No. 45.

11.48. Bowl fragment (ASCS). Similar to No. 45.

11.49. Bowl and lower part of handle (ASCS). Similar to No. 45.

11.50. Fig. 10:e. Bowl and lower part of handle (ASCS). Similar to No. 45, but bowl has very thin floor.

11.51. Fig. 10:h, Pl. 30. Foot (ASCS). Mended from four fragments. Heavy, fairly low foot, D. 0.082. Cf. Heimberg, nos. 3–6. Second or third quarter of 5th century B.C.

11.52. Fig. 10:i, Pl. 30. Foot (ASCS). Flatter than No. 51, otherwise similar; D. 0.109. Second or third quarter of 5th century B.C.

11.53. Fig. 10:g. Bowl fragment (ASCS). Bead at rise of bowl. Cf. Heimberg, no. 14. Third quarter of 5th century B.C.

11.54. Bowl fragment (ASCS). Mended from four fragments. Similar to No. 53.

11.55. Bowl and handle fragment (DAI 2). Black to reddish glaze. First to third quarter of 5th century B.C.

11.56. Bowl floor fragment (ASCS). Reserved underside with black band. First to third quarter of 5th century B.C.

11.57. Foot fragment (ASCS). Slight ridge on top edge of foot. First to third quarter of 5th century B.C.

11.58. Fig. 11, Pl. 30. Inscribed body sherds (ASCS). Letters scraped in glaze after firing.

a. HIA[POΣ]

b. AI

c. ΑΣΟ (retrograde sigma)

d. ΑΛ

e. Α

f. P

g. ?

The letter forms, based on Attic parallels, are 5th century, probably not much after 450 and perhaps earlier.¹⁴

¹⁴ This chronology was suggested by H. I. Immerwahr, from drawings of the sherds. Professor Immerwahr stressed that the dating was based on Attic parallels and that Boeotian letter forms might be different. The date suggested by Professor Immerwahr, however, is consistent with Heimberg's dates for long-stemmed kantharoi. The letter inscribers may indeed have been Athenians, if the kantharoi were imported by Athenians.

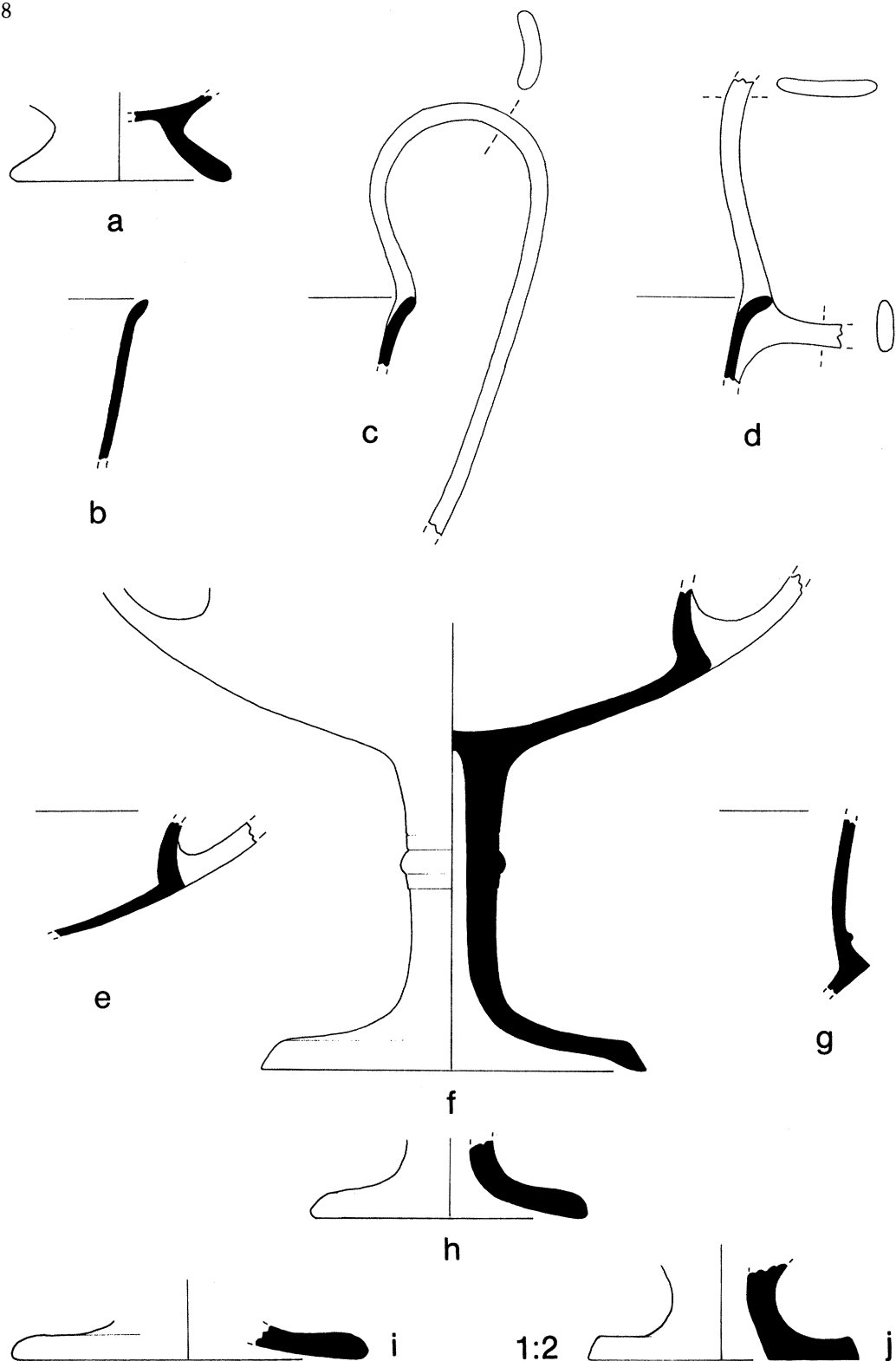


FIG. 10. Pottery from Gyphtokastro/Eleutherai (11): non-Attic

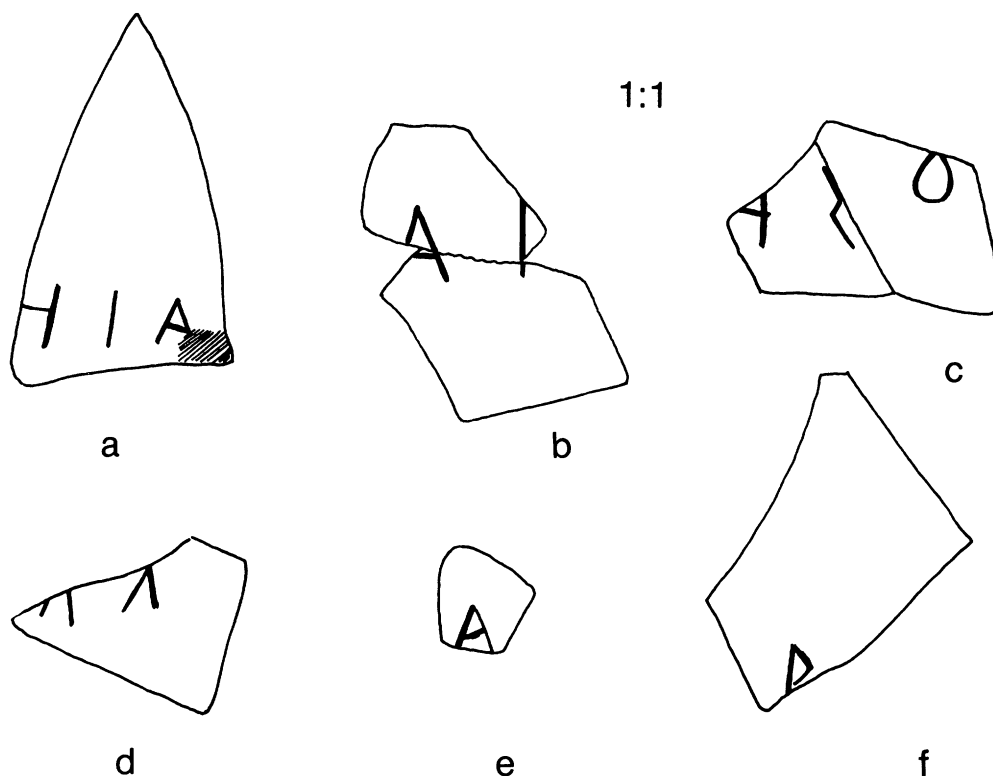


FIG. 11. Gyptokastro/Eleutherai No. 11.58: inscribed sherds

11.59. Fig. 10:j, Pl. 30. Large cup or kantharos, foot (ASCS). Mended from two fragments. Hollow stem, flat resting surface. Dull black glaze; totally glazed. Dark gray fabric.

11.60. Body sherds, three (ASCS). Soft, light tanish white fabric with traces of brownish glaze. Corinthian. Possibly Archaic, more probably Classical.

Post-Classical pottery and miscellaneous material

11.61. Pl. 30. Large open shape, West Slope ware (ASCS). Decoration of vine leaves and tendrils in white and light-red paint on black glaze. 3rd century B.C.

11.62. Pl. 30. Moldmade bowl, body sherd (ASCS). Relief decoration of kantharos. Non-Attic. 2nd or 1st century B.C.

11.63. Pl. 30. Terra sigillata, one rim and one body fragment (ASCS). Shiny, dark orange glaze

on light-orange fabric. 1st century B.C. or 1st century after Christ.

11.64. Pl. 30. Roman plate, rim fragment (ASCS). African red-slip ware. 5th or 6th century after Christ.

11.65. Roman ware, body sherd (ASCS). Deeply combed grooves on outside. 5th or 6th century after Christ.

11.66. Pl. 30. Roman small bowl, foot fragment (ASCS). Ring foot, D. 0.052. Reddish glaze; reserved: resting surface and underside. Hard, orange fabric.

11.67. Roman small bowl, base (ASCS). Ridged inside. Reddish-orange glaze.

11.68. Pl. 30. Beehive, body sherd (ASCS). Internal combing. Unglazed. Orange fabric, poorly fired, so grayish interior.

11.69. Pl. 30. Pyramidal loomweight, upper part (ASCS, inv. no. ASM 27b). P.H. 0.045, W. (at

break) 0.025. Hole through top. Coarse, dark orange clay with white inclusions. Uneven break at midpoint. Similar to Myoupolis No. 9.7. Probably Hellenistic.

11.70. Pl. 30. Lead disk with central hole (ASCS, inv. no. ASM 27b; "found with" No. 69). D. 0.038, Th. 0.007, D. (center hole) 0.005. Weight 53 gr. Moldmade. Relief design of ivy chain on upper surface, now worn. Cf. Davidson and Thompson (under 9.7 above), p. 100, nos. 23–26; Robinson, (under 5.7 above), p. 446, nos. 2431, 2441, 2442. Similar to, although somewhat larger than, No. 14.

Nos. 17–20 strongly suggest the presence of a Neolithic settlement in the area, a supposition which may be reinforced by the obsidian blades found on the fortress hill (No. 16). Wrede (DAI 3) and British investigators (material in the British School at Athens, sherd collection) have found other prehistoric material in the general vicinity of Gyphtokastro.

The catalogue material demonstrates ancient occupation at the settlement below the fortress hill by the first half of the 5th century and continuing on well into the 4th century B.C. The temple associated with the settlement dates to *ca.* 300 B.C., but literary evidence suggests a much earlier cult site at Eleutherai. According to Pausanias, Eleutherai was once Boeotian but later came under Athenian control and was the place from which the worship of Dionysos was introduced into Athens. The cult image of Dionysos Eleutherios was taken from here to the city. The transfer of Eleutherai from Boeotian to Athenian control and the bringing of the cult statue to the city probably took place in the 6th century.¹⁵ The catalogue material is eminently suitable to a town which possessed an important Dionysiac cult site. The long-stemmed Boeotian Type 1 kantharos is

closely associated with the worship of Dionysos (e.g. at the Kabeirion) and at least some of Nos. 40–58 may have been dedications to the god.¹⁶ The fragmentary incised inscriptions (No. 58) can easily be read as dedications. It is not possible to determine whether the numerous 5th-century Boeotian sherds represent trade across the border or Boeotian visitors, or residents, in the town in the period after Eleutherai became Athenian. It is perhaps significant that the Boeotian material seems not to postdate the end of the 5th-century (with the possible exception of No. 7). The absence of much later Boeotian pottery on the site might be explained as a reflection of the preclusive 4th-century Athenian approach to defense of the borderlands; see *FA passim*.

The post-Classical material suggests that Eleutherai was occupied through the Hellenistic and early Imperial periods; there is at present no evidence for occupation from the 2nd to the 4th centuries, but the site was apparently reoccupied in the 5th or 6th century after Christ. This tentative chronology suits Pausanias' description (footnote 15 above), which suggests that although the temple was functioning, the town was abandoned in the mid-2nd century after Christ.

Among the miscellaneous finds the two lead disks with central holes (Nos. 14 and 70) are perhaps the most difficult to explain. The fairly similar examples found on the Pnyx and at Olynthos do not help in determining their function. If the ASCS inventory note that the ASCS disk was "found with" the pyramidal loomweight means that the two objects were found in physical proximity to one another, we might speculate that the disks had something to do with weaving. It is interesting to note that Wrede found both a disk and a loomweight (Nos. 14 and 15) on the hilltop.

¹⁵ Date of the temple: Stikas (footnote 13 above), p. 48. Pausanias, 1.2.5, 20.2, 38.8–9. On the early history of Eleutherai see F. J. Frost, "Toward a History of Peisistratid Athens," in *The Craft of the Ancient Historian: Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr*, J. W. Eadie and J. Ober, edd., Lanham, Maryland 1985 (pp. 57–78), pp. 69–70, with literature cited.

¹⁶ On the association of the long-stemmed kantharoi with the worship of Dionysos, see Heimberg, p. 3. Cf., however, the review of Heimberg by A. Schachter (*JHS* 104, 1984, pp. 559–560), who argues against the notion that the "kantharos was the exclusive property of Dionysos" by adducing the evidence of kantharoi from the Ptoion in northeast Boiotia.

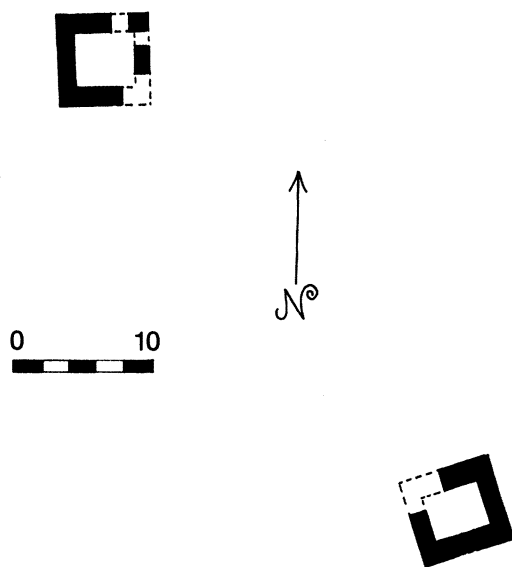


FIG. 12. 12. Karoumpalo towers, sketch plan

12. Karoumpalo towers (*FA* 5e). Fig. 12, Pl. 30

Watchtowers on the east slope of Mt. Karoumpalo, about 4 km. north of Gyphtokastro.

A number of black-glazed Lakonian-type roof tiles have been observed at the site, but no diagnostic sherds have been reported. The date of the towers therefore depends on their function (signal stations dependent upon Gyphtokastro) and on their masonry (virtually identical to that of the building inside the north wall at Gyphtokastro).¹⁷

13. Zikos' Road (*FA*, chap. VI.5a)

This road was the major ancient way across the Kaza pass.

Sherd found in the roadbed, on the north side of the pass, at some distance from any known site.

13.1. Pl. 31. Column-krater, columnar handle
(JO = *FA*, p. 119, note 22). Reddish glaze. Cf.
Agora XII, pp. 54–55. Early 5th century B.C.

The handle, a rare example of a sherd found on an ancient road, would tend to confirm the existence of this road during the period of the Persian Wars, a fact of some significance for the reconstruction of the Battle of Plataia.¹⁸

¹⁷ I take this opportunity to publish a sketch plan of the towers' site and photographs of the masonry of the south tower (Pl. 30:a) and the internal building of Gyphtokastro (Pl. 28:a), in order to allow those who have not visited the sites to compare the masonry.

¹⁸ See W. K. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataia," *AJA* 61, 1957, pp. 9–28; *idem*, "Plataia Revisited," *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography I* (University of California Publications, Classical Studies 1), Berkeley/Los Angeles 1965, pp. 103–121.

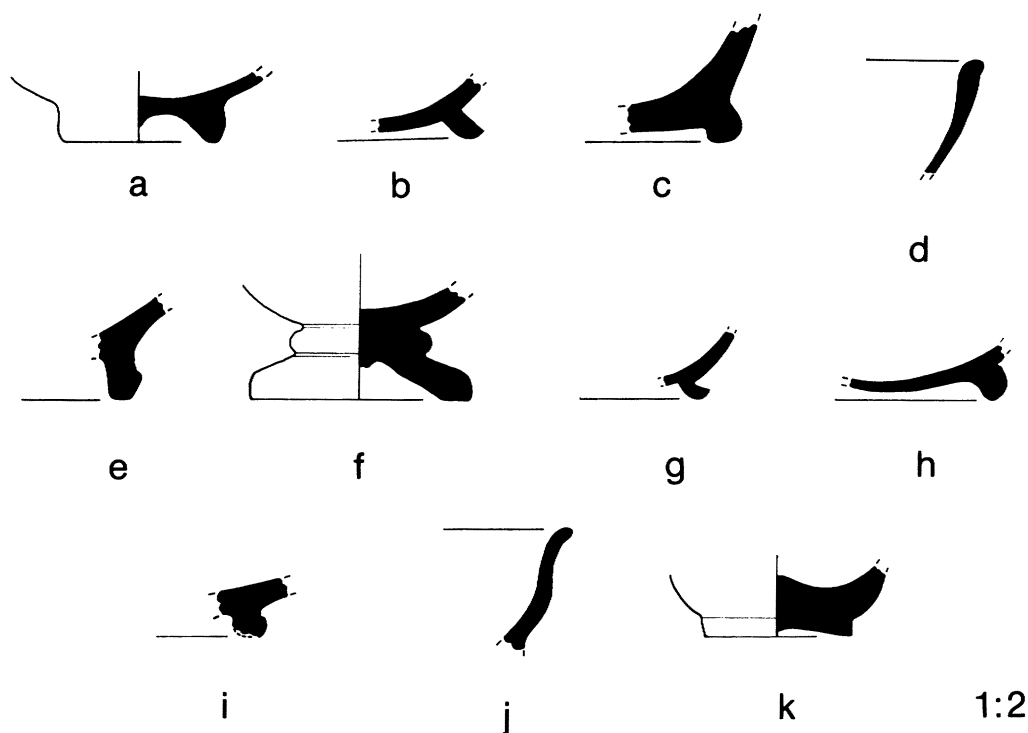


FIG. 13. Pottery from Bathychoria tower C (14), Agios Georgios (15), Panagia saddle (16), Kerata west peak (18), Boudoron (19)

14. Bathychoria tower C (*FA* 6b).

Watchtower or supply depot located on an outcrop north of the Mikro Bathychori, in the north-west Megarid.

All sherds from an area *ca.* 25 m. southeast (downhill) from the tower.

14.1. Mug(?), lip fragment (JO). 5th century B.C.?

14.2. Fig. 13:a, Pl. 31. Kantharos, foot (JO). Nipple on underside. Molded foot, D. 0.043. Dull, streaky black glaze; totally glazed. 3rd century B.C.?

14.3. Moldmade bowl(?), rim fragment (JO). Late 3rd century B.C.?

The material suggests Classical or Hellenistic occupation in its immediate vicinity but does not help

to date the tower, which cannot be as early as the 5th and is probably not so late as the 3rd century B.C. (see *FA*, pp. 165–166). On the inhabitation of the Bathychoria (probably the ancient site Ereneia) in antiquity, see J. Ober, “Ancient Farms on the Attica-Megara Border: A Reconnaissance of the Megalo and Mikro Vathychoria,” paper presented at the 83rd General Meeting of the AIA, abstract *AJA* 86, 1982, p. 280; A. Muller, “Megarika (VIII, IX),” *BCH* 106, 1982, pp. 379–407.

15. Agios Georgios (FA 7a, ASCS A69)

Fortification and settlement located on a low hill at the west end of the Kountoura valley.

15.1. Fig. 13:b, Pl. 31. Skyphos, Corinthian type, foot fragment (ASCS). Flaring ring foot, D. 0.054. Fine reddish black glaze; reserved: underside. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 359. Second quarter of 5th century B.C.

15.2. Fig. 13:c, Pl. 31. Skyphos, Attic type, foot fragment (ASCS). Torus ring foot, D. 0.098. Scraped band at join of body and foot. Fine black glaze; reserved: resting surface and underside. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 342. Early to mid-5th century B.C.

15.3. Fig. 13:d. One-handler, rim fragment (ASCS). Outturned rim. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 755–759. Late 5th or early 4th century B.C.

15.4. Fig. 13:e. Bowl, foot fragment (ASCS). Ring foot, D. 0.14. Reserved: band on upper foot, lower foot, resting surface. Apparently a Boeotian shape; cf. Heimberg, nos. 185–188. Fourth quarter of 5th century B.C.

Modern building in the area has now covered much of the site. Edmonson (p. 38), who investigated the area before the modern development, reported that pottery “representing all periods from the late sixth century . . . through late Roman times (fifth and sixth centuries A.D.) has been found at this site.” It seems likely that his conclusion (*loc. cit.*) that it was “a considerable settlement, inhabited throughout classical antiquity” is correct.

16. Panagia saddle (FA 7d, ASCS A68)

Farm(?) on the southern side of the Karydi—Makron Oros saddle, north of the Kountoura valley.

Exact findspot uncertain.

16.1. Fig. 13:f, Pl. 31. Acrocup, foot (ASCS). Nipple with small central depression on underside; ring foot. Reddish glaze; reserved: inside bowl of cup. Circle and dot in glaze on floor of

bowl. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 442, but note that this example is rather squatter than the norm. Possibly non-Attic. First half of 5th century B.C.

17. Kantili towers (FA 8d). Fig. 14

Two watch- and signal towers located on a craggy hill about 1.5 km. north-northeast of the Kantili pass, north of the road through the pass.

17.1. Fig. 13:g. Skyphos, Corinthian type, several joining fragments of foot and lower body (JO = FA, p. 177). Findspot: immediately outside the doorway of the round tower. Flaring ring foot, D. 0.12. Reserved: underside. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 318–322. Second half of 5th century.

17.2. Pl. 31. Roman lamp, fragment of disk and handle (JO = FA, p. 177). Findspot: small knoll 30 m. to the southwest of the round tower. Solid handle. Herringbone pattern on rim. Crumbling, orange clay. 6th century after Christ.

17.3. Fig. 13:h. Bowl, foot fragment (JO = FA, p. 177). Findspot: inside west corner of the rectangular tower. Ring foot, D. 0.089. Reserved: resting surface and underside. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 782. Second half of 5th century.

Considerable amounts of coarse ware, including fragments of pithoi and kitchen ware, as well as roof tiles, glazed and unglazed, were noted at both the round- and rectangular-tower sites. The two towers appear to be linked by function, and therefore in date (see FA, pp. 176–178).

18. Kerata west peak (FA 8e, ASCS A26, DAI 21). Pl. 31

Site of a watchtower located on the summit of the western peak of Mt. Kerata (470 m.), the southern extension of Mt. Pateras.

All JO sherds from the peak and the steep slopes immediately below.

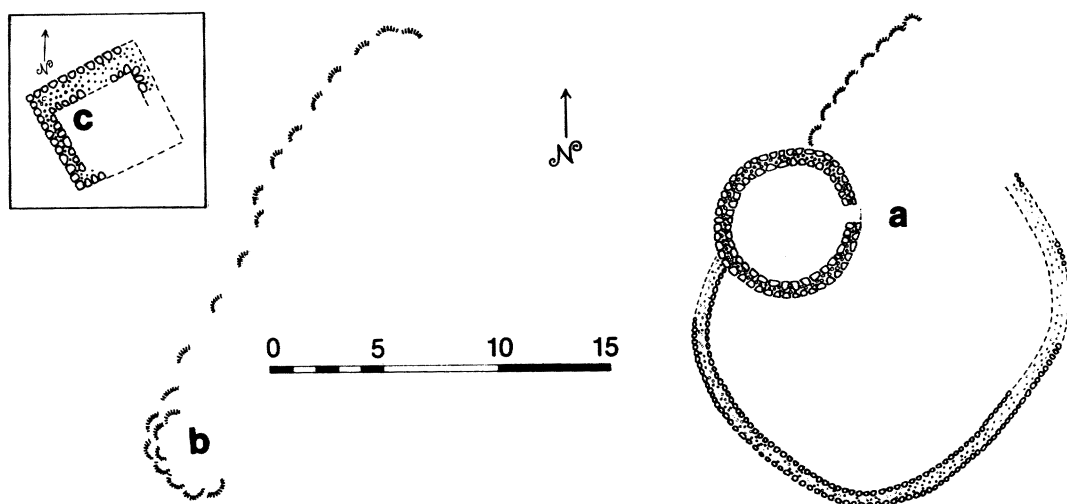


FIG. 14.17. Kantili towers, plan. a findspot of No. 1 b findspot of No. 2 c findspot of No. 3

18.1. Fig. 13.i. Bolsal, foot fragment (ASCS). Ring foot. Reserved: band on lower body. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 541. Late 5th century B.C.

18.2. Kantharos(?), foot fragment (DAI). Light-gray fabric, perhaps not an Attic shape. Classical or Hellenistic.

18.3. Bowl, rim fragment (DAI). Reddish glaze on outside. 3rd or 2nd century B.C.

18.4. Fig. 13.j. Bowl(?), rim fragment (DAI). Outturned rim. Hellenistic.

18.5. Miniature bowl(?), lower body fragment (ASCS). Streaky black glaze over tannish fabric. A votive?

6–19. Fragments of unglazed Roman lamps. 6th century after Christ.

18.6. Pl. 31. Fragment, disk and nozzle (JO). Disk: lower part of Athena Promachos armed with spear and shield to left, small circles around edge. Framing ring with small circles. Fairly hard, orange clay. Cf. J. Perlzweig, *The Athenian Agora*, VII, *Lamps of the Roman Period*, Princeton 1961, no. 2364.

18.7. Pl. 31. Fragment, disk and handle (JO). Disk: upper part of Athena Promachos armed with spear and helmet to left. Rounded rim with herringbone (left) and small circles (right). Solid handle. Crumbling, orange clay. Cf. *ibid.*

18.8. Pl. 31. Fragment, disk and handle (JO). Disk: bust of a figure armed with a shield and spear (Athena?) to right. Sloping rim with circles. Solid handle. Crumbling, orange clay.

18.9. Pl. 31. Fragment, disk and nozzle (JO). Disk with channel to wick hole: rosette. Rim: vine pattern. Hard, orange clay.

18.10. Pl. 31. Fragment, disk and handle (JO). Disk: rosette. Solid, grooved handle. Fairly hard, orange clay.

18.11. Pl. 31. Fragment, disk and rim (JO). Disk: rosette. Rounded rim with ivy pattern. Crumbling, orange clay.

18.12. Pl. 31. Fragment, disk and rim (JO). Disk: rosette. Crumbling, orange clay.

18.13. Pl. 31. Fragment, rim and handle (DAI). Disk: rosette. Rounded rim with vine pattern. Solid handle. Hard, orange clay.

18.14. Pl. 31. Fragment, disk and handle (DAI). Disk: rosette. Rim: vine pattern. Solid handle. Hard, orange clay.

18.15. Pl. 31. Fragment, rim and handle (DAI). Rim: herringbone. Solid, grooved handle. Hard, orange clay.

18.16. Pl. 31. Fragment, rim and nozzle (DAI). Rim: small circles. Hard, orange clay.

18.17. Pl. 31. Handle fragment (DAI). Solid handle. Hard, orange clay.

18.18. Pl. 31. Fragment, rim and handle (DAI). Rim: vine pattern. Solid handle. Hard, orange clay.

18.19. Handle fragment (DAI). Solid, grooved handle. Hard, orange clay.

18.20. Beehive, two body sherds (DAI, JO). Combed on inside. Unglazed, hard, orange fabric.

I have previously suggested (*FA*, p. 178) that the Kerata tower was used as a watch post in the early 4th century; No. 1 may be seen as lending some support to that date. Presumably the site was occupied in the Classical and into the Hellenistic period,

although by far the most numerous diagnostic items from the site are the fragments of late Roman lamps. These seem to be a chronologically homogeneous lot, suggestive of intensive use of the site for a fairly limited period of time. The large number of lamps, along with the possible votive miniature (No. 5) raise the possibility that the site may have had religious significance. Cf. V. Scully, *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods*, New Haven/London 1962, p. 135; M. K. Langdon, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XVI, *A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos*, Princeton 1976, pp. 105–106. This hypothesis, even if correct, does not preclude the possibility that it served as a watch post as well.

19. Boudoron (*FA* 8g, DAI 332)

Fortification located on the south side of the northwest promontory of Salamis.

19.1. Fig. 13:k. Lamp, base (DAI). Reserved resting surface. *Agora* IV, Type 25A. *Ca.* 375–275 B.C.

Boudoron was an Athenian naval base during the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides, II.93–94); the lamp suggests that the Boudoron site was reoccupied (or at least revisited) after the Peloponnesian War. I have suggested that it might have been used as a signal station during the 4th century (*FA*, p. 180).

Bearing in mind the caveats noted in the introduction, we may hazard a few general conclusions about the occupation history of northern and western Attica on the basis of this catalogue.

The catalogue demonstrates occupation in northwestern Attica during most periods from the Neolithic to Late Antiquity. A Neolithic settlement near Gyphtokastro seems quite certain; others may have existed at Kabasala and Kotroni. There is no certain evidence for Early Helladic occupation, but a closer analysis of the prehistoric sherds in the ASCS and DAI collections might change the picture. Middle and Late Helladic material has been found at Kotroni and Kabasala. Kabasala was apparently the site of a Protogeometric settlement; Kotroni was again occupied during the Geometric period. There is, surprisingly, no securely dated Archaic material from any of the sites. It seems difficult to attribute this to bias on the part of the collectors, since sherds of Orientalizing and black-figured wares are immediately recognizable and, along with Archaic black glaze, likely to have been collected by the same individuals who picked up the 5th- and 4th-century pottery.

The bulk of the pottery in the catalogue dates to the 5th and 4th centuries. The large number of Classical sherds reflects to some degree the interests of the collectors and the present author but is nonetheless indicative of relatively intensive Classical occupation. Pottery from the first half of the 3rd century B.C. is quite well represented, but relatively few

sherds are datable to the later Hellenistic or early Roman periods. This latter trend may be attributed, at least in part, to the conditions of collection and the uncertain chronology of many Hellenistic shapes. There is considerable evidence for occupation of many of the sites in the 5th and especially the 6th centuries after Christ.

The major settlements (Myoupolis/Oinoe, Eleutherai, Kotroni/Aphidna, Agios Georgios), at least two of which (Oinoe, Aphidna) were deme centers, yield material suggestive of occupation across several periods. While it is not generally possible to demonstrate continuity of occupation, it is clear that each settlement had a long history of human inhabitation. The early pottery record differs at each site, but the evidence suggests that all four of the major settlements were occupied by the mid-5th century and remained occupied through the Classical period. Each of the settlements also provides material from a variety of later periods: Kotroni from the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. and the Mediaeval period; Myoupolis from the 2nd or 1st century B.C., the 3rd–6th centuries after Christ, and the Mediaeval period; Eleutherai from the 3rd century B.C. to the 1st century after Christ, and the 5th or 6th century after Christ; Agios Georgios (according to Edmonson) to the 6th century after Christ. The settlements yield a rich variety of pottery types and shapes, from fine painted wares through black-glazed ware and non-diagnostic coarse ware; from luxury shapes such as oinochoai and pyxides, to functional cooking and serving vessels.

In contrast to the major settlements, many of the purely military (fortress and tower) sites seem to have been first occupied in the latter part of the Classical period. Kabasala/Panakton was occupied by the mid-5th century, but the earliest pottery at most other forts and towers dates to the late 5th to mid-4th centuries (late 5th or early 4th century: Hymettos tower, Skala Oropou fortification [?], Beletsi, Phyle[?], Gyphtokastro, Kantili towers, Kerata tower; mid-4th century: Aigaleos tower, Plakoto, Katsimidi[?]). Occupation at several military sites apparently continued down into the late 4th and first half of the 3rd (Hymettos tower [?], Skala Oropou, Phyle, Panakton, Gyphtokastro). Only the Phyle fort can be demonstrated to have been occupied in the late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C., although sherds from Gyphtokastro and Plakoto may also date from this period. There is currently no evidence for occupation of forts and towers in the later Hellenistic and early Roman periods. While it is dangerous to assume absence of occupation owing to lack of material at any one site, the general pattern of late Classical occupation and Hellenistic or Roman abandonment may be valid for the military sites as a group and is consistent with historical arguments for the chronology and function of the military sites.¹⁹ Several of the fortifications were apparently reoccupied in the 6th century after Christ (Hymettos tower, Beletsi, Phyle, Kantili round tower, Kerata tower). I have suggested elsewhere that there may have been an attempt to reorganize the rural defenses of Attica during the reign of Justinian.²⁰

¹⁹ See *FA*, *passim*, esp. pp. 205–207.

²⁰ “Early Byzantine Occupation of Classical Fortifications in Attica,” paper delivered to the Southeastern Medieval Association, Annual Meeting, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, October 8, 1983. Cf. *FA*, p. 221.

The diagnostic black-glazed pottery from the forts and towers consists largely of fragments of common vessels for food and drink: bowls, plates, mugs, skyphoi, and kantharoi predominate, along with some lamps. These are, of course, all rugged shapes and therefore likely to yield diagnostic sherds, but it may be generally true, and would hardly be surprising, that fortress and tower garrisons had less use for luxury and decorated wares than did the occupants of permanent settlements.

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1.3

1. Hymettos Tower



3.3 (ASCS)



3.3 (DAI)



3.2

3.1



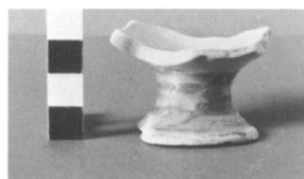
3.4 (ASCS)



3.4 (DAI)



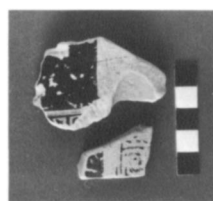
3.5



3.8

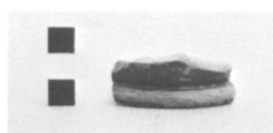


3.12, 3.13



3.14

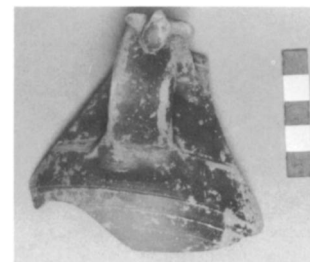
3.18



3.16



3.20

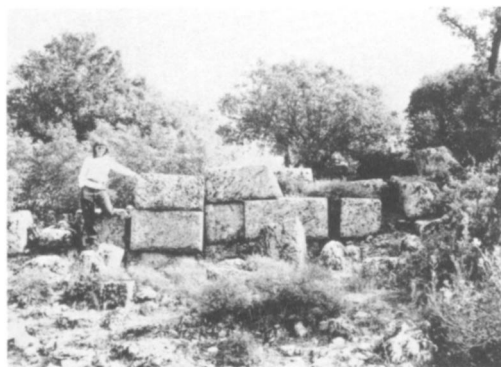


3.24

3. Kotroni/Aphidna



a. Mt. Katsimidi



b. Katsimidi "watchtower"

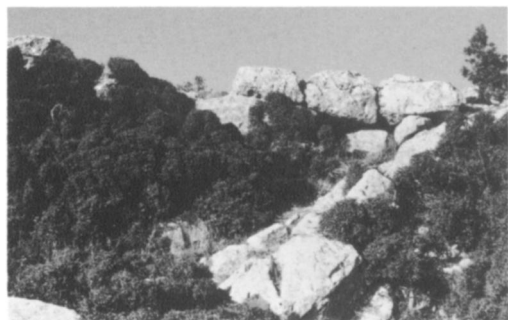
4. Katsimidi



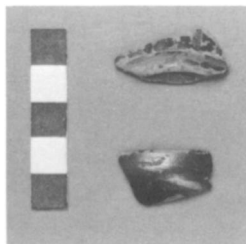
d. Mt. Beletsi



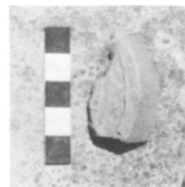
c. Katsimidi "watchtower"



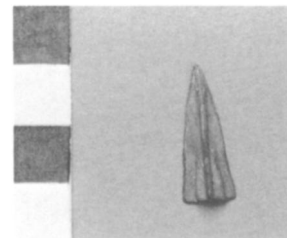
e. Beletsi fort, south wall



5.1
5.2



5.6



5.7

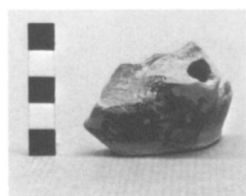
5. Beletsi



5.9 Rupestral inscription



5.9 Detail

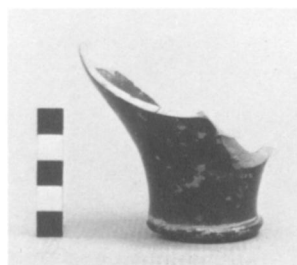


6.2



6.3

6. Phyle Fort



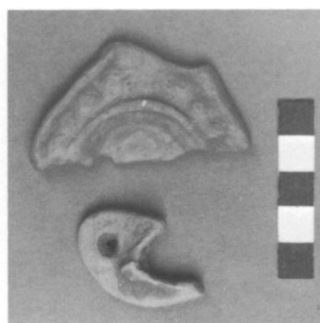
6.7



6.8



6.9



6.11

6.12



7.2

7. Aigaleos Tower



8.1



8.3, 8.2

8.19

8.20, 8.10

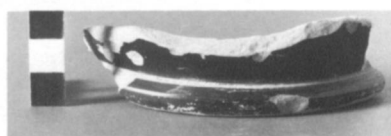
8.30

8.7

8.27



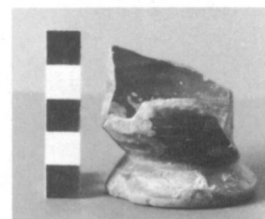
8.4



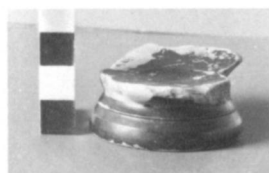
8.5



8.8



8.9



8.15

8. Kabasala Fort/Panakton



8.31 Stele base



a. Rock-cut niche

PLATE 28



9.4

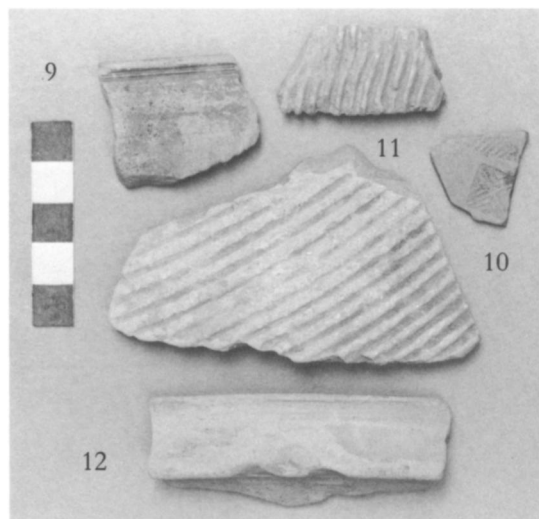


9.7



9.8

9. Myoupolis/Oinoe



9.9-12

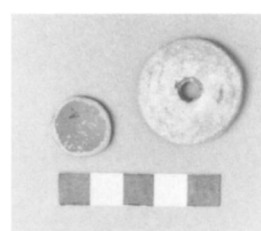


a. Gyptokastro

11A. Gyptokastro Fortress Hill



11.12



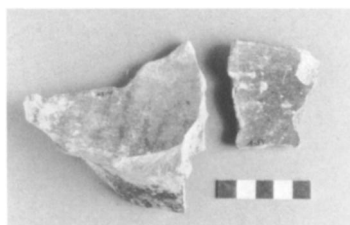
11.13, 11.14



11.15



11.16 (DAI)



11.17, 11.18

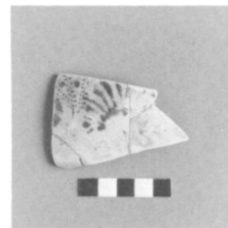
11B. Gyptokastro/Eleutherai
Neolithic



11.21



11.22



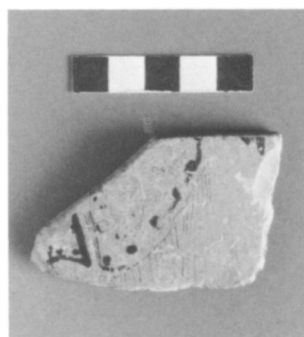
11.23



11.26



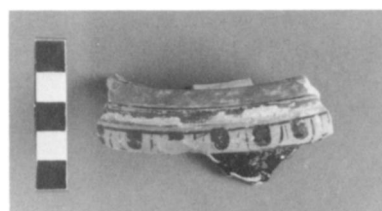
11.27



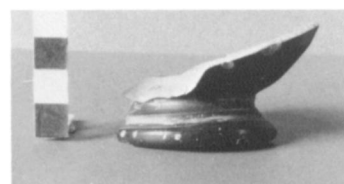
11.31



11.32



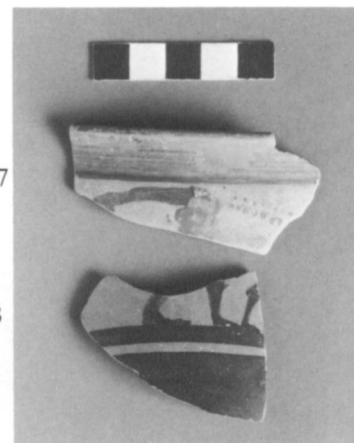
11.33



11.35

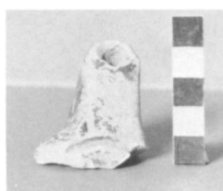


11.42 (Boeotian), 11.34



11.37

11.38



11.36

11B. Gyphtokastro/Eleutherai
Classical (Attic)

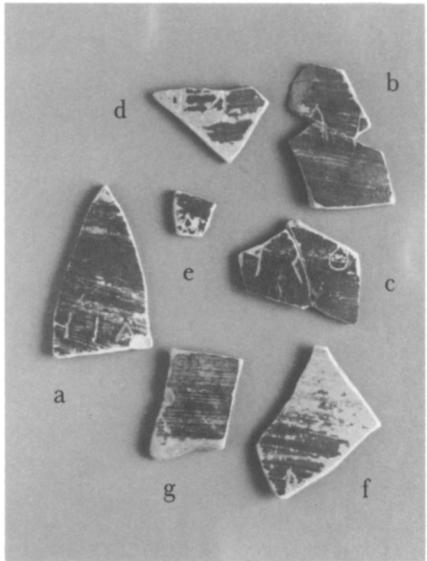
PLATE 30



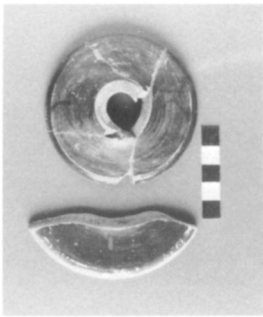
11.39



11.40



11.58



11.51

11.52



11.59

Classical (non-Attic)

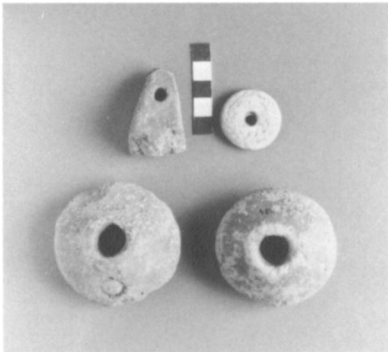


11.61

Post-Classical



11.62-64, 11.66, 11.68



11.69, 11.70

11.19, 11.20

11B. Gyptokastro/Eleutherai

12. Karoumpalo Towers

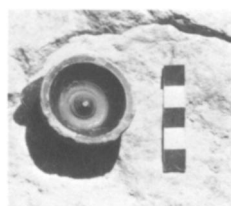


a. Karoumpalo south tower



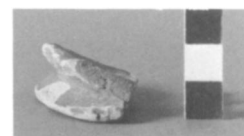
13.1

13. Zikos' Road



14.2

14. Bathychoria Tower C

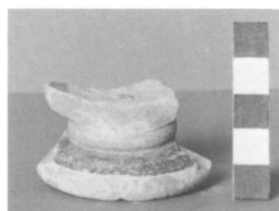


15.1



15.2

15. Agios Georgios



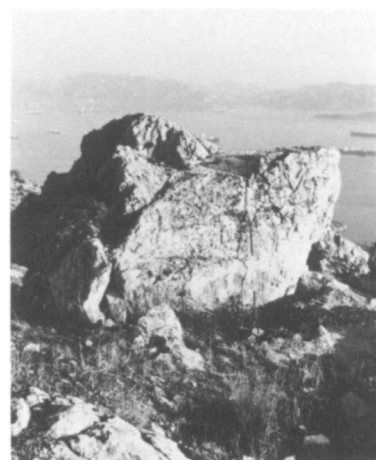
16.1

16. Panagia Saddle



17.2

17. Kantili Towers



a. Kerata west peak



18.12

18.6



18.11

18.10

18.7



18.8



18.9

18. Kerata West Peak



18.13-18