

THE TOWERS OF ANCIENT LEUKAS RESULTS OF A TOPOGRAPHIC SURVEY, 1991–1992

ABSTRACT

The author reports on the results of a topographic survey in 1991 and 1992 of fifteen Classical tower sites on the Ionian island of Leukas. Plans, photographs, and elevations of remains visible after thorough cleaning are presented, based on drawings to scale in the field and both archival and recent photographic documentation. A brief history of the exploration of Leukas introduces a summary of the two seasons, with detailed description of each site. The date and function of the towers and adjacent structures are evaluated in the context of current research on rural settlement in classical antiquity, defensive architecture, and the regional history of the area.

Πύργος ψηλός, ψηλός
πατώματα έχει
παραθύρια δεν έχει.¹

INTRODUCTION: HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY

1. Leukadian riddle (the answer: το καλάμι): Kontomichis 1995, p. 441.

2. Von Warsberg (1879, p. 407) describes it as “the Switzerland of this archipelago”; see Bornovas 1964 for a modern description; Rontogiannis 1980, pp. 5–23.

3. Rontogiannis 1980, pp. 30–33 (unpublished finds; cf. Sordinas 1968); Souyouzoglou-Haywood 1999, p. 4; Runnels 1995, p. 707, fig. 1; Douzougli 1999.

4. Murray 1982, pp. 224–265, “The Leukas Canal Area,” on the *Inselfrage*, history of the channel, and observations on underwater structures. Domingo-Forasté 1988, pp. 6–48, on the foundation and colonial history of Leukas.

The island of Leukas (Lefkáda, in modern Greek) forms a near-peninsula off the northwest coast of Greece, joining Akarnania just south of the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf, below Aktaion (Actium) and Nikopolis (Fig. 1). In modern history it belongs to the Ionian islands or *Επτάνησα* (“Seven Islands”) as the central member of the chain extending from Corfu (Kerkyra) to Zakynthos, and the most mountainous: three ranges rising over 1,000 masl dominate the island’s 295-km² landmass.² Long linked to the mainland in nature and name (Strabo [10.2.8] calls it a *χερρόνησος*; Homeric Nerikos is described as an “ἀκτὴ(ν) ἠπειροῦ” in *Od.* 24.378), it was a peninsula of the mainland as early as the Palaeolithic, traces of which appear on uplifted terraces of its western mass and in various caves and rock shelters.³

In historic times the narrow neck of land joining the northeast tip of the island to the mainland was severed by a channel kept open for seacraft, probably when the Kypselid dynasty of Corinth founded the colony of Leukas in the late 7th century B.C. (Strab. 7.7.6, 10.2.8).⁴ Its status as

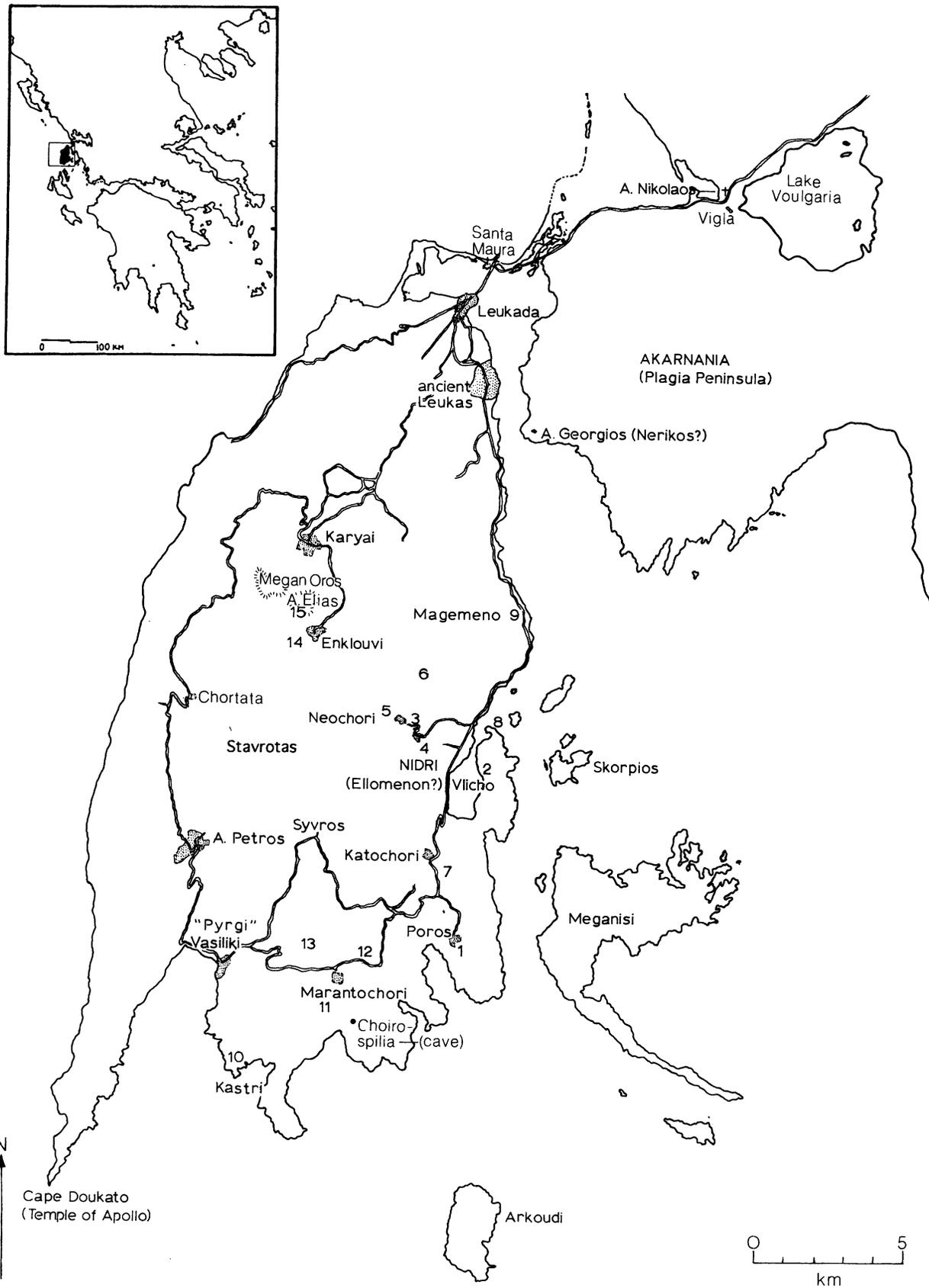


Figure 1 (opposite). Map of Leukas with inset of Greece, location of towers. F. Evenson, after Dörpfeld 1927, map 2, based on von Marées 1907, map 1

island or peninsula fluctuated through time with the navigability of the canal, while its political identity was controlled by more powerful city-states. In Classical times, the area was active in the Peloponnesian War as an ally of its mother city and enemy of Athens (Thuc. 1.46, 2.85–92, 3.69–81, 94); in the 4th century it remained loyal to Corinth until 368 B.C. (*JG II*² 104), and fell to Macedon with Athens after the Battle of Chaironeia in 338 B.C. Thereafter part of Akarnania, Leukas was capital of the Akarnanian League from 230 to 189 B.C. (Polyb. 5.5; Livy 33.17.1) and sided with Macedon against Rome. The site of significant battles during Roman campaigns in Greece, especially in 197 B.C. (Livy 33.16–17), Leukas was abandoned and its population relocated to the new city of Nikopolis after Octavian's victory at Actium (*Anth. Pal.* 2.13).⁵

According to chance finds on the island and some late burials, a limited population still occupied the deserted city in the Roman period, with a garrison when such areas became *περιοικίδες* [πόλεις] (Strab. 10.2.2) of Nikopolis; eventually its acropolis became a medieval fortress. The ship channel remained a vital alternative to the windy western coastline, offering protected passage along the east coast, secured by a series of forts. Santa Maura (founded in 1300 by the Orsini) was the first of these, soon the name of the island, and was succeeded by Turkish (1479–1684), Venetian (1684–1797), French, Russian, and British (1810–1864) occupations.⁶ Early modern travelers interested in the island's history offer the first descriptions of its ancient monuments, chiefly those of the city of Leukas.⁷ The liberation of the Ionian islands from the British protectorate in 1848 delivered Leukas into Greek hands again.

In modern archaeology, Leukas has attracted attention chiefly as an ancient candidate for Homeric Ithaka, an identity long argued in print before being explored in the field by Wilhelm Dörpfeld, during the last forty years of his life. From 1901 until his death on the island in 1940, this remarkable architect, archaeologist, and longtime assistant to Heinrich Schliemann pursued his conviction that Leukas matched, in its topography and archaeology, the epic home of Odysseus. Refused support for this mission by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, he was assisted by private donors ranging from Kaiser Wilhelm II to Leslie Walker Kosmopoulos and Jane Harrison. His results, published in letters and reports as well as in *Alt-Ithaka*, revealed a culture much older than the one he sought (much as Schliemann found at Troy), in a group of Early Bronze Age tumuli on the plain of Nidri, which are still the most impressive burials of the third-millennium Aegean.⁸ Elsewhere, the cave of Choirospilia (Figs. 1, 49) satisfied in name and setting the habitat of Homer's swineherd, Eumaios, but its Neolithic contents offered more to Aegean prehistory than to epic episodes (below, n. 63). Equally frustrating was Dörpfeld's quest for a Late Bronze Age palace and Mycenaean settlement to match Homeric descriptions of Ithaka; the later second millennium of prehistory on Leukas remains to this day remarkably scant in finds.

In the course of his Homeric quest, Dörpfeld and his colleagues reported (in field notebooks and the final publication of 1927) other antiquities on Leukas from Greek and Roman times. The southwestern promontory of the island known as Doukato (Fig. 1), a candidate for Cape

5. See Chrysos 1987, esp. N. Purcell, "The Nicopolitan Synoecism and Roman Urban Policy," pp. 71–90; E. Kirsten, "The Origins of the First Inhabitants of Nikopolis," pp. 91–98; and W. Hoepfner, "Nikopolis—Zur Stadtgründung des Augustus," pp. 129–133. Unlike defeated mainland cities (Kassope, Ammotopos: Lang 1994), Leukas remained a Roman post with sparse occupation: Rontogiannis 1980, pp. 181–203; Pliakou 2000.

6. Rontogiannis 1988 assembles ancient sources and modern accounts with illustrations, and describes the island's successive capital cities.

7. Foremost among these are Goodisson 1822, esp. chapter VII; Leake 1835, pp. 14–21; Oberhummer 1887; Partsch 1889.

8. Dörpfeld 1927, pp. 206–250; Hammond 1974; Branigan 1975; Müller 1989; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, pp. 17–37.



Figure 2. Late Classical and Hellenistic cemetery south of Leukas city wall, from northeast (1990)

Leukatas (site of Sappho's poetic leap from the "white rock of Leukas"), was the site of a Doric temple to Apollo, studied along with other Classical temples (at Agios Ioannis sto Rodaki, north of Marantochori) and forts (Agios Georgios across from ancient Leukas).⁹ In the Nidri plain, Dörpfeld's innovative techniques of exploration, particularly his deployment (if not invention) of the *Suchschnitt* in deeply buried levels, have recently been appreciated.¹⁰ His notebooks, now divided between the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Athens and the small Dörpfeld collection in Nidri, are invaluable records of the island's antiquities and topography, especially for research conducted after the appearance of *Alt-Ithaka* and not published elsewhere.¹¹

After Dörpfeld's death and the Second World War, there was little systematic investigation of the island's antiquities until the growth of the modern capital city (across from Santa Maura) and escalation of construction necessitated salvage work by the Greek Archaeological Service. Under the successive ephorates of Petros Kalligas (Corfu) and, in Ioannina, Elias and Ioanna Andreou (1978–1988) and Angelika Douzougli and Kostas Zachos (1988 to present), the ancient city of Leukas and its cemeteries (Fig. 2), in particular, have been rescued from the bulldozer.¹² The fortification walls of the city (Fig. 3), a polygonal circuit with square, ashlar towers defined by vertical drafted corners, once enclosed an urban area several kilometers square, joining an acropolis (known as "Koulmo," its medieval name derived from *culmen*) to the shoreline along the ship

9. Partsch 1889, p. 18; Dörpfeld 1927, pp. 131–132, 271–274, pls. 12–13; Rontogiannis 1980, pp. 237–252. On Agios Georgios, see below, n. 71.

10. Snodgrass 1987, pp. 18–24; cf. Kilian 1982, pp. 50–51. These exploratory soundings totaled 189 trenches, and measured 9.5 km in total length; illustrated in Dörpfeld 1927, pls. 31–32.

11. Four notebooks in Athens (I–IV) complement information in

the first six notebooks in Nidri (I–VI), chronicling research conducted from 1901 to 1913; the remaining three notebooks in Nidri (VII–IX) describe further work in 1913 and excavations in 1931, 1934, and 1935. I am grateful to Klaus Herrmann of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Athens and Dimitrios Stergiotis, former guard of antiquities in Nidri, for their assistance in consulting these notebooks. A recent study of these records (Fiedler 1992,

1996) identifies sixty Classical sites in the island.

12. In addition to annual reports of discoveries on Leukas in *ArchDelt* (1970–1995), see Andreou 1975, 1980; Andreou 1990; Douzougli and Zachos 1994. For a summary of earlier work, see Kalligas 1977, 1982. A systematic topographical survey of the ancient city was initiated by the Ephorate of Ioannina in 1994; Pliakou 1999, fig. 11; *AR* 1999–2000, p. 67.



Figure 3. Acropolis of ancient Leukas, polygonal city wall, from north (1990)

channel, and now survive chiefly on the western heights. The city's resistance to siege by Demosthenes in 426 B.C. (Thuc. 3.94), and later against the machinery and artillery of Lucius Flamininus in 197 B.C. (Livy 33.17), reflects the success of its defensive position, if not of the walls presently visible.¹³ In his analysis of the architecture of northwest Greece, William Murray notes that the coexistence of a polygonal circuit with coursed trapezoidal (pseudo-ashlar) towers is most likely to occur in the 4th and 3rd centuries. It is tempting to associate the walls of Leukas with the formation of the Akarnanian League in the 4th century.¹⁴ Classical and Hellenistic cemeteries that lie north and south of the city walls may help support a date for the circuit no earlier than the Late Classical period.

Dörpfeld's researches included limited exploratory trenches in the area of the ancient city, conducted in his absence by E. Krüger and never fully published.¹⁵ Recent salvage work indicates an extensive urban network with different sectors. Commercial and public buildings have emerged near the eastern shoreline;¹⁶ domestic foundations are continuous throughout the level area on both sides of the modern road¹⁷ and on terraces climbing to the west, with a theater on the slope that rises to the citadel of the western acropolis. The immediate vicinity of ancient Leukas was the focus

13. The walls of ancient Leukas attracted more attention in the 19th century (Goodison 1822, pl. II; Leake 1835, pp. 14–19; Partsch 1889, pp. 7–10) than today: they are absent from Scranton 1941, Lawrence 1980; Winter 1971 has only Livy's account of 197 B.C. The only views of these walls appear in Dörpfeld 1927, pl. 49, and Rontogiannis 1988, figs. 1–30 (sketch plans of ancient and medieval walls following p. 292), the only plans in von Marées 1907, map 2; Murray 1982, fig. 34; Fiedler 1999, p. 412.

14. Murray 1982, Appendix D, "Masonry Styles as Dating Criteria:

The Evidence of the Western Coastal Sites," pp. 444–459. The federation of Akarnanian cities in 389 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.4) may have inspired a homogeneous fortification style, as in Arkadia, Boeotia, and Central Greece: Cooper 2000. However, the Akarnanian League did not include Leukas until the 3rd century.

15. Dörpfeld 1927, pp. 156–157, 267–269.

16. Andreou 1993, pl. 169; Douzougli 2000; Douzougli and Zachos 1994, pp. 44–45, fig. 24, for an area that includes part of the lower city wall and gate, an amphora shop (below,

n. 78), a shrine, and other public buildings that may belong to the ancient agora.

17. Agallopoulou 1977, figs. 5, 6 and pls. 417:e–421; Andreou 1989, pl. 76. Houses and burials of ancient Leukas indicate a grid plan governing roads and houses in the level area of the city, certain tombs and their enclosures, and walls. Salvage excavations of modern plots within ancient Leukas have uncovered houses and streets of Classical through Late Hellenistic phases: Douzougli 1998, figs. 14–16, pls. 93–96; *AR* 1998–1999, pp. 64–66; Fiedler 1999.

of a one-man survey twenty years ago, which identified twenty-seven ancient sites in the area.¹⁸ The urban texture of the city is the subject of a dissertation in progress by Manuel Fiedler, who is comparing two newly excavated sectors within and outside the ancient walls.¹⁹

Outside of the capital city of Leukas, the ancient city of Ellomeno(n) (Thuc. 3.94: below, n. 52) may lie at the deep bay of Nidri, where the name “Ekkleimeno” (Enklimeno) survives for the sheltered harbor just inside the peninsula (Figs. 4, 43). Significant structures around the southwestern plain of modern Vassiliki offer a third urban area densely occupied in antiquity and explored in modern times.²⁰ More isolated sites include sanctuaries in caves (e.g., near Chortata) and on mountain peaks. Among the rural monuments that attracted the attention of Dörpfeld was a series of stone towers, preserved primarily as foundations but in one example, above the village of Poros, standing several stories high (Fig. 7). Seven of these monuments Dörpfeld recorded or even excavated, then described and illustrated in his final publication, along with his sensible argument for their function as rural residences.²¹ Dörpfeld’s recommendations for further work at Poros, coupled with widespread recent interest in this class of ancient monument, inspired the present study of these towers as one strategy for approaching the history of the island. Our extensive survey of standing monuments, rather than the kind of intensive urban or regional surveys more popular in recent archaeology, aims at preservation as well as analysis, and targets the kind of site that links urban and rural contexts.²² One result of our project is that the Poros tower property has been offered by the owner for expropriation to the Greek Archaeological Service, and extensive documentation of all the tower sites is now archived with the Ephorate of Ioannina. This article presents the results of our survey in two seasons, with some suggestions for integrating the Leukas towers into the larger corpus of fortified rural residences in ancient Greece.

We began our survey of Leukas in 1991 with a close analysis of the best-preserved tower at Poros (1) and its adjacent installations, then of the other published towers in southeast Leukas (2–7); in the following year, we explored eight previously unpublished monuments (8–15), reported below under the 1992 season.²³ Fifteen sites were identified as locales of one or more tower structures (Fig. 1), including two described by Dörpfeld

18. Gallant 1982, 1983, 1986.

19. Fiedler 1996, pp. 161–163; 1999; 2001.

20. Early visitors often landed on Leukas at Vassiliki from Ithaka and noted its monuments, including the large platform of monumental blocks that sits, today, under a half-timbered house: Goodisson 1822, pp. 71–73; Partsch 1889 (map: “Pyrgi”); Dörpfeld 1927, map 2, Nidri notebook I, p. 103; Fiedler 1996, pp. 160, 168: ancient Phara?

21. Dörpfeld (1927, pp. 256–262) cites Ormerod 1924 in making the Leukas towers “turmartige Wohn-

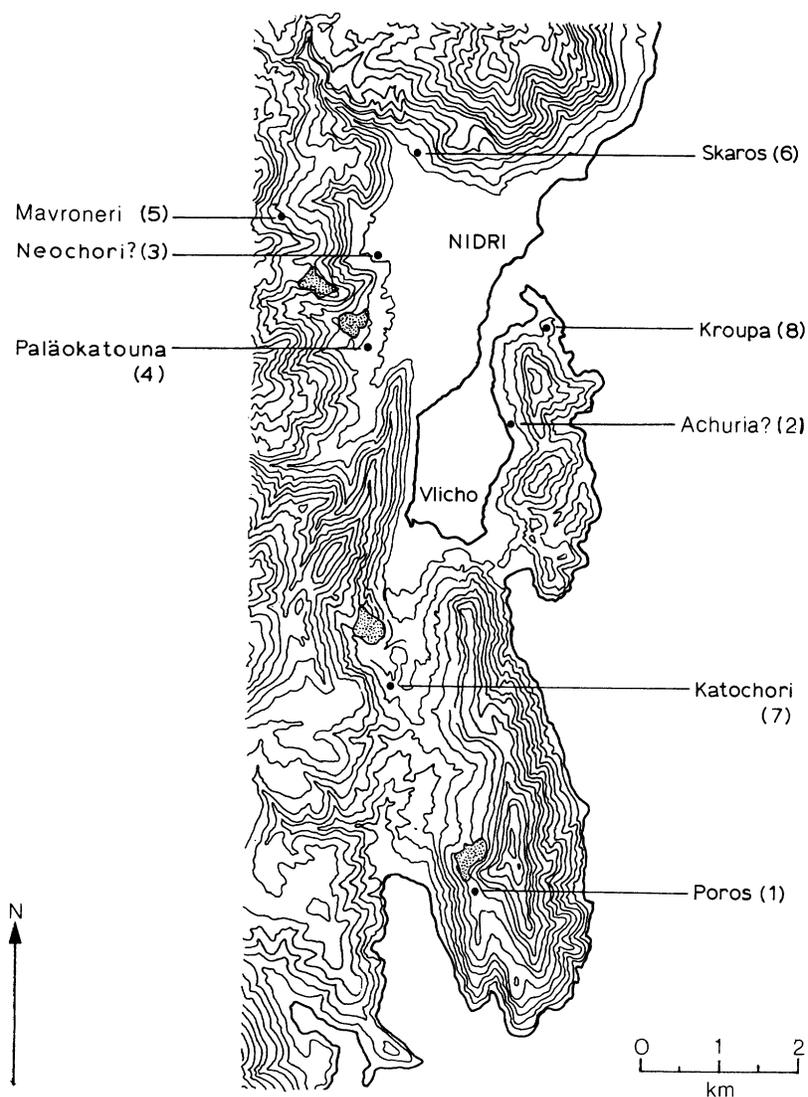
ungen,” while admitting the existence elsewhere of watch- and signal-towers. See also Nowicka 1975, pp. 58–59, 73–74. Cf. Kilian 1982, pp. 54–55; Rontogiannis 1980, pp. 186–187.

22. Douzougli and Morris (1994) report on the Leukas towers explored in 1991 (primarily Poros) and on the ancient city, posing questions of mutual concern to our team and the ephorate in Ioannina.

23. All towers were located on 1:5,000 maps from the Greek Geographical Service of the Army (Γ.Υ.Σ.), the basis for Figs. 6, 43, 45, 49, 59, and were drawn to scale in the field; relative

elevations were taken from an arbitrary datum point at each site, and absolute elevations for each site were estimated from those provided on the Γ.Υ.Σ. maps (none of the towers examined were visible from geodetic survey markers). All photographs published here, unless otherwise credited, were taken after extensive cleaning to remove overgrowth. Preliminary reports: *AR* 1991–1992, pp. 35–36; *AR* 1992–1993, pp. 42–43; Pariente 1992, p. 875; 1993, p. 809. Numbered references to towers in this report are keyed to Fig. 1.

Figure 4. Map of southeastern Leukas with tower sites 1–8.
F. Evenson, after Dörpfeld 1927, map 8,
based on von Marées 1907, map 3



but no longer visible; others await exploration. Several sites would reward excavation, and this report serves as an initial step toward a fuller reconnaissance of the landscape of ancient Leukas.

1991 SEASON: POROS TOWER COMPLEX

Figs. 5–30

The tower site at Poros (Fig. 1:1; Dörpfeld's tower f) lies just above the modern village, about half a kilometer south of the chapel of Agios Nikolaos and just west of the modern dirt road that leads south from the village to fields and orchards (Fig. 5). The ancient complex lies at the head of a narrow valley that slopes from north (the chapel ridge, at 300 masl) to a steep drop into the sea at the south. This valley lies between the eastern peak of Kastro (509 masl) and the lower western ridge of uplifted layers of limestone that drop steeply to the waters of Rouda Bay (Fig. 6). Like the modern town of Poros, named for the "strait" between Leukas and Meganisi



Figure 5. View of Poros valley from east, with tower site visible at arrow

(Fig. 1) that is reached by a path (“Skala”) over the mountain to the east, the ancient site is hidden from the sea (Fig. 5), and seems chosen for protection and access to arable land rather than visual communication. This sheltered rather than strategic setting eliminates the likelihood of any reconnaissance or lookout function, and is compatible with the domestic and agrarian details of the site that confirm Dörpfeld’s identification of a rural residence. However, the size of nearby surviving blocks (visible in foreground, Fig. 16) led Partsch to consider the remains a “Burg” with a second tower near the standing one and with a gate complex (see Fig. 21 for what may have inspired this) 32 m to the south. He evidently understood the modern name of the site, “(Το) Πύργι” (homophonic in modern Greek with Πύργοι, nominative plural) to represent multiple towers.²⁴ Our analysis reveals, instead, a single square tower standing near a substantial complex of buildings (Fig. 9) that incorporates an earlier, round tower.

The standing tower survives at its northwest corner to a height of twenty-two courses, well over 7 m above present ground level, much as it did 100 years ago (Figs. 7, 8, 10). It was untouched by several major earthquakes that destroyed, in 1953, most buildings on Zakynthos and Kephallonia and, in 1915 and 1948, many buildings and towns of Leukas (in 1948, 90% of Vassiliki).²⁵ Earlier quakes may be responsible for the pronounced vertical crack on the tower’s north face and the definite sag that can be measured across the horizontal (Figs. 8, 12a–d). Although settling could be responsible for such collapse (cf. the cracks inside the western face: Fig. 14), the ground plan shows strong displacement (Fig. 11). This follows in direction and shape the diagonal cracks that run through the

24. Partsch 1889, p. 21; Dörpfeld called the site a “Festungsturm” on his first visit (Nidri notebook I, p. 16).

25. See Rontogiannis 1995 for the effects (recorded in local archives) of thirty-six major earthquakes on Leukas between 1469 and 1971 (cf. Rontogiannis 1980, p. 526; 1982, pp. 659–673); Bornovas 1964, pp. 107–110, figs. 29–30 (map of fault lines).

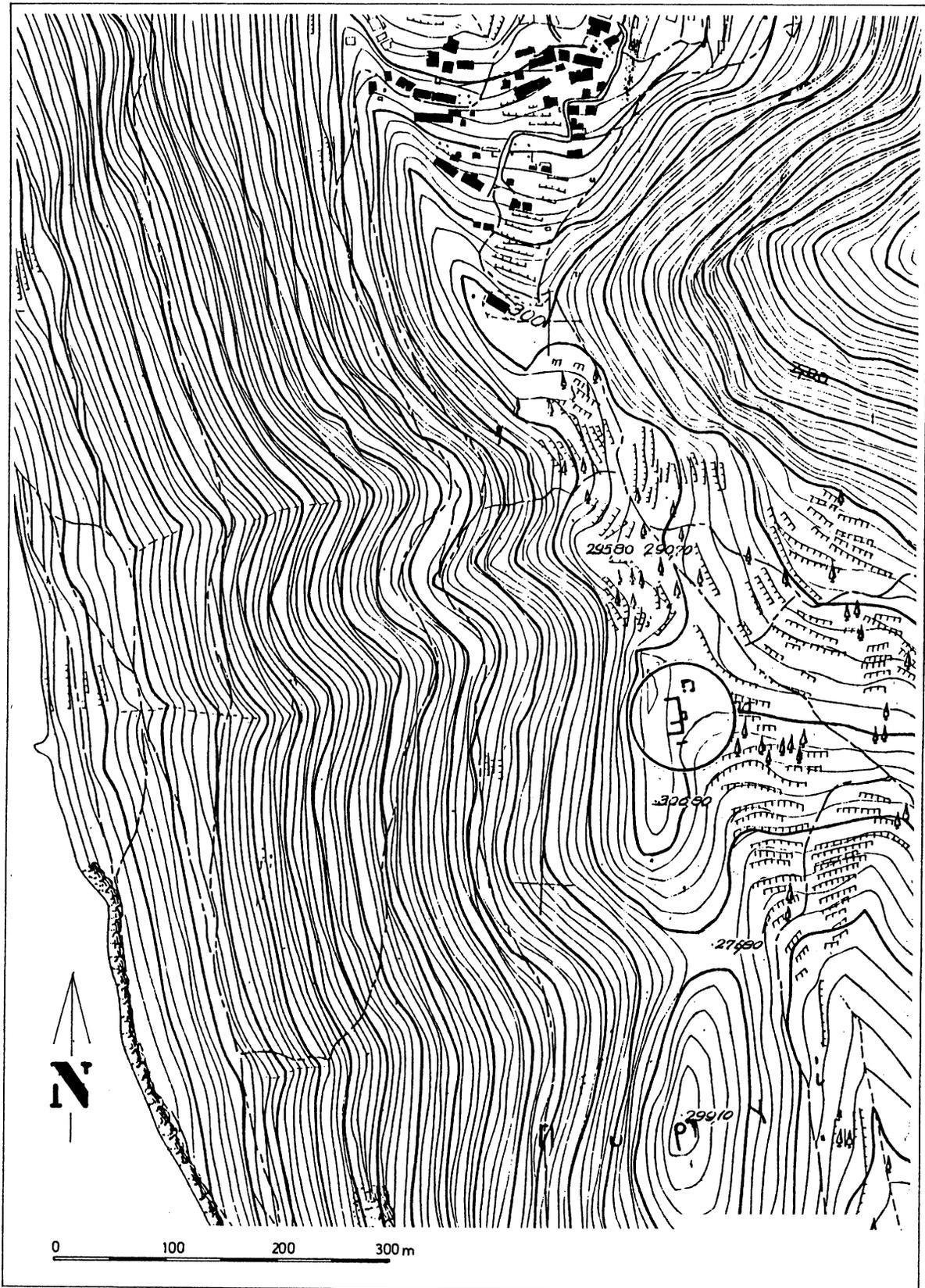


Figure 6. Contour map of Poros area,
with location of tower circled. T. Feuerhake



Figure 7. Poros tower from northwest, in 1901. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. Leukas 38; Dörpfeld 1927, pl. 46

stone slabs at the same site (Fig. 30) and the disruption of slabs lining graves in the Classical cemetery south of the city of Leukas (Fig. 2).²⁶ Active epicenters of local earthquakes cluster around Leukas, especially in the channel separating it from Ithaka and Kephallonia; it seems logical to connect this source and direction of ground movement with the consistent patterns of damage in historical buildings.²⁷ However, Venetian archives of Leukas preserve a native account of a tremendous storm in May 1766 that destroyed the town of Poros, its trees, crops, and vines, its fishermen and their boats, “and even the tower” (the earliest modern reference to the monument, described as a “Hellenic building. . . which existed from the time of the Hellenes”).²⁸ Thus natural disaster and gradual collapse as well as human action, such as the removal of large blocks for modern agricultural terraces throughout the valley (below, n. 38), together account for the present condition of the Poros tower.

The tower is built in pseudo-isodomic style, familiar as “coursed trapezoidal” in northwest Greece; blocks are shaped with parallel upper and lower surfaces but joints decline from the vertical, with each course

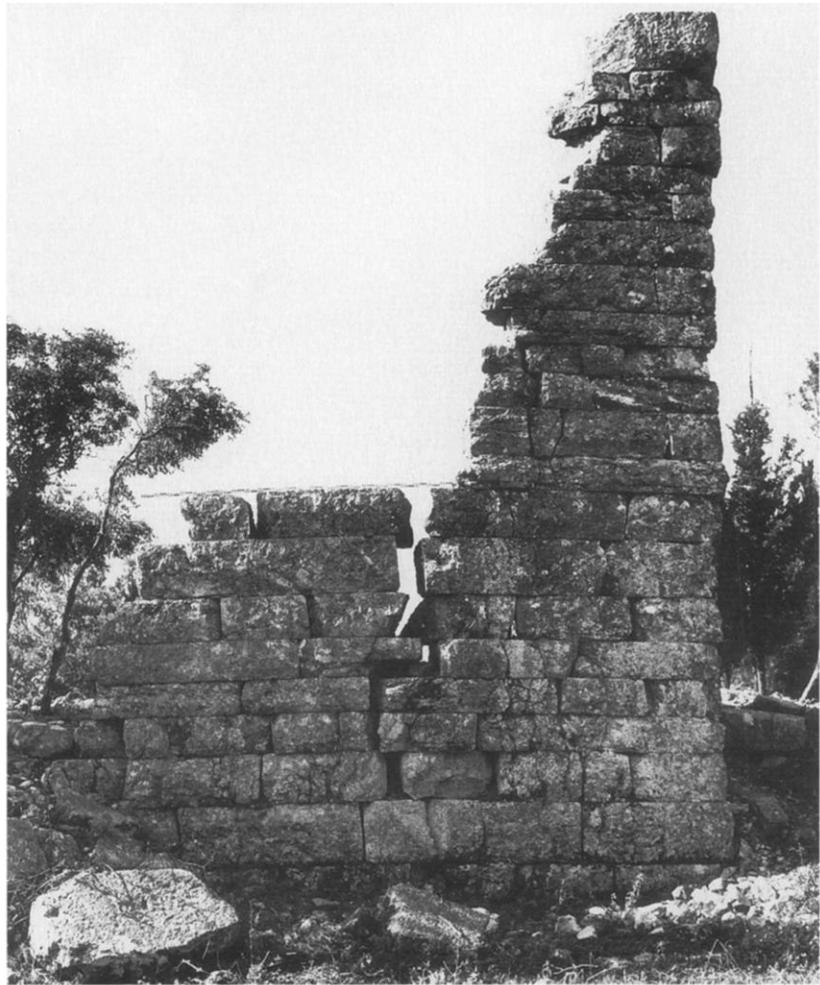
26. Fig. 2 = Douzougli and Morris 1994, p. 225, fig. 10 (south cemetery); cf. Douzougli and Zachos 1994, p. 47, fig. 25 (plan of cemetery); cf. also Agallopoulou 1977, pp. 486–492, pl. 419:d–g; Andreou 1989, p. 188, pl. 77:b; Douzougli 1998, pp. 287–290.

27. Stiros 1988; Douzougli and Zachos 1994, p. 47.

28. In the words of town elders reporting the damage to Venetian officials, “*Ἀκόμα καὶ τὸ κτούριο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸ καὶ ὁποῦ γῆταν εἰς τὴν μεριοχὴν τοῦ χωρίου μας, εἰς τὸ Πρυγί [Πυργί], ὁ Πύργος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς*

ἐκρεμίστη, ὁποῦ γῆταν ἀπὸ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων” (Kontomichis 1958, p. 29; Rontogiannis 1980, p. 186). I am grateful to T. Sklavenitis for discussion of this incident and its bibliography. The tower at Cheimarrou on Naxos was also damaged by weather (lightning): Haselberger 1972, pp. 431–432, n. 7.

Figure 8. Poros tower in 1991, north face, from north



diminishing slightly in height.²⁹ Its visible ground plan indicates a structure once ca. 6.9 by 6.9 m, now twisted into a polygon (Fig. 11). In length some blocks reach nearly 2 m; their depth tapers from 0.75 m in the ten lower courses to less than 0.50 m above that, as the walls diminish in bulk above the chief load-bearing courses. Angle blocks are L-shaped and were joined to their neighbors with large swallow-tail clamps (Fig. 13), probably of wood as elsewhere in Akarnania (see n. 29 for discussion by Murray) and in the city wall of ancient Leukas. From the clamp cuttings visible in the uppermost preserved course at the northeast and northwest corners (Fig. 11), this tower once stood at least one course higher, and probably had at least three stories or levels. The debris of fallen and broken blocks inside the foundations now hides any interior features and fills the tower high above any ancient ground level; most likely, as in other towers, there was at least one cross-wall at the level of the foundations (cf. below, Figs. 32, 34, 36). The entrance is presumed to lie near the west end of the south side, where a tipped threshold block now suggests its erstwhile position (Fig. 15). Given this limited state of preservation, no reconstruction of interior plans and upper floors is possible. The only standing tower section high enough to reach an upper story shows no cuttings for horizontal beams of an upper floor, only several projecting cantilevered blocks (Fig. 14).

29. Murray 1982, pp. 444–459 (above, n. 14) on coursed trapezoidal style; Partsch (1889, p. 21) measured the height of the first eleven courses, which range from 0.26 m to 0.46 m.

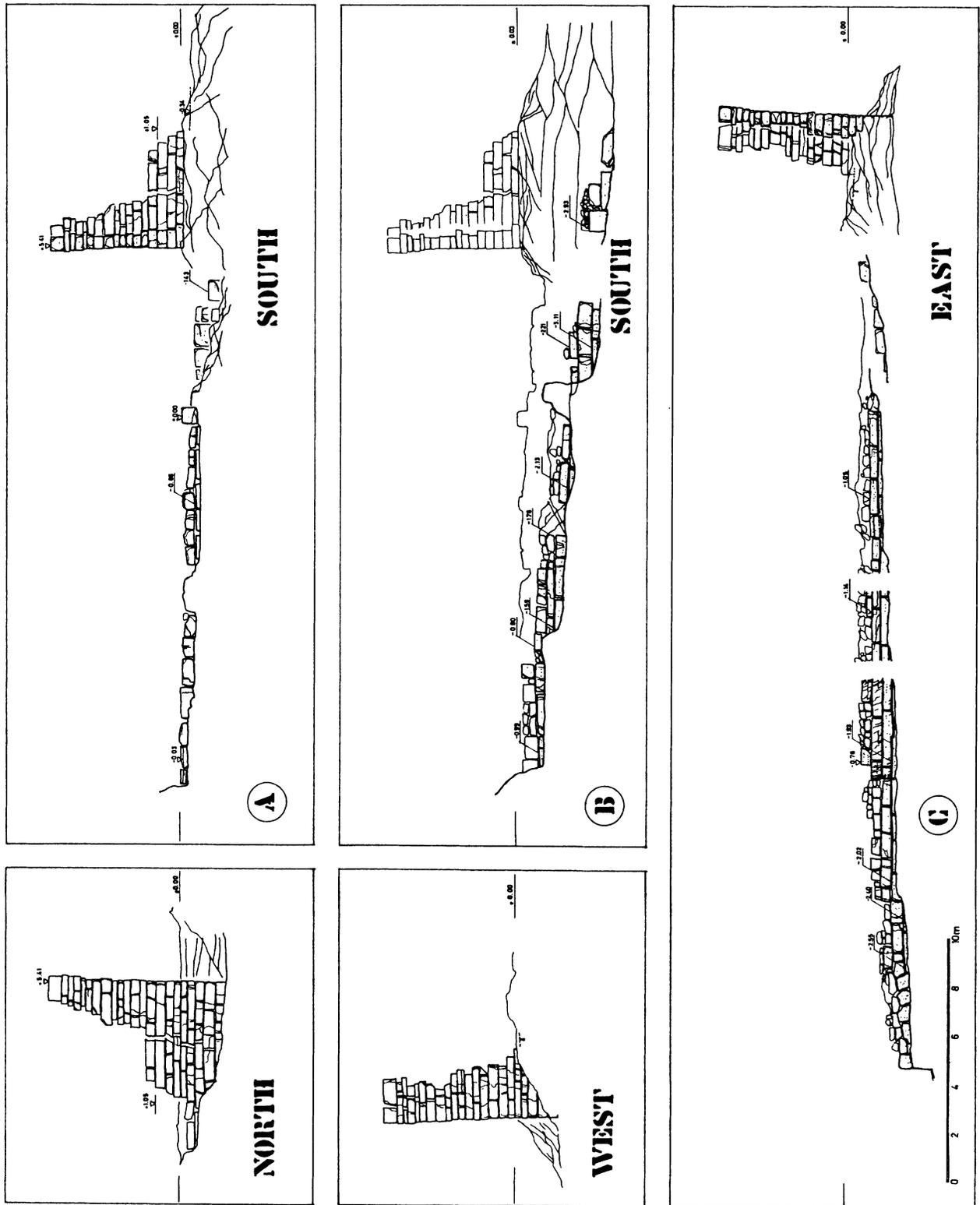


Figure 10. Poros towers and complex, sections through Figure 9. T. Feuerhake

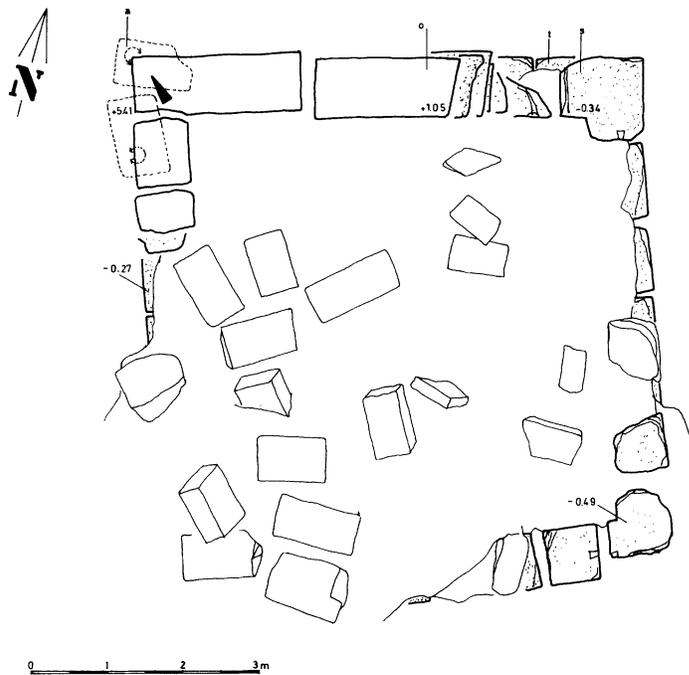


Figure 11. Poros, square tower: state plan. T. Feuerhake

Southwest of this standing structure extends a course of substantial walls, in ashlar (Fig. 17) and trapezoidal (Fig. 18) stretches, with squared corner blocks (cf. Fig. 21). They define a rectangular circuit nearly 20 m across (east to west) and 32 m from north (near the standing tower) to south; the longest stretch of continuous wall preserved, on the east, is 33.5 m in length (Fig. 9). Best seen on the east (Figs. 17–18), south (Figs. 19–21), and north (Figs. 22–23), the enclosure shows both faces (interior and exterior) on north and east, and throughout a foundation for higher courses of stone and brick, up to 1.5 m wide (Figs. 9–10). A broken line of blocks about 4 m east of the east wall suggests a parallel course, truncated by modern terraces but well defined at the northeast corner (Partsch’s “second tower”? Fig. 16) and at the southeast (Partsch’s “gate”? Fig. 21). The south wall survives in long ashlars (Figs. 19–20) and returns, at the west end, to the south for a few meters (Fig. 9). The northern boundary survives in two faces and courses, disfigured by heavy root damage (Fig. 22). Two of the westernmost blocks are cut back as if to meet an ancient ground level inside (Figs. 9, 23), the only visible candidate for an “entrance” to the complex. On the west, bedrock rises just outside the complex to the ridge called “Dragata” (“Lookout”), stone from which was presumably quarried for tower and enclosure blocks (Figs. 5–6, 24). This natural peak takes its name from the local term for a lookout point or observatory where the χωροφύλακας, or δραγάτης in Leukadian, watched for damage to vineyards by humans, animals, or birds.³⁰ The east wall of the complex at its midpoint sits on bedrock visible under surface layers (Fig. 25). The shallow surviving ground cover, plus constant cultivation inside the walls over the years, does not promise deep undisturbed ancient levels that might clarify the history and function of this complex through excavation.

The most significant feature revealed through cleaning heavy overgrowth from these blocks, beyond the regular plan of the complex, was a

30. Kontomichis 1985, pp. 119–121: the δραγάτης normally built himself a brush shelter (δραγάτα) for his (camouflaged?) observatory, also observed by Davy (1842, pp. 345–346) in the 19th century on Leukas. The toponym at the Poros site may merely reflect its vantage point. Protecting grapes from theft or damage is one of several functions posited for ancient towers in rural settings: see the modern tower in a Naoussa vineyard in Lambert-Gocs 1990, color pl. 5.

round tower built into the midpoint of the east wall (Figs. 9, 25–26). Three courses of curved ashlars survive (two well preserved, a third only a single upper block, visible at right in Fig. 25) on its south and east sides, or approximately a third of its original circumference, estimated at 6.3 m in diameter. A projecting euthynteria cut into bedrock is visible on the east side, outside the ancient complex. The uppermost blocks show no cuttings for attaching upper courses of stone, indicating a superstructure of mudbrick, as with many Classical towers in Attica and on Leukas itself (e.g., at Kleismatia: Fig. 57).³¹ As the central cross-wall and east wall of the complex at Poros abut the circular tower, the latter appears to be an earlier structure later incorporated into the large complex and perhaps replaced by the larger, square tower. Elsewhere on Leukas—at Kleismatia (Fig. 55) and the now-lost tower at Achuria on the east shore of Nidri Bay (Fig. 32)—one finds a round tower built into, and in fact replaced by, a square one.

The interior of the complex at Poros preserves several modern ground levels separated by ancient and modern walls, notably an east–west wall that also incorporates the round tower into its east end (Figs. 9, 27). At the west, this line peters out into a modern terrace wall where an ancient olive-oil press bed (1.32 m in diameter, 0.33 m thick, with a 0.10 m channel cut into its lower face, 0.10 m from the outer edge) has been re-used (Fig. 28). The present difference in elevation between the north and south ends of the complex could define ancient ground levels in a complex stepped from north to south as the valley slopes, or could simply reflect modern landscaping for cultivation. Recent stretches of rubble walling divide the northern half into two sectors and levels, and rubble covers a short stretch extending west from the eastern wall of the complex, south of the round tower (Fig. 27, rubble walls in foreground, background; cf. Fig. 9). Presumably many stones, lighter than the heavy socle blocks of the ancient enclosure, were dismantled for medieval and modern terraces and field boundaries. A single stone base just south of the east–west wall (Fig. 28, right foreground) once supported a wooden post or column (its squared upper surface offers an area ca. 0.52 by 0.53 m); its date and original position are unknown. About 10 m east of the square tower, a wellhead of ancient blocks (built in recent times, according to landowners) still supplies water; no doubt a predecessor tapped an ancient water source. These features complete what can be surmised of the original complex from modern surface remains. Most likely the heavy, exterior walls once held a superstructure of lighter blocks, if not higher courses of mudbrick. Inside the complex, one would expect to find lighter foundations for covered buildings and open courtyards typical of an ancient farm complex, examples of which are best preserved in Greek colonies of the Crimea.³²

In addition to the oil press built into the westernmost (modern) stretch of the central cross-wall (Fig. 28), a second press bed with channel (1.78 m in diameter) lies half-buried in the ground north of this wall (Fig. 29; cf. Fig. 9 for location). The two large stone discs (of different dimensions) resemble those most often associated with ancient olive-pressing in Classical times, with parallels at Leukas.³³

Other evidence for ancient agricultural activity at Poros is a wide shallow basin built of flat slabs of marine conglomerate (local to the site) with

31. Lohmann 1993, pp. 144, 156; Munn 1993, p. 88. Cf. Martin 1965, pp. 46–64; Orlandos 1966, I, pp. 57–66; Lawrence 1980, p. 190; also posited for the Tholos at Athens: Thompson 1940, pp. 48–55. No source describes the shape of mudbricks for circular structures: trapezoidal (ἑτερόπλευροι, as specified in Delphic inscriptions: Orlandos 1966, I, p. 61, n. 2), for a faceted circumference? See Thielemans 1994 on reconstructing the height of Attic towers built in brick, and Xen. *An.* 7.8.12–15 for a brick tower (τύρσις) in Asia Minor.

32. Cf. Farmhouse Grinevich 1, with two towers, or Strzheletskii 10 and 25; Dufková and Pecírka 1970, figs. 7, 14–15; Saprykin 1994, figs. 14–15. See also sites with multiple towers in Attica (Lohmann 1993, pp. 139–141) and in ancient documents (*P Oxy.* 2.247.23: οἰκίας διπυργίας; Xen. *An.* 7.8.9). Spencer (1994, p. 208, n. 8) is mistaken in calling two towers at a single site on Lesbos “unparalleled” in the Aegean.

33. See Dörpfeld’s Leukas (DAI) notebook I, p. 8, and Nidri notebook I, p. 14, for a press stone observed in the vineyard of P. Palmos south of Vlichos Bay, 22 March 1901 (Dörpfeld 1927, map 16): ca. 0.35 m thick, with a diameter (restored from two fragments) of 1.52 m, and an outer channel ca. 3 mm deep and 5–6 cm wide. At Poros, the spouts of both press stones may be buried. Cf. Foxhall 1993, 1997, and Ault 1999 for Classical olive presses.

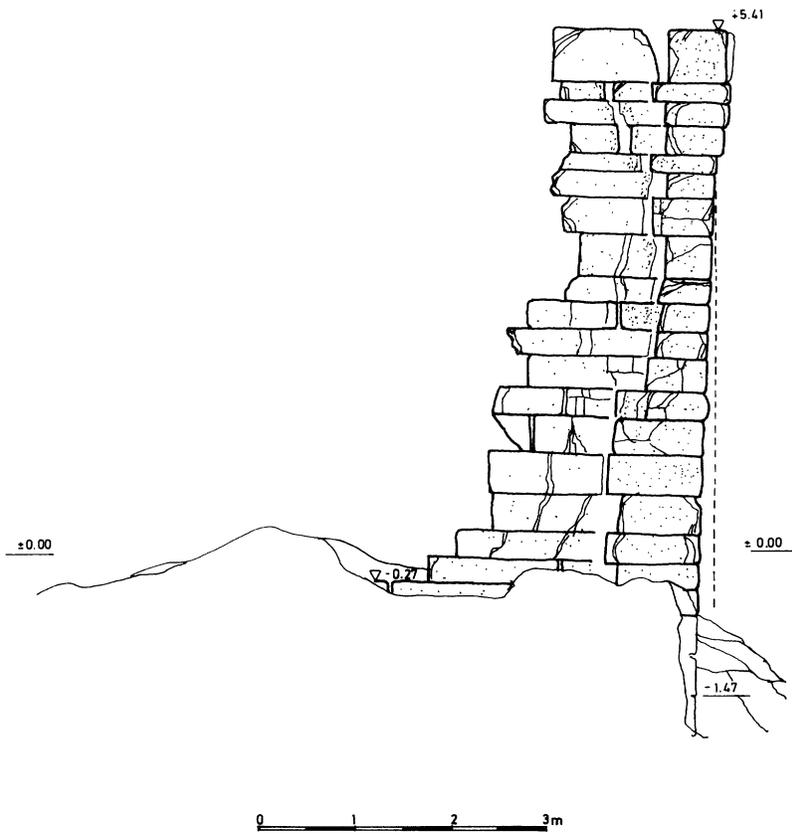


Figure 12a. Poros, square tower, east elevation. T. Feuerhake

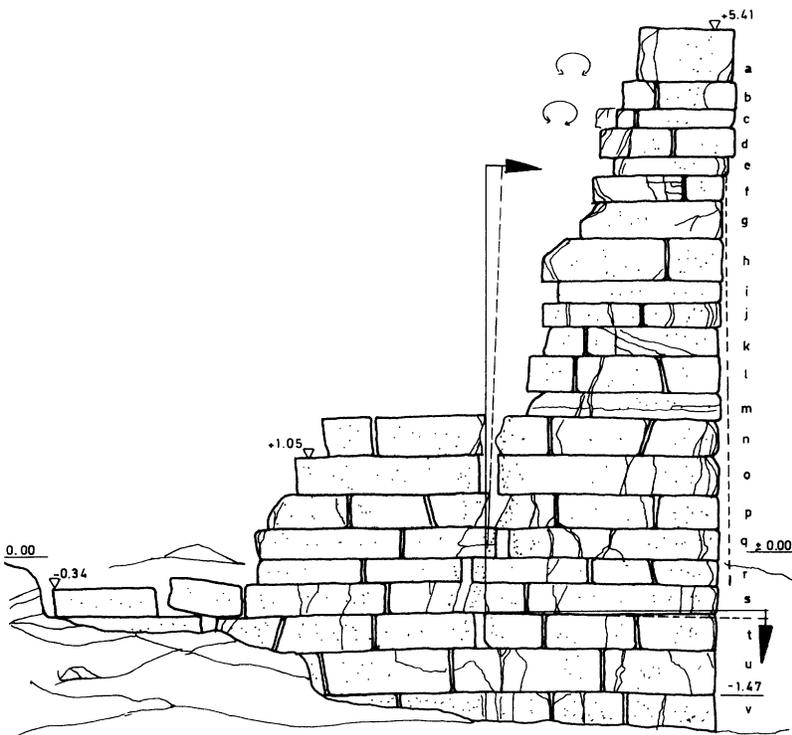


Figure 12b. Poros, square tower, north elevation. T. Feuerhake

Figure 12c. Poros, square tower, west elevation. T. Feuerhake

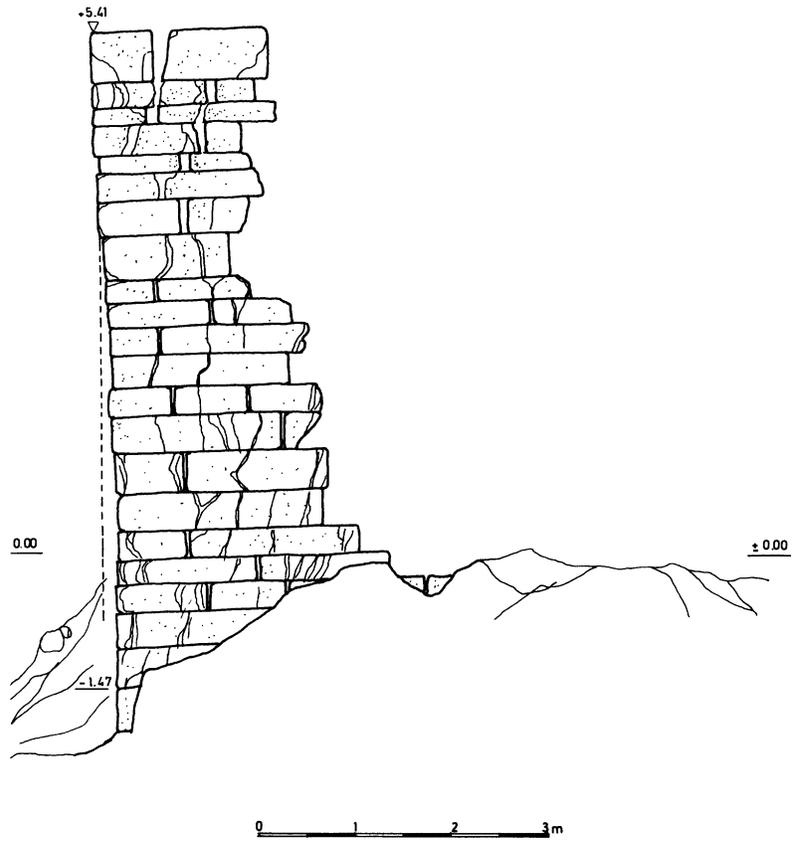


Figure 12d. Poros, square tower, south elevation. T. Feuerhake

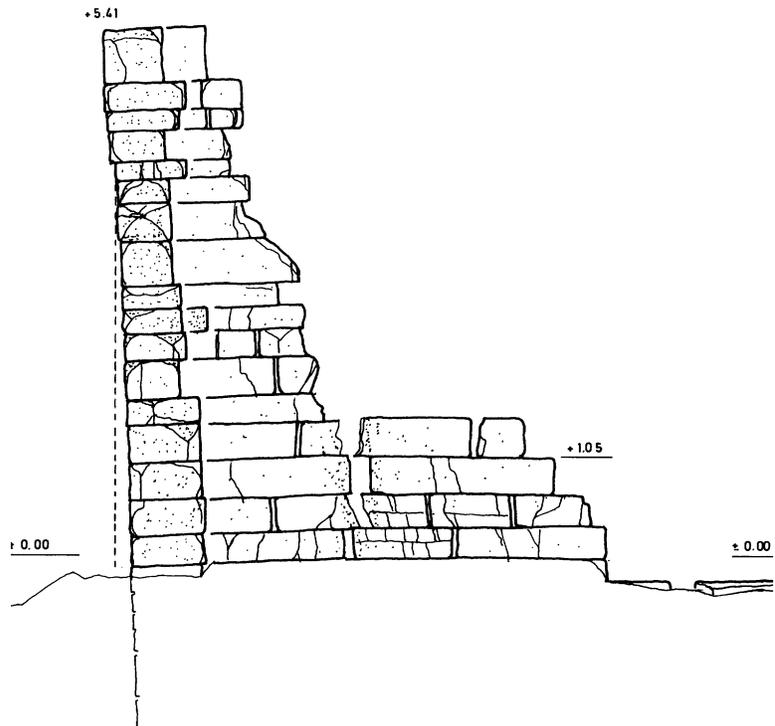




Figure 13. Poros tower, southeast angle blocks with swallow-tail clamp cuttings (1991)



Figure 14. Poros tower, inside northwest corner, from southeast (1991)

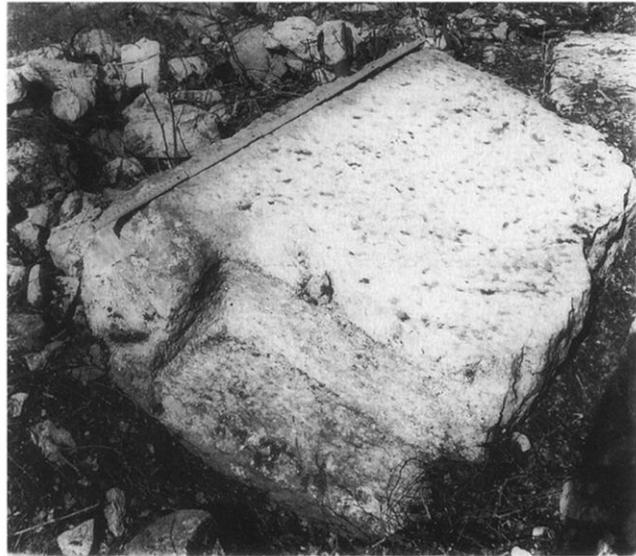


Figure 15. Poros tower, threshold block on south side, from northeast (1991)



Figure 16. Poros tower and northeast corner of complex, from southwest (1991)



Figure 17. Poros complex: east wall, from east (1991)



Figure 18. Poros complex: east wall, south end, from east (1991)



Figure 19. Poros complex: south wall, east end, from south (1991)



Figure 20. Poros complex, south wall, from south (1991)



Figure 21. Poros complex: south end, blocks at east: "gate" or tower? (1991)

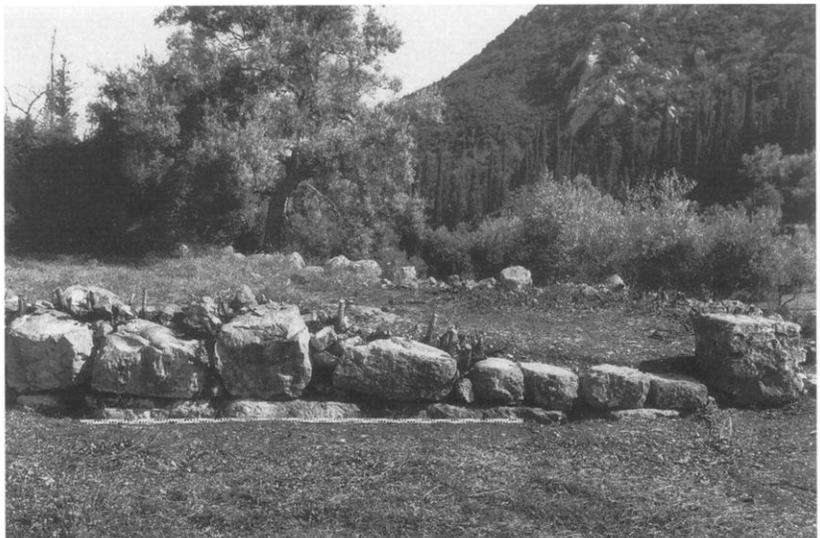


Figure 22. Poros complex, north wall, east end, from south (1991)



Figure 23. Poros complex, north wall, west end with threshold (1991)



Figure 24. Ridge west of Poros complex ("Dragata"), from north; quarry (1991)



Figure 25. Poros complex, round tower, from east (1991)

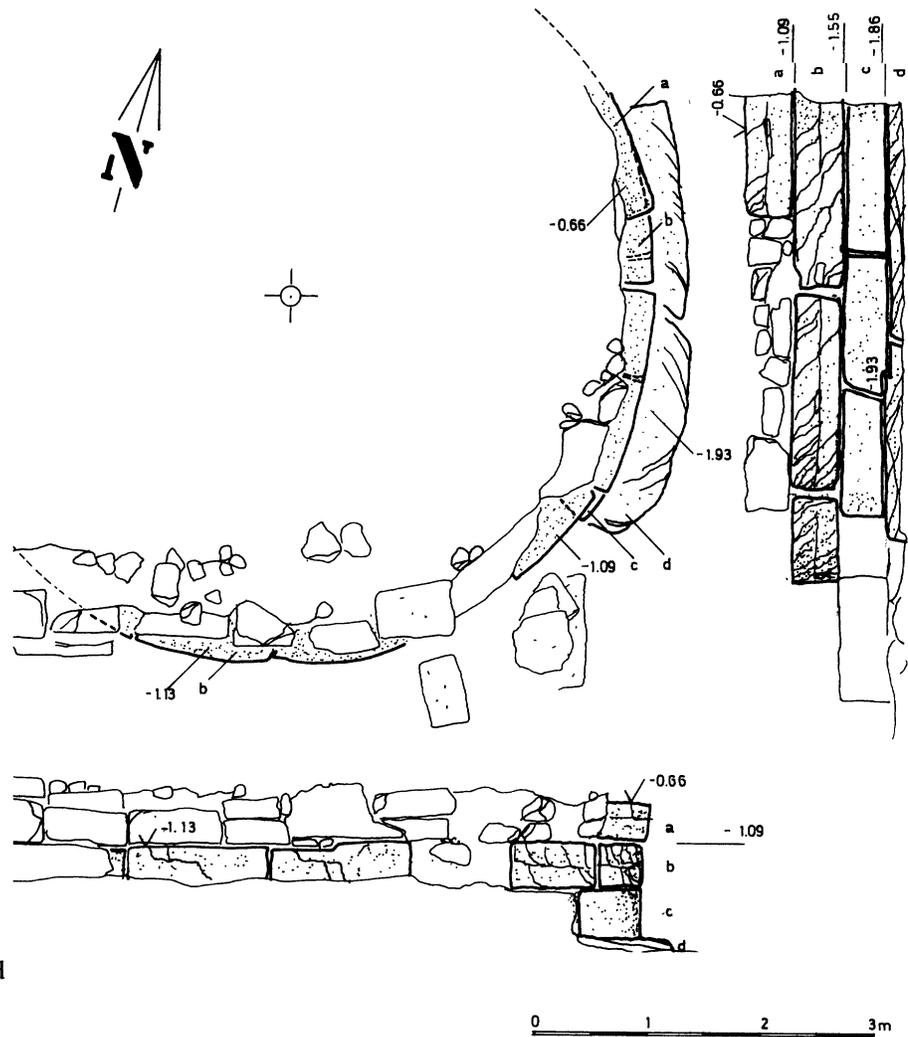


Figure 26. Poros complex, round tower, plan and elevations.
T. Feuerhake



Figure 27. Poros complex, central cross-wall with round tower, from south (1991)



Figure 28. Poros complex, central cross-wall with press stone, from south (1991)

a raised lip, built against and under the heavy blocks of the western wall (Fig. 30). Deep rectangular sockets cut into the raised rim must have once held wooden posts for anchoring side walls to form a criblike structure atop the stone slabs. This container would have drained to the north into the preserved square basin, just over 1 m², built of irregular stones, with a flat channel cut into its south side (see Fig. 9). The installation suggests a wooden vat with stone floor emptying into the adjacent basin, perhaps a grape press (πατητήρι in modern Greek) with basin (προ-, ὑπολήγιον); ancient presses, labeled *galeagra*, are described in Hero's *Mechanica*, and survive at Classical farm sites in the Black Sea area. The stone floor and basin could also be a crushing trough for preparing olives for pressing, next to a *kopron*, or ancient compost bin, such as that recently identified at Classical Halieis.³⁴ At Halieis this kind of processing equipment was installed in the 4th century, contemporary with the earliest date possible for the square tower and farm walls at Poros. Locating this kind of activity makes the northwest quadrant of the Poros complex an open courtyard, entered at the northwest and protected on the west side by the steep rise to the Dragata ridge.

This agricultural equipment complements the rustic setting of this tower complex to support Dörpfeld's suspicion that these structures belonged to rural residences. Surface sherds noted during cleaning and drawing of remains were remarkably scanty, beyond a concentration of pithos sherds (including fragments with triple relief band common at all tower sites), and tiles in and around the square tower (in contrast to the more abundant black glaze and other fine wares collected, e.g., near the Kleismatia towers: below, pp. 331–332). The notoriety of this tower to visitors over the centuries (hence Dörpfeld's interest) and modern disturbance of ground levels by cultivation (mixed fill and rubble reach to bedrock in areas exposed by cleaning just outside the walls) may account for the poverty of ancient artifactual material visible.³⁵

The Poros complex can be summarized briefly from our observations and analysis of the available evidence. Its original phase may have consisted of a round tower of mudbrick on a stone socle with adjacent structures, possibly within an enclosure (extending to the poorly preserved

34. For Black Sea sites, see Drachmann 1932, pp. 60–62, 150, figs. 18–19; Dufková and Pecírka 1970, figs. 10–12, 15–17; Wasowicz 1994, figs. 1–5. For southern Greece, see Foxhall 1997 (Methana peninsula) and Ault 1999 (Halieis). Foxhall (1993, pp. 195–199) notes a list of items in an Attic poletai account (*IG I³ 425*, lines 30–40): stone ληνοί, clay treaders, a large vat, πλίνθοι σταφυλοβολοί, and a jug, collectively an installation for treading grapes and collecting their juice. Traditional presses for τσίπουρο on Leukas, called τρόκολο and no longer in use, include a similar stone slab cut for wooden posts and a stone basin: Kontomichis 1985, p. 126, fig. 21. We cannot exclude a post-antique date for the Poros installation (although it now lies under a row of heavy ancient blocks: Fig. 30, upper left) without excavation.

35. Dörpfeld (1927, p. 330) also reported “Scherben” from this site.

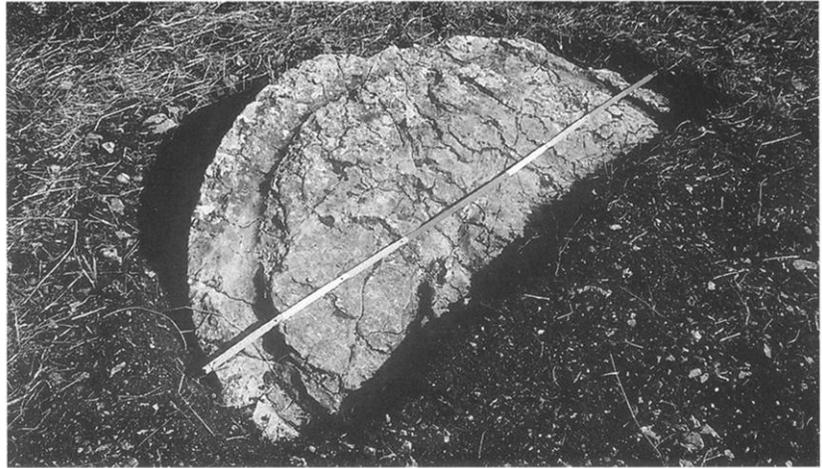


Figure 29. Poros complex, buried press stone, from south (1991)



Figure 30. Poros complex, west side, stone floor of trough or press, from south (1991)

easternmost “wall?”); this arrangement would resemble the combination of a round tower within an enclosure familiar on many Greek islands.³⁶ Given few examples of freestanding stone towers in Greek architecture before the later 5th century,³⁷ it would be unlikely for such a structure to have been built before the Classical era. In a later phase—Late Classical or Hellenistic (4th or 3rd century)—this round tower was incorporated into a (new?) enclosure with pressing equipment, and its function replicated or replaced by a new, square tower built entirely of stone in the style then customary in northwest Greece.

Throughout a life of approximately three centuries, these structures served the same function: to house a small group of rural residents, presumably an extended family with servants or slaves, raising and processing cash crops such as olives and grapes, along with grain, dairy, and other products for household consumption. In more recent times, the same crops are raised here, once harvested by a seasonal community: prior to 1950, some thirty families from Poros used to move up to the Πυργί for the summer months with their animals, living on temporary bedding of brush (*μπαράκες*, in local parlance), according to local residents. Although the vicinity of Poros preserves occasional antiquities,³⁸ the nearest large settlements lie at Nidri and Vassiliki. This places the tower site at Poros several kilometers from the nearest ancient town, and its isolation helps explain the need for a tower as well as an enclosure wall whose considerable mass and (restored) height afforded considerable protection.

1991 SEASON: TOWERS IN SOUTHEAST LEUKAS

Figs. 31–42

Examining other towers on Leukas allowed us to test the context and function suggested by the Poros evidence against other surviving monuments. Two reported by Dörpfeld, including one without visual documentation, have now disappeared. One lay east of Vlichos Bay near a spot known as Achuria, where it now lies buried by accumulation and new holiday homes, and could not be found despite its precise location on Dörpfeld’s maps and in photographs (Fig. 1:2; Figs. 4, 31–32).³⁹ Like the square tower at Poros, this one measured about 7 m on a side (7.05 m, in Dörpfeld’s dimensions); its highest surviving course consists of ashlar up to 2 m in length on a euthynteria of polygonal stones. No clamp cuttings were noted but holes for dowels survived on blocks at or adjacent to corners, with pry marks for shifting the next course into place. Interior features exposed were limited to a single, central stone base for an interior support and a cistern sunk in the southern section; cross-walls and entrance cannot be confirmed. The presence of dowels with pour-channels suggested a “later Greek” date to Dörpfeld.

The most interesting aspect of this now-lost tower, noted above (p. 299), was the existence of an earlier, round tower inside the square foundations, preserved as three polygonal blocks of breccia defining a circle about 5 m in diameter (Fig. 32). One of the few towers excavated by Dörpfeld, this one was reported to have two phases conforming to the sequence of structures, dated no more precisely than “alt-griechisch”

Figure 31 (*opposite*). Tower 2 on east side of Nidri Bay at Achuria, from north, 1901. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. Leukas 600

36. See, for example, the tower-complex at Cheimarron on Naxos: Haselberger 1972, fig. 3.

37. The earliest tower dated by excavation lies in an industrial complex in the deme of Thorikos, Attica. Spitaels (1978) dates its construction to the early 5th century B.C., a revision of prior conclusions by Mussche (1967); see also Lohmann 1993, pp. 157–158.

38. Dörpfeld photographed a terrace wall of large, polygonal blocks, apparently ancient but of uncertain style and date, west of Poros on 6 March 1901 (Nidri notebook I, p. 16; DAI neg. Leukas 35). We could not locate this wall from autopsy or local memory, but noted other ancient spolia (column drum, millstone) reused in the village.

39. Dörpfeld 1927, pp. 258–259, figs. 25a–b, maps 8, 10, pl. 45; cf. Nidri notebook I, pp. 49–56, DAI negs. Leukas 118, 119. Modern building on the shore has buried this tower in the last twenty years (in 1972, Denham [1972, pp. 31–32] reports “no dwellings”), judging from present ground level. The word “αχούρι” (pl. αχούρια) is local parlance for a stone field hut like the βόλτα around Enklouvi (Kontomichis 1985, p. 29, figs. 3–4; cf. Fig. 63), and that visible remains of an ancient tower understood as a hut might have encouraged the toponym. Cf. below, n. 66.

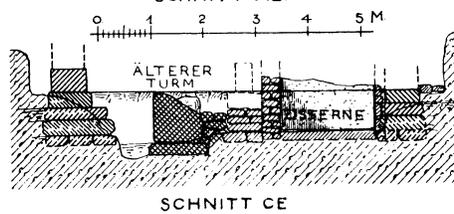
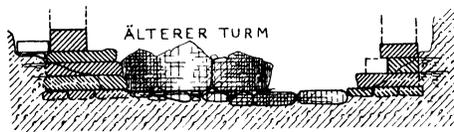
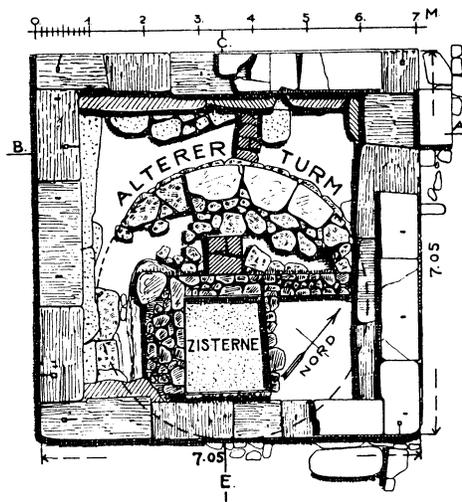


Figure 32. Tower 2 on east side of Nidri Bay, 1901, plan. Dörfeld 1927, figs. 25a-b

(Classical?) and “neu-griechisch” (Hellenistic?) from the published description of the pottery.⁴⁰ Dörpfeld also reported “later structures” built against the tower’s northeast face, and “altes Mauerwerk” at the edge of the nearby harbor. These reported remains indicate that the tower, unusual for its location near the water’s edge inside a deep harbor (but cf. the “priest’s house” with tower at Vouliagmeni in Attica), was not an isolated structure. Unlike all other tower sites on Leukas, it neither fulfills a manifest agricultural function nor marks a significant point such as the lighthouse(?) half a kilometer away at Kroupa (Figs. 4, 43–44).

The remaining tower sites on Leukas (Fig. 1) cluster around the bay and plain of Nidri with its ancient settlements (Fig. 4), the village of Marantochori (Fig. 49), and the high upland plain of Enklouvi (Fig. 59). During the 1991 season, our team identified and reexamined those around the Nidri plain (Fig. 4:3–7). In addition to the Achuria tower described above, a second tower noted on Dörpfeld’s plan of the Nidri plain and briefly in his text, but never described elsewhere, could not be located (Figs. 1, 4:3). It once sat on the lower, northern slopes of the Palaiovoros mountain, in line with the ridges called “Koloni” and “Rachi,” which rise above the western Nidri plain between the two heights of Skaros and Palaiovoros.⁴¹

Still visible about a kilometer away is the tower below the village of Palaiokatouna, excavated by Dörpfeld in 1901 and remeasured by our team (Fig. 33; Figs. 1, 4:4 for location).⁴² Situated on gentle slopes between the village and the Amali ridge to the south, at approximately 65 masl, its current location amid old olive groves is appropriate to its presumed ancient function. Now overgrown and missing some blocks since Dörpfeld’s day, this tower was one of the first antiquities pointed out to Dörpfeld, as a visible monument, although no more than its foundations survived. The tower, the largest one we saw on Leukas, was measured by Dörpfeld at 9.70 by 8.70 m and is built of large breccia blocks, some of considerable size (larger than those in the Poros tower), its corner blocks clamped to neighbors with iron “pi” (staple) clamps (Fig. 34) and dowelled to those above. Their shape resembles those strictly ashlar (e.g., at Achuria and Neochori), with some vertical joints angled enough to form the trapezoids typical of a “later Greek” (to use Dörpfeld’s expression) period. Interior cross-walls are the best preserved of any tower on the island: one runs east–west across the entire width of the structure (broken by an opening, presumably a doorway) and a second in a shorter stretch north of this cross-wall, dividing the interior of the tower into three spaces (labeled A, B, and C on plan: Fig. 34). Special T-shaped blocks were formed to bond these cross-walls to each other and to the exterior walls. A small, square space “D” (interior dimensions ca. 0.9 by 0.9 m) was also defined by four L-shaped blocks south of the east end of the long cross-wall, and may have functioned as a chimney or light-well serving the two adjacent spaces or rooms (B and C). This shaft ends in a gravel floor found by Dörpfeld, and thus could not have been a cistern or deep subterranean shaft.

One hesitates to term these spaces defined at foundation level as “rooms” rather than structural units supporting the lowest floor; the opening between A and C is only 0.68 m wide and 1.09 m high and could have led from one subterranean crawl space to another, like the arched openings

40. Dörpfeld 1927, pp. 258–259.

41. Dörpfeld 1927, maps 8 (topography) and 10 (grid square A4); the tower was recorded by von Marées (1907, map 3) and mentioned with finds from a trench in this area: Dörpfeld 1927, p. 319; Fiedler 1996, p. 165.

42. Dörpfeld 1927, pp. 256–258 (tower a), fig. 24, map 10 (B6) for location; Nidri notebook I, pp. 15, 17–21, 28–29; DAI notebook I, p. 1b (section through interior cross-wall, March 1901) and II, p. 58 (location and further notes, 28 June 1907).



Figure 33. Tower 4 below Palaikatonoua village, from southwest. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. Leukas 24

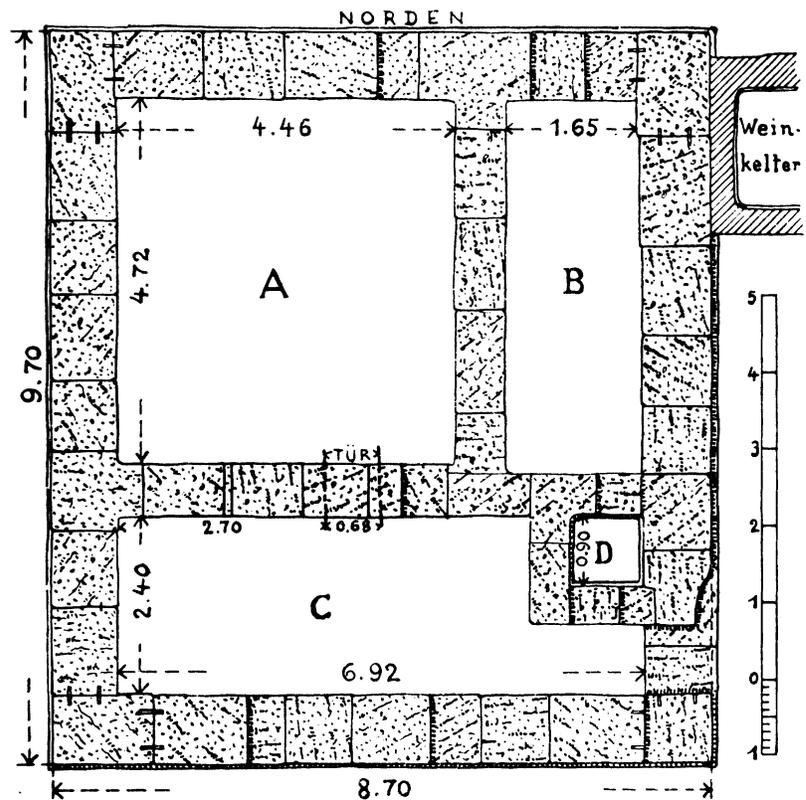


Figure 34. Tower 4 below Palaikatonoua village, plan. Dörpfeld 1927, fig. 24

in the foundations of the Tholos at Epidauros.⁴³ Nor is there sufficient evidence in the exterior walls to indicate the ancient ground level, or whether and where there might have been an entrance to the tower at that level. Dörpfeld assumed that these lay higher than preserved courses (as frequently in Attic and island towers), and was unable to reconstruct the original height of the tower from the displaced blocks still lying at the site. His excavations in the vicinity in 1901 uncovered substantial walls, plus tiles and sherds, in the olive groves below the village; in 1907 he reported “grosse Blöcke mit Einarbeitungen” about 60 m east of the tower, located by our team but lacking formal analogies to tower blocks.⁴⁴ Excavations conducted after his publication of *Alt-Ithaka* are recorded only in notebooks and remembered by a local resident who worked with him: remains and descriptions suggest Late Classical or Hellenistic slab (cist) graves of the kind uncovered outside the city of Leukas.⁴⁵ In other words, the Palaiokatouna tower may not have once enjoyed the isolated rural environment it does today, and a contextual interpretation of its function must be reserved. Certainly its site had no strategic advantages, and it presumably served daily, probably agricultural activity; the tower no longer visible but located by Dörpfeld about a kilometer away (Figs. 1, 4:3) suggests a similar function.

Farther west in the Elati mountains that border the plain of Nidri, a dirt road leads through Palaiokatouna past the deserted village of Neochori to the spring of Mavroneri, on the way up to the mountain communities of Vafkeri and Enklouvi. The foundations of a tower lie on the north side of the hill crowned by the deserted chapel of Agios Vlassis just past Neochori, at approximately 350 masl (Figs. 1, 4:5, 35–36); this setting hides any view of the Nidri plain and its monuments. The site itself lies on the slopes below the modern dirt road and above the gorge of the Mavroneri (Ξυλοκερατιά) stream with its abandoned water mill. We cleared weeds to expose foundations in the same state as when examined and drawn by Dörpfeld; correct measurements in his notebook show a trapezoid measuring four different lengths, from 6.24 to 6.41 m, along its sides.⁴⁶ On his first visit, Dörpfeld interpreted the plan as a “Turm oder Tempel,” presumably from the “anteroom” defined by an inside cross-wall running north to south and dividing the interior into a narrow eastern space (1.06 m wide between inside wall faces) and larger western one. Surviving blocks in situ, highest on the south and east (uphill) sides, are ashlar with drafted margins, and some horizontal upper surfaces are cut down to form shallow recessions parallel to bedding planes. All exterior blocks were joined together with swallow-tail clamps now missing and presumed to be of wood. Once again, architectural details are inadequate for restoring an entrance, the interior layout, or upper stories with any degree of accuracy.

Dörpfeld compared this tower in plan and function to the one he also studied on the slopes of the Skaros mountain, which forms the northern boundary and backdrop to the plain of Nidri (Figs. 4:6, 38). This natural height, rising to nearly 600 masl, looms north and east to offer massive protection for the Nidri bay from wind, weather, and even visibility.

43. Roux 1961, pls. 39–41. The most practical explanation for these openings is for access to keep water reservoirs clean and functional: Cooper and Morris 1990, pp. 74–75; a similar mechanism may have stored water in the Palaiokatouna tower.

44. DAI notebook I, p. 1; II, p. 57; Dörpfeld 1927, pp. 161–162. These blocks are too small and square for a building; they have deep sockets on one or both ends as if for wooden beams. Compare a winepress stone with square cuttings from Lesbos: Schauss and Spencer 1994, p. 429, fig. 12.

45. Cf. Dörpfeld 1927, pp. 204–205, 254; DAI neg. Leukas 23; Nidri notebooks VIII and IX, passim, for continued excavations in the Palaiokatouna area. Oral history courtesy of Dionysios Tantaros of Palaiokatouna, who also helped locate the Mavroneri tower. Fiedler 1996, p. 166.

46. Dörpfeld 1927, pp. 155, 260–261 (tower d), fig. 27; DAI notebook I, p. 2 (sketch); Nidri notebook I, pp. 21–25. Dörpfeld measured each block and then added the sum of blocks on each side to arrive at his published dimensions (6.24 by 6.15 m); but his sketch of 1901 shows the tower’s trapezoidal form, slightly longer on its north (6.41 m) and east (6.35 m) sides than on the west (6.24 m) and south (6.28 m). In the publication he also confuses west and east.



Figure 35. Tower 5 above Neochori (Mavroneri), from south, in 1901. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. Leukas 55

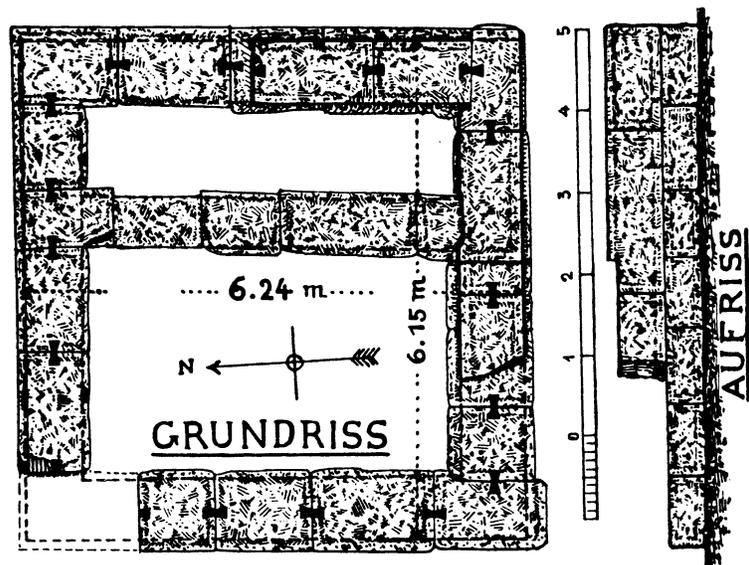


Figure 36. Tower 5 above Neochori (Mavroneri), plan. Dörpfeld 1927, fig. 27



Figure 37. Tower 6 (Helleniko) on Skaros slope, from east (1991)

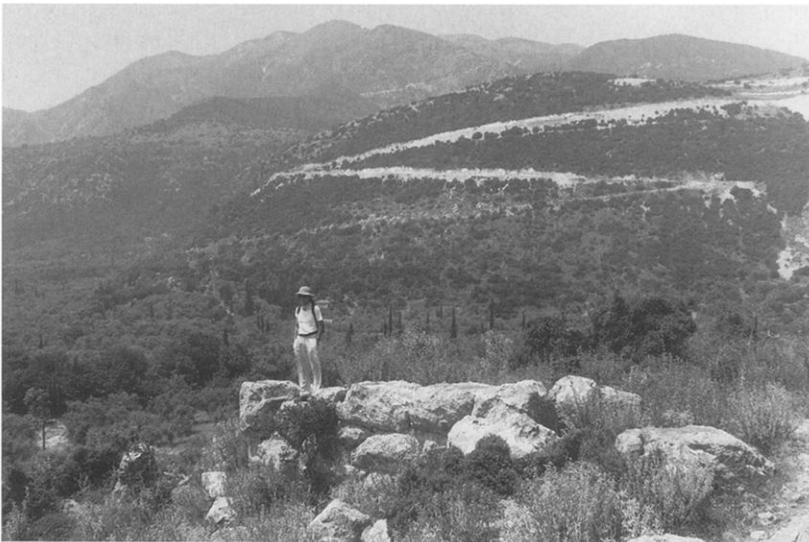


Figure 38. Tower 6 on Skaros slope, from northeast (1991)

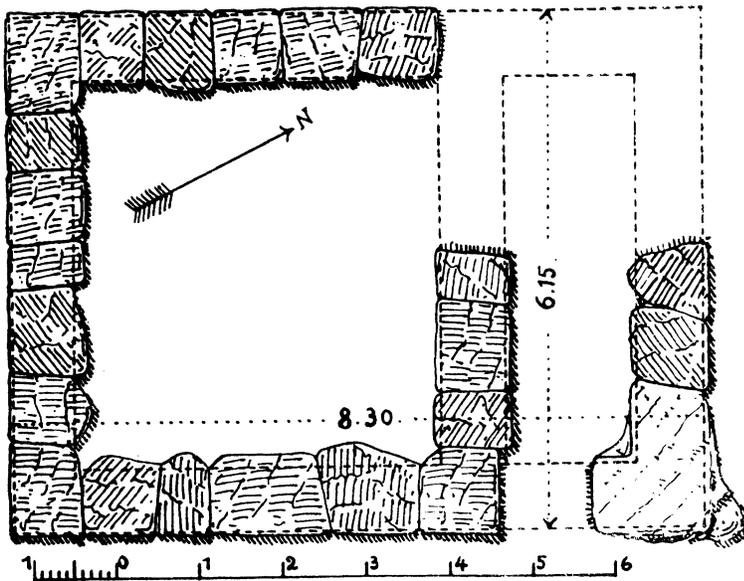


Figure 39. Tower 6 on Skaros slope, plan. Dörpfeld 1927, fig. 26

Its lower slopes face the warmer and milder south, just above the Dimosari stream, which originates in the hills to the west and spills over falls before it flows across the plain and empties into the sea to the east; its banks served as a roadbed for Venetian and British forces on Leukas and still carry a road to the west. This combination of advantages attracted settlement since at least the Middle Bronze Age (Dörpfeld's "Bürgergräber" lie at the foot of Skaros); a number of Classical walls and finds were uncovered here during the search for Homer's Ithaka.⁴⁷ Among these are the foundations of a tower called "Helleniko" perched on a natural terrace at the western end of these slopes (Figs. 1, 4:6, 37–39).⁴⁸ This site places the tower about 85 masl with a commanding view of the plain below (Fig. 38). A multi-course socle of polygonal blocks with exterior drafted vertical margins (Figs. 37, 39), this tower duplicates in masonry and design the polygonal towers found on Leukas around Marantochori (11,12) and at Enklouvi (14). In these structures, a polygonal stone base may have supported a mudbrick superstructure (see Figs. 51, 56, 62).

Situated on a slope, the Helleniko tower of Skaros preserves three to four courses on its southern and eastern (downhill) faces, while its northern side is built into the natural limestone shelf from which the tower blocks were cut. A single cross-wall inside forms a plan resembling that of the Mavroneri tower (Fig. 36), as Dörpfeld noted, more rectangular than square (about 6.15 m wide and 8.30 m long), with a narrow (1.50 m wide) "anteroom" on the northern side. Dörpfeld presumed the entrance lay on this side, at a higher level.

About 10 m east of this structure a polygonal wall photographed by Dörpfeld (visible in DAI neg. Leukas 184) can be traced for about 15.27 m, running to the southeast and returning(?) to the west in two stretches at the south, parallel to the south face of the tower. These blocks suggest retaining walls for a platform, with ashlar corners, perhaps a terrace for a structure; rock-cut steps lead up the hill between this platform and the tower. Together, these features preserve traces of urban occupation on the slopes of this hill, stepped and terraced to hold domestic structures (as at Kassope or even Leukas itself), and the entire Skaros hill deserves intensive cleaning and recording of all its preserved walls.⁴⁹ This leaves the tower, identical in style to several others on the island, distinctive in its setting, with a dramatic view over a large area and more immediate access to an urban context. Just west of the tower ridge, however, a gentler slope extends west and north of the Dimosari stream, an area called "Mandri" today. As a farm tower, the Skaros structure could be linked to this area of terraced, arable land.

The last tower in the Nidri area published by Dörpfeld lies about 2 km south of Vlichos Bay, in a long narrow valley that slopes north to the bay from the present road to Poros (Fig. 4:7). The tower now sits in an orchard south of the dirt road leading east from the main road below Katochori, the town that gave its name to this tower (Figs. 40, 41).⁵⁰ Partially covered by a modern field hut built over their southeastern corner, the foundations were only drawn by Dörpfeld as a sketch in his notebooks. We cleaned the foundations to clear the plan of the tower (bisected by a cross-wall no longer visible in the 1901 sketch) and to check its

47. Dörpfeld 1927, pp. 207–213, 319–323, maps 8, 11 for graves below and remains on Skaros slope; a second tower ("griechischer Turm") indicated along the Dimosari: von Marées 1907, map 3 = Dörpfeld 1927, map 11:B. Fiedler 1996, pp. 164–165.

48. Dörpfeld 1927, map 8 (A1), p. 269 (tower c), fig. 26; DAI notebook I, p. 29 (sketch plan); DAI neg. Leukas 6. The spot marked "Antichita" on the Venetian map of 1729 (Dörpfeld 1927, map 9) could include this tower. The new road to Vafkeri is visible as a diagonal scar across the hillside in the background of Fig. 38. See also Philippa-Apostolou and Christodoulou-poulou 1998, p. 78, for other remains.

49. Kassope: Hoepfner and Schwandner 1986, pp. 75–140, for houses of half-timbered mudbrick walls on polygonal socles (pp. 115–116; fig. 72), dated to the 4th century. The authors stress Kassope's distinction from Corinthian colonies like Leukas, but layout and technique deserve closer comparison to houses on Leukas; see now Fiedler 1999.

50. The tower lies closer to the old village of Katochori (abandoned by Dörpfeld's day: Dörpfeld 1927, p. 261 [tower e], maps 2, 8, 16); Nidri notebook I, p. 81. This tower was also marked "a. [antike] M. [Mauer]" by von Marées (1907, map 1).



Figure 40. Tower 7 below Katochori, from northeast, 1901. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. Leukas 121



Figure 41. Tower 7 below Katochori, from north (1991)

dimensions, reported by Dörpfeld as measuring about 8.20 by 8.60 m. Missing or obscured blocks made this impossible on all sides, but its visible dimensions measure 8.13 m along the east face and 8.29 m along the west, with no more than 6.39 m visible on the north and 7.61 m on the south (Fig. 42). Preserved blocks are nearly ashlar in shape, and some show pry marks; the only visible angle block (at northeast) was dowelled. Deep plowing in the area may have disturbed adjacent remains, but would not be possible in the presence of heavy foundations. This tower site depends primarily on its location for its presumed function as part of an ancient farm.

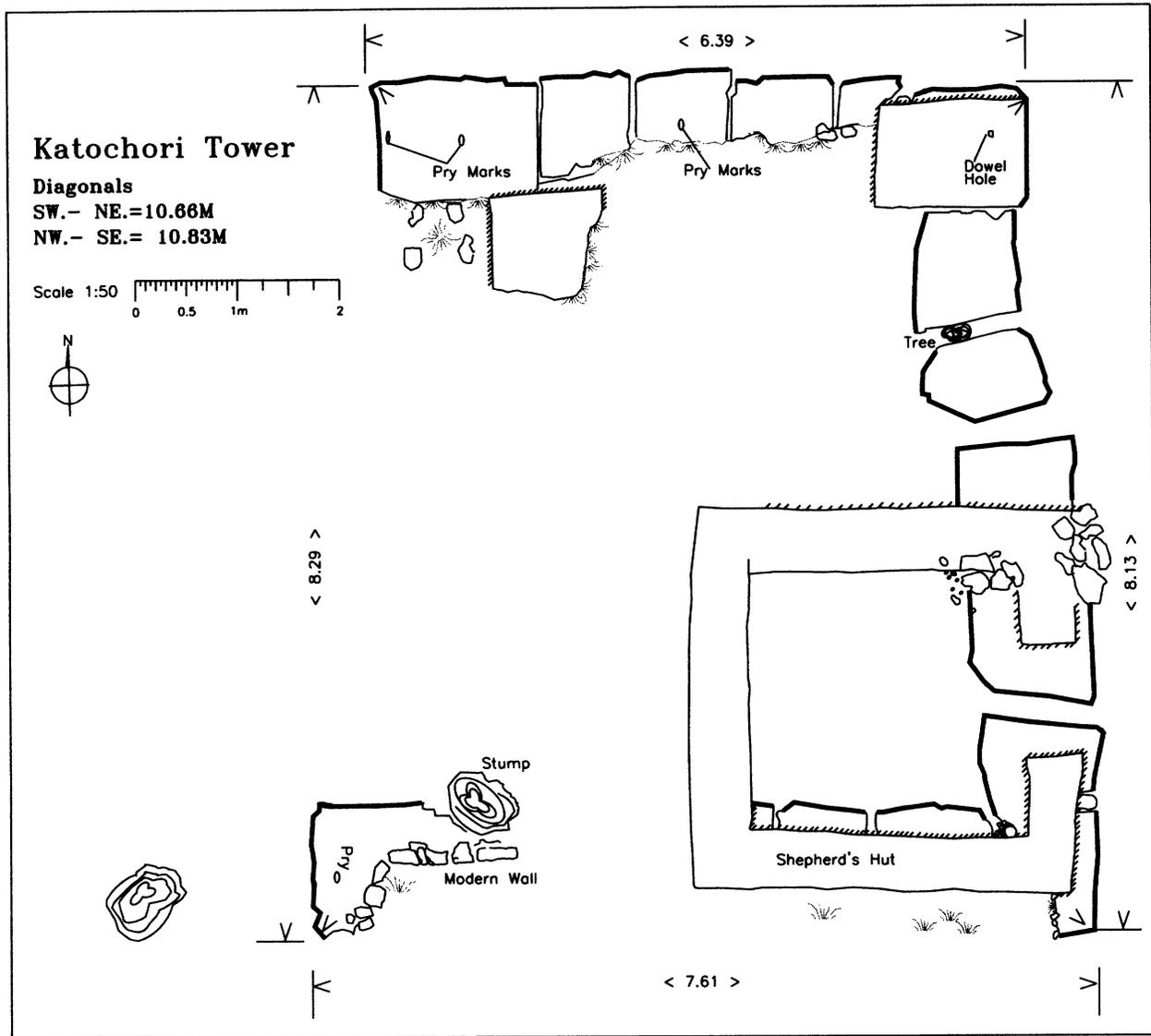


Figure 42. Tower 7 below Katochori, plan. L. Carey Hilton and P. Stinson

1992 SEASON: TOWERS 8-15

Figs. 43-65

The 1992 season was devoted to drawing the plan and elevations of a tower located by Dörpfeld in a remote mountain plain above the village of Enklouvi. This goal was augmented by the investigation of the remains of a number of other towers, either marked on his maps and sketchbooks or shown to us by local residents.⁵¹

51. We are grateful to Ioannis Yphantopoulos (see Acknowledgments) for lore on local monuments, introductions, and logistics for this phase of research. The two guards of antiquities for the island, Dimitrios Stergiotis and Panagiotis Konidaris, also provided tools and assistance during this season. Preliminary reports for the 1992 season: *AR* 1992-1993, pp. 42-43; Pariente 1993, p. 809.

In the neighborhood of Nidri, two monuments inadequately discussed by Dörpfeld were targeted for recording; the first lies very near the site of Dörpfeld's own house. The deep bay of Nidri is formed by a long peninsula running over 2 km from south to north along the east, and enclosing the harbor whose extreme south end is called Vlichos (Figs. 1, 4, 43). It was this long, narrow neck of land, rising over 200 m at its midpoint, that protected the harbor and attracted settlement since prehistoric times. This configuration also inspired Dörpfeld to see Homer's Ithaka with its

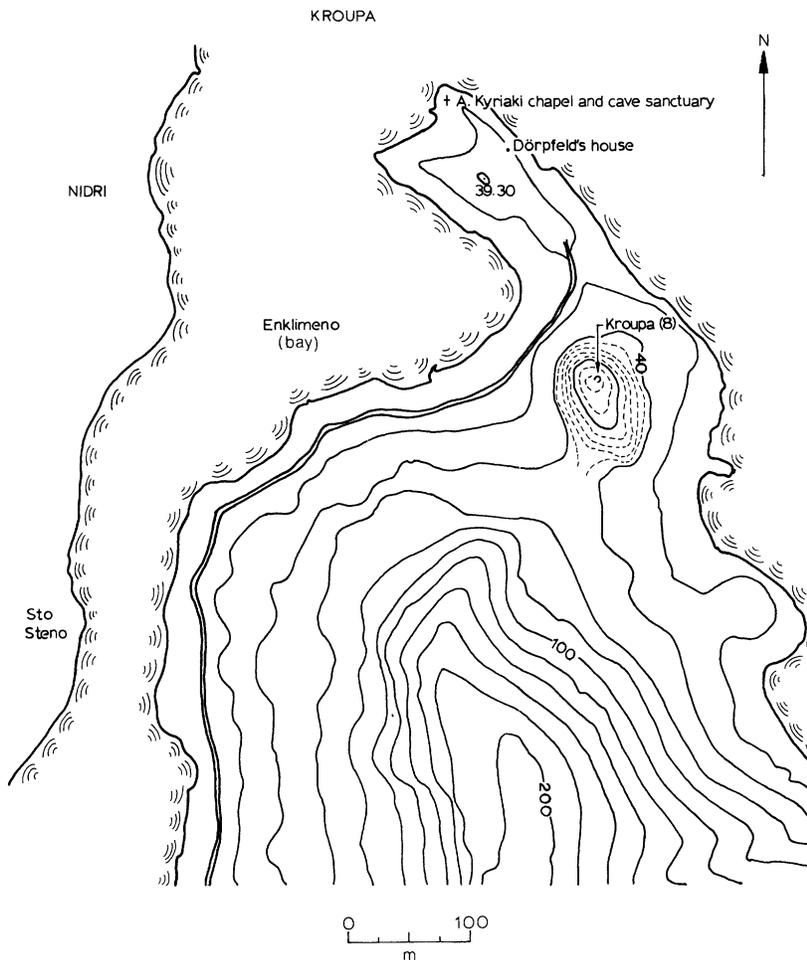


Figure 43. Contour map of peninsula opposite Nidri with tower 8 at Kroupa. F. Evenson

πολυβενθής harbor, and the landing spot of Odysseus, around its sheltered shores.⁵² One discovery Dörpfeld found convincing was the cave built into the chapel of Agia Kyriaki at the very tip of the peninsula, a cult site in the Archaic and Classical periods and therefore, in his argument, likely to be the cave where Odysseus disembarked on his return home (*Od.* 13.96–112).⁵³ It is no accident that Dörpfeld chose this spot for his own house and a museum, intended to serve ongoing generations of Homeric research on Leukas. Unfortunately, the property changed hands after his death and was destroyed in a fire in 1971.⁵⁴

52. The Classical city at Nidri was probably Ellomeno(n) (Thuc. 3.94), presumably for “enclosed” harbor. Hesychius glosses ἐλλόμενα as περικλειόμενα, and “Ekkleimeno,” or “Enklimeno,” is the modern name for the northeast bay just inside the peninsula (Fig. 43); Leake 1835, p. 23.

53. Dörpfeld 1927, pp. 109–113 (Syvota = Phorkys harbor), pp. 117–123, 205, 323–325, pl. 76c (Cave of the

Nymphs), for finds (sherds and terracottas, some with scenes of Dionysos and satyrs, appropriate companions to nymphs). The cave at Polis Bay on Ithaka (Dörpfeld 1927, pl. 1) was later excavated by Sylvia Benton (Benton 1935, 1938–1939) and yielded votives dedicated to Odysseus.

54. His house, a donation of Kaiser Wilhelm, was designed in Germany and transported to Leukas for reassem-

bly (one of the first prefabricated structures in modern times). It was repaired after the First World War by its new owner, Leslie Walker Kosmopoulos (Dörpfeld 1927, p. vii, pls. 53–55), who sold it to V. Frangoulis; see Frangoulis’s notes to his Greek translation of Dörpfeld 1927 (*Επετηρίς* 2, 1972 [1973]), p. 179, n. 80.

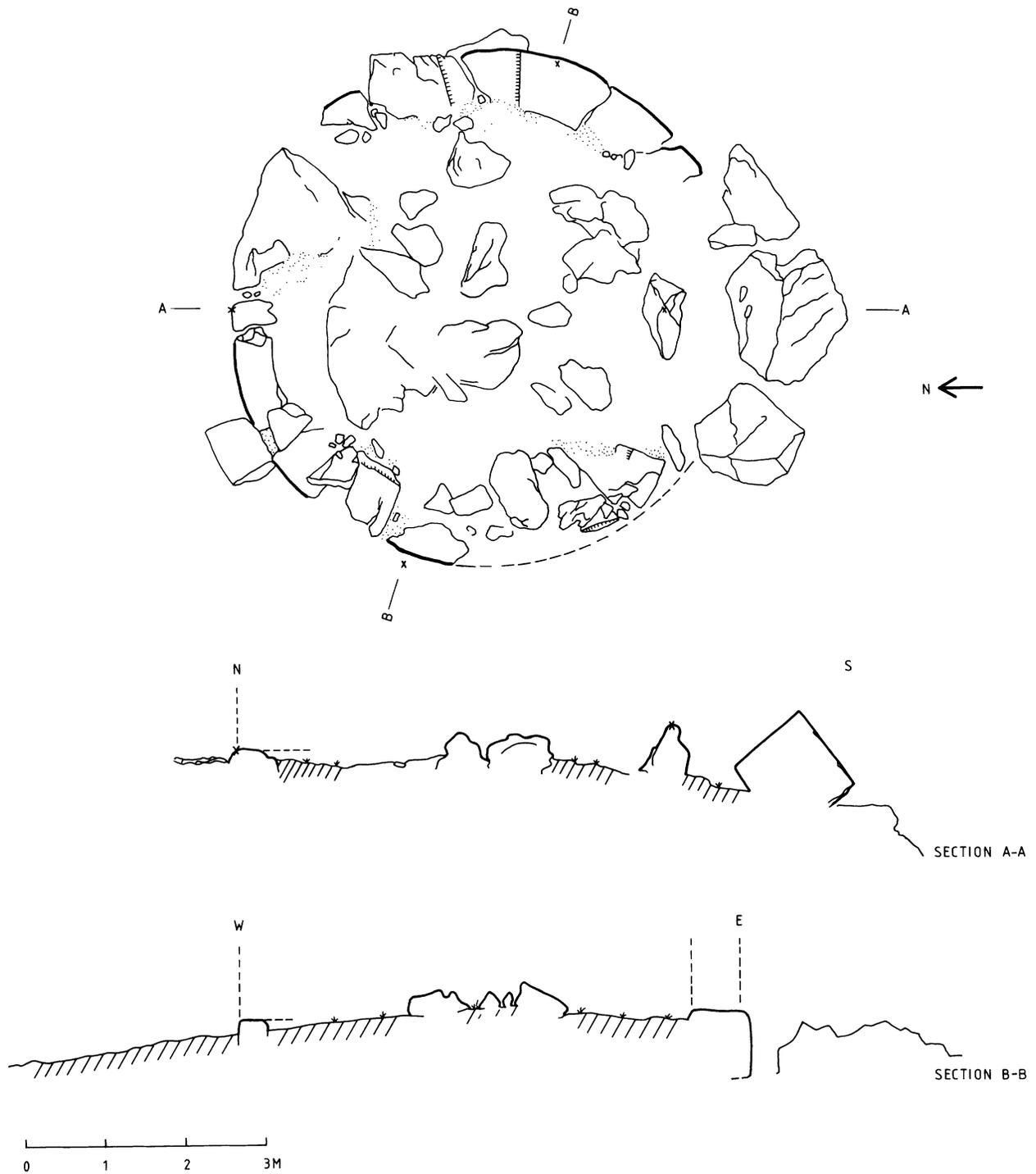


Figure 44. Plan and section of tower 8 at Kroupa. A. Hooton

Not too distant from this spot, Dörpfeld saw and sketched in 1901 (Nidri notebook I, p. 79) a round tower on the hill called "Kroupa" (Fig. 43) and noted Classical (black-glazed) pottery at the site. Our team located the same tower and drew its skimpy remains (Fig. 44). On a natural rock knoll rising 67 masl and about 200 m from the northeast shore of "Dörpfeld's peninsula" (see photographs, DAI negs. Leukas 597, 708, 716), a knob of bedrock was cut back for a ring of foundations, leaving a small protrusion in the center. A single surviving course preserves the entire

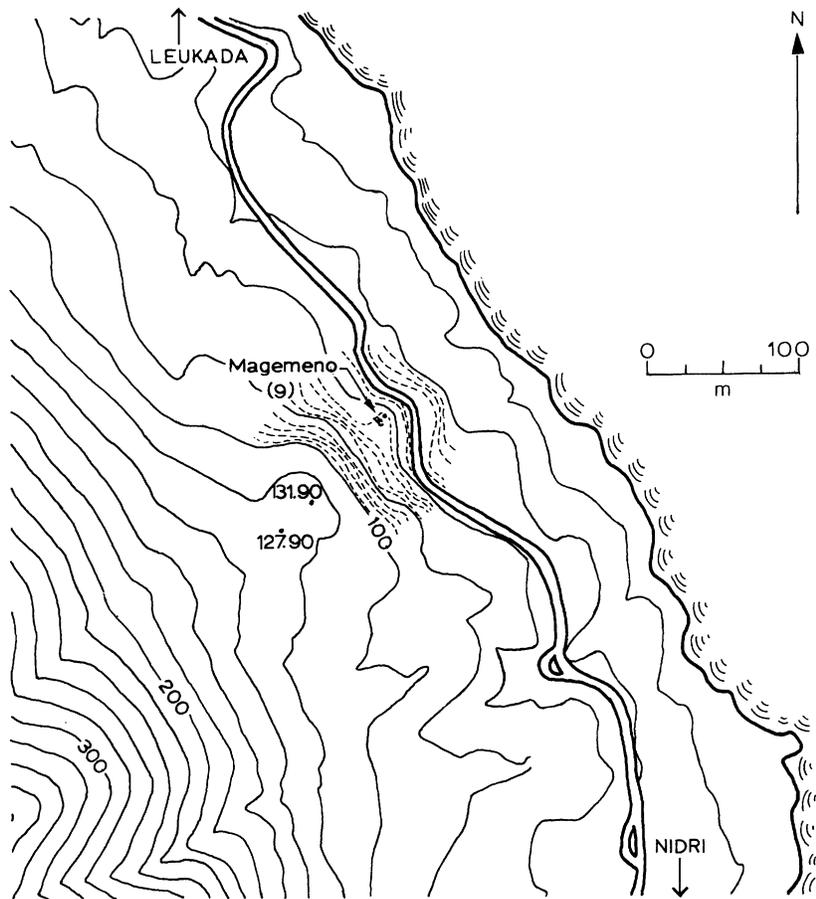


Figure 45. Contour map of tower site at Magemeno, east coast of Leukas. F. Evenson

circumference, some 6.40 m in diameter. Fallen blocks in the vicinity attest to upper courses; a typical arc-shaped ashlar measures 1.30 m long, 0.45 m in height, and 0.80 m in depth from exterior face to irregular interior face. In design and construction technique this course resembles the round tower found at Poros, with its three courses of similar arc-shaped ashlars (Fig. 26), but forms a round socle or platform for an upper structure. The black-glazed sherds in the vicinity (especially east and southeast of the tower, within a modern *mandri*) suggest a Classical (late 5th- or 4th-century B.C.) date, but offer few diagnostic shapes and no precise chronology.

The tower's location, however, points to a specific function, as this rocky point is unlikely for a farm, and is better situated to support navigation into the vital harbor of Nidri. In date and form the Kroupa tower resembles a circular monument on Vigla, a peak 75 masl above Agios Nikolaos on the mainland just northeast of Leukas (Fig. 1), which has been called a lighthouse or signal tower serving ancient Sollion and the harbor of Palairos.⁵⁵ Its closest counterpart is the tower inscribed as a monument to Akeratos at "Pyrgos" on Thasos, located near the coast and devoted to an individual but calling itself "σωτήριον to ships and sailors."⁵⁶ Thus the round tower at Kroupa is best understood as some kind of marker to ships entering Ellomeno, with a superstructure resembling those of the round towers at Sollion (n. 55) and Thasos (n. 56).

55. First reported and drawn by Murray (1982, pp. 161–163, fig. 24); now published by Kolonas and Faisst (1992). The tower's polygonal socle measures 8.09 m in diameter and is restored as a solid core (an exterior staircase is preserved, but no interior features). The site includes another (earlier?) square tower and a rough field wall, and has been identified as Sollion (Berkold and Faisst 1993), although it seems inadequate to an entire city the size and importance of ancient Sollion. Cf. Fiedler 1996, p. 160, n. 24. Faraklas (1991) locates Sollion at Agios Georgios (see below, n. 71). Berkold and Faisst also discuss the canals linking the sea at Agios Nikolaos to the Myrtounian (modern Voulgarian) lake and thence south to the sea, a Classical alternative to the Leukas channel for her enemies, i.e., Corcyreans and Athenians. This new view of the Plagia peninsula recasts the events of 425 B.C. (Thuc. 3.80), when Athenian ships advance on Corcyra (which has been warned by Leukas of their arrival), and Peloponnesian ships retreat over the Leukadian isthmus to avoid them. See Wacker 1991 (*non vidi*).

56. *IG XII 8*, 683: Kozelji and Wurch-Kozelji 1989, pp. 172–175;

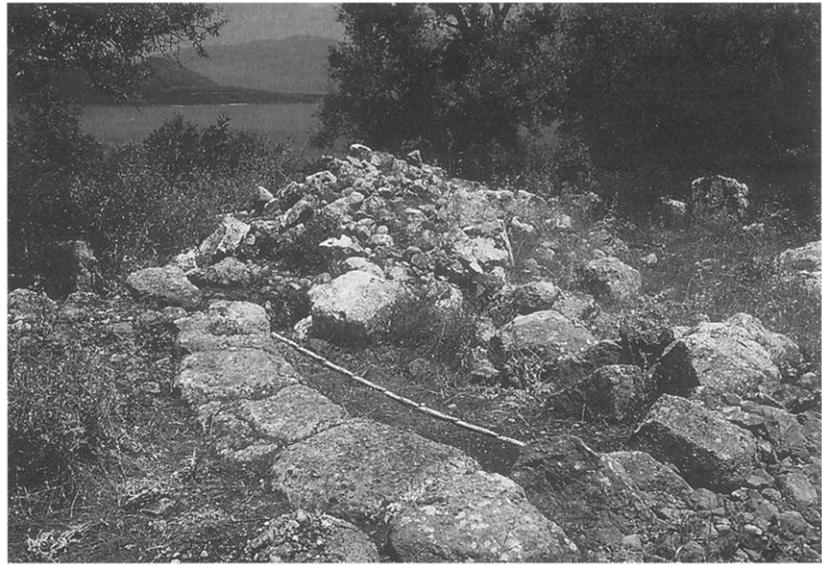


Figure 46. View of tower 9 site at Magemeno, from northwest (1992)

cf. Osborne 1986, p. 169. This tower is also located at a marble quarry, epitomizing the potential for multiple functions of tower structures (a beacon, commemorative marker, and a quarry facility). For another “lighthouse” tower at Phanari on Thasos, now restored, see Brunet 1996, p. 53. A modern beacon at the north end of this peninsula performs the same function: Denham 1972, p. 32.

57. Dörpfeld 1927, map 2. See Fig. 1 for location of site visited by Dörpfeld: Nidri notebook I, p. 47; III, pp. 28, 35; DAI notebook II, p. 12. Dörpfeld (1927, p. 329) also collected “coins and Hellenistic sherds” here.

58. Kouniakos 1972; Rontogiannis 1982, pp. 180–182. A monument between the modern road and the sea, just below this tower site, still commemorates this event.

Strategic placement as if to support a defensive zone along the channel, outside of the chief Classical settlements on the island, is also enjoyed by a second round tower on the coast north of Nidri just above the modern paved road. The northeast flanks of Skaros drop into the sea at a spot called “Magemeno,” where ancient remains were ascribed to an “antike Burg” by Dörpfeld (Figs. 1:9, 45).⁵⁷ The site is a natural shelf some 62 m above the shore (and 100 m distant from it), approximately halfway between Leukada and Nidri, hence convenient for landing from the mainland at a safe distance from cities and forts. It was, in fact, near this point that Kapodistrias assembled some 400 *armatoloi* in 1807 to mobilize against Ali Pasha, a legendary event in modern Greek history.⁵⁸ In 1992, a bulldozer engaged in clearing for a private home at this spot damaged remains; construction was halted by the Greek Ephorate, which requested a plan of the site. Debris piled by the bulldozer (visible in Fig. 46) covered the foundations of a round tower measuring 5.48 m in interior diameter (defining a perfect circle) and between its irregular outside faces, ca. 6.8–6.9 m (Fig. 47). As the preserved course may be the euthyneria, the next course of wall blocks is estimated as describing an exterior diameter of ca. 6.4–6.5 m. Arc-shaped ashlar blocks in the area suggest a superstructure like those of the round towers at Poros and Kroupa: a cylinder of stone blocks at least three courses high shaped to a smooth circle on the interior, irregular in depth and thus in exterior diameter. In all of these towers, a stone socle may have supported a mudbrick upper structure; their similarity in technique makes it tempting to assign them to roughly the same Classical period, perhaps the later 5th century.

The Magemeno structure was supplied with water by a cistern dug into bedrock and lined with plaster, located just east of the tower (Fig. 47). This reservoir is similar in design and plaster (of a pale pink variety, tempered with small fragments of fired clay) to the one that lies between the two towers at “Sta Marmara” south of Marantochori (Fig. 53). Pithos fragments with relief bands were noted here, as at other tower sites. North and

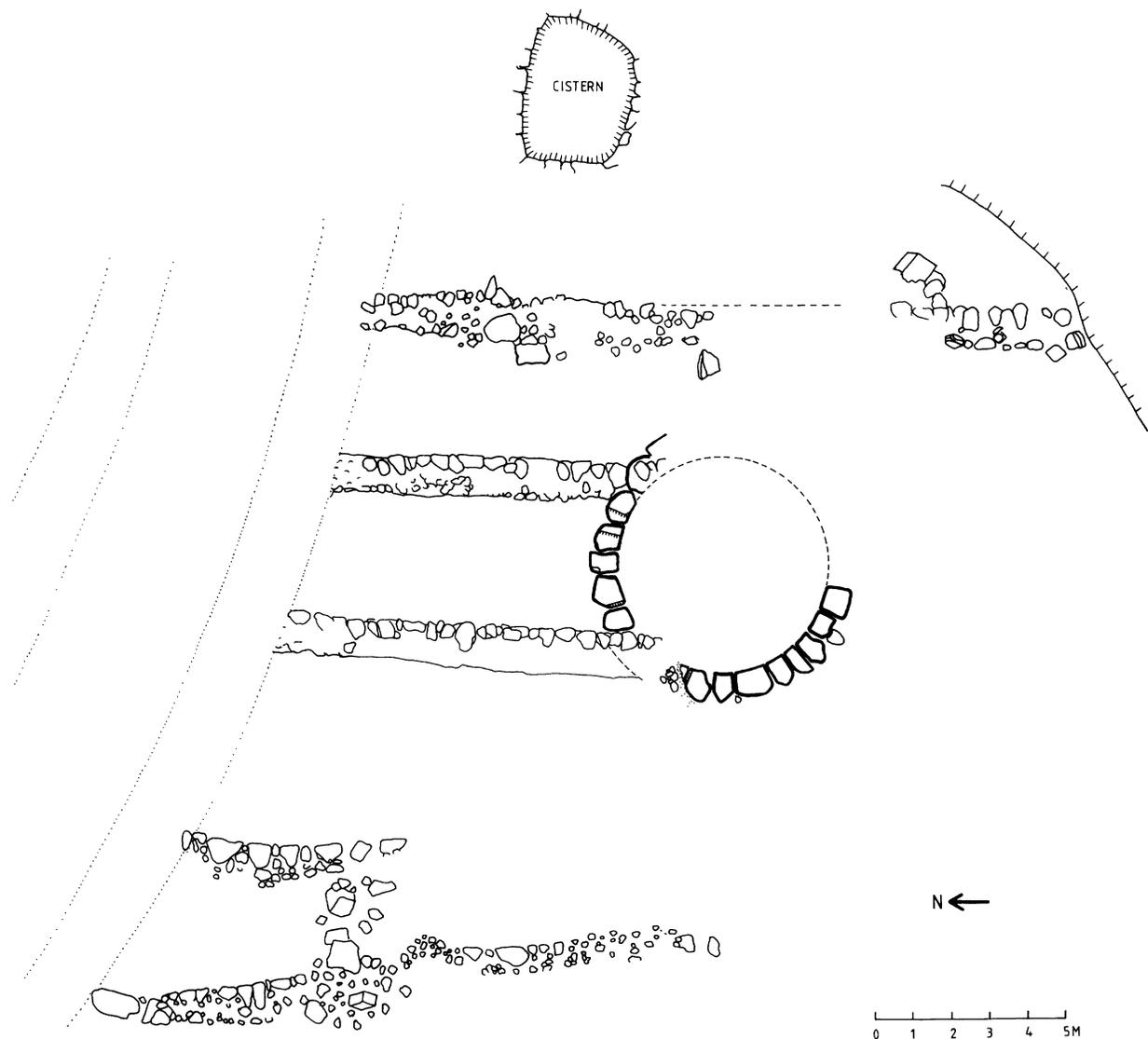


Figure 47. Plan of tower 9 and later walls at Magemeno. A. Hooton

south of the tower, the land drops gradually and is terraced today for cultivation; the only other ancient remains visible are rubble walls of large spolia running north–south in five stretches, two built over the tower (Fig. 47). Truncated by modern terrace walls, they probably belong to a late antique or medieval installation at the site. Despite the suggestive setting (see n. 58), it may be prudent to think of this tower as another rural residence, not defensive.

A similar vantage point near the coast is occupied by the tower called “Hellenika,” built near the tip of the peninsula still called Kastri, possibly a separate ancient site (Fig. 1:10). This point of land runs southeast from Vassiliki and forms the eastern arm of its bay along the steep, southwestern flanks of the Sikero(n) mountains, in the center of the south coast of Leukas. Above the promontory with a modern campground, at about 120 masl and 200 m north of the shoreline, standing polygonal walls define

Figure 48. View of Hellenika site (10) at Kastri, from southwest (1992)



59. See Nidri notebook IV, pp. 101–104; Dörpfeld (1927, p. 330) also collected sherds.

60. Munn 1983, pp. 38–42, on signaling in antiquity; Riepl 1913, pp. 55, 58–60 (on Thuc. 3.80). Signals were transmitted by fire at night, smoke by day, and followed prearranged patterns; a vantage point is necessary to them, but hardly a tower (Richmond 1998, pp. 14–15: “Appendix: Fire-Signals in Greece”). For topographical viewsheds and the function of towers elsewhere, see Ashton 1991, pp. 34–35; Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, pp. 292–294; Xen. *An.* 7.8.15.

61. Geography and climate of these polje formations, or *Kesseltäler* (e.g., the one below Karyai, called Livadi), a distinctive feature of karstic limestone formations, attracted much interest in the last century: see Goodisson 1822, pp. 80–81; Davy 1842, p. 317; Goessler 1904, pp. 57, 70; von Marées 1907, pp. 6–7. Partsch (1889, pp. 12–13, 17) noted high temperatures in these basins and their advantages for cultivating, e.g., citrus fruits, as well as the high productivity in cereals of Enklouvi (p. 27). Sinkholes are marked as “K” (for *katabothra*) by von Marées (1907, map 1, where one appears on the south edge of the Marantochori plain). Bornovas 1964, p. 8, with facing map, pl. XIX:2; see also his 1:50,000 map for *katabothres* on the Marantochori plain.

62. Muller 1982, pp. 379–387, for good discussion of these towers and their setting.

a square tower, joined at the south by a larger fortified enclosure and cistern of somewhat different masonry style (and perhaps of a later date) (Fig. 48). The site was visited and sketched by Goessler in 1907,⁵⁹ and faces strategic points on Leukas and its neighbors, near the sea and on peaks; it commands an excellent view over the channel and islands south of Leukas, and is visible to and from Cape Leukatatas immediately to the west. Yet location alone is insufficient to posit signal functions in antiquity. Signals that transmitted specific information—for example, in the Peloponnesian War, Leukas warned Corcyra of sixty Athenian ships approaching, in a message delivered at night (ὕπὸ νυκτός; Thuc. 3.80.2)—have often been connected with such towers. But surely fire signals from natural peaks, not man-made towers, provided sufficient communication between Leukas and Corcyra.⁶⁰ This leaves the rural isolation and fertile slopes near Hellenika a better guide to a more probable connection with a farm.

Two groups of towers on the road to Kastri, distant from those concentrated on the east coast of Leukas, were cleaned and drawn in 1992. From their location and surviving equipment, these point unequivocally to an agricultural function in antiquity. Several towers cluster around the village of Marantochori, which straddles the modern paved road to Vassiliki, in the center of the island’s southern section (Figs. 1:11–13, 49). Like the coastal plain of Nidri and the high inland basins around Enklouvi, the plains north and south of Marantochori consist of absorbent red clay layers (*terra rosa*) that retain annual runoff of water and soil from the surrounding hills, periodically drained through the kind of limestone sinkholes (*katabothres*) typical of the Greek landscape.⁶¹ Elsewhere in Greece, identical plains have proved attractive for cultivation and account for numerous towers; such formations in the Megarid (Mikro and Megalo Vathychoria) have been identified as significant for the presence of towers nearby.⁶² It is not surprising to find a concentration of ancient structures related to agriculture precisely in the island’s most fertile settings.

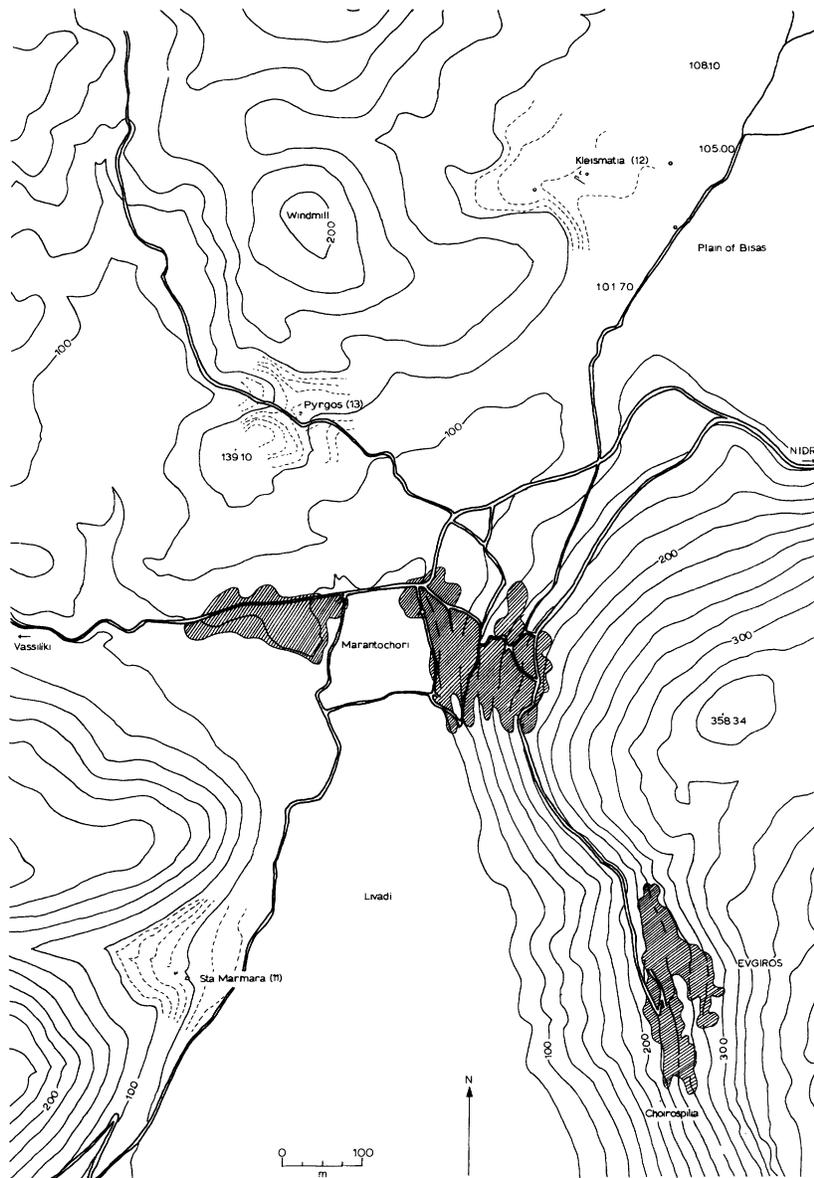


Figure 49. Contour map with towers 11–13 around village of Marantochori. F. Evenson

The towers south of Marantochori, known collectively in local parlance as (S)ta Marmara, sit just south of the dirt track that strikes off west from the road to Kastri, and some 30 m south of the stream issuing from the Sikero mass, a setting visible from Evgiro and the Choirospilia cave on the slopes to the east (Figs. 49–50). In Dörpfeld’s vivid *interpretatio Homerica*, this enclosed valley and its toponyms (“Pig-Cave”) made an ideal locale for the home of the swineherd, Eumaios, in the *Odyssey* (books 13–15).⁶³ The same setting offers a fertile environment sufficiently isolated from ancient towns to justify the need for fortified residences, hence multiple towers. South of the village, two square towers in polygonal style sit ca. 30 m apart on a gentle slope on the western edge of the plain called Livadi or, in older parlance, “Olo(u)thos” (Fig. 54). They occupy two terraces at about 80 masl and 20 m above the plain, north of a bedrock outcrop (and source of building material).

63. For Choirospilia and its Neolithic finds, see Dörpfeld 1927, pp. 113–116, 266–267, 330–338, pl. 17; Nidri notebook VII, for excavations of 1912–1913. In his Homeric quest, Dörpfeld was also intrigued by other porcine toponyms nearby such as the bay of Syvota and the town of Syvros. Sta Marmara was visited by Dörpfeld in 1901 (Nidri notebook I, pp. 30–31; unless this is the homonymous site at Syvros? cf. DAI neg. Leukas 92) but was not published among the ancient towers in *Alt-Ithaka*.

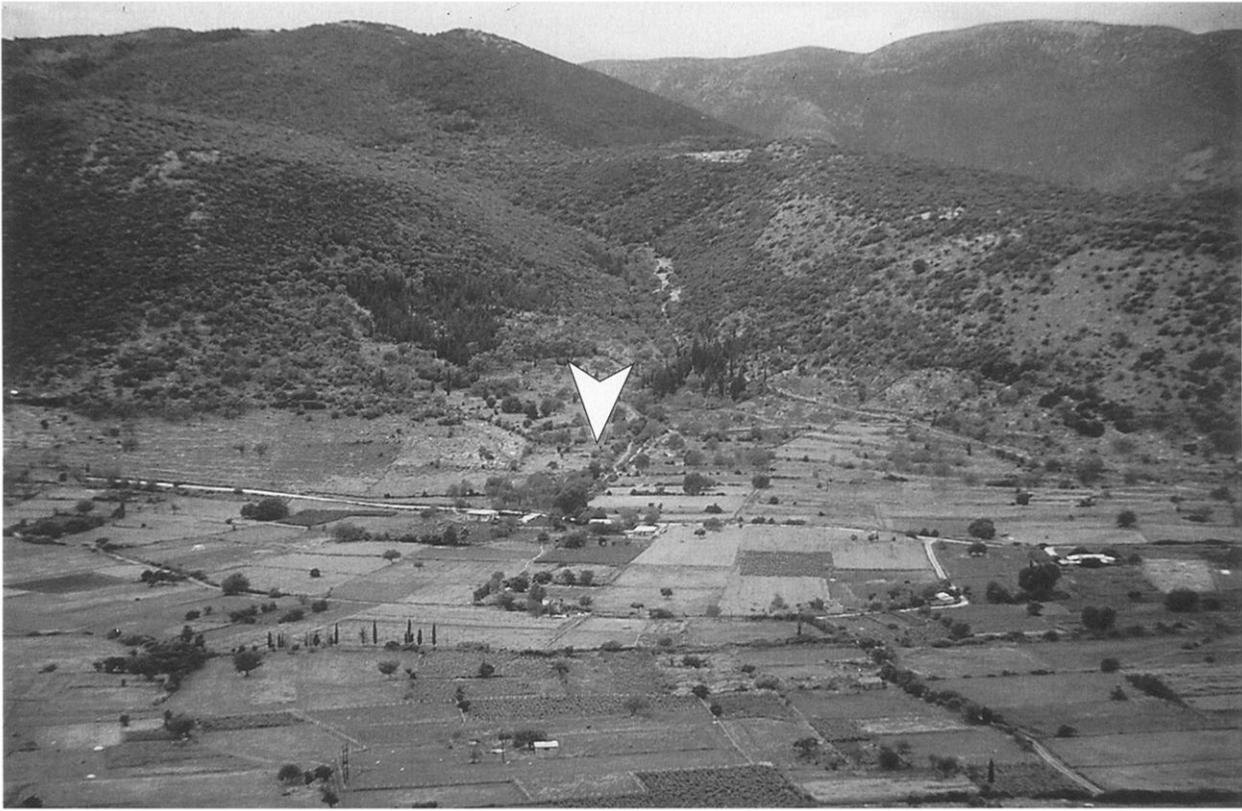


Figure 50. View of plain south of Marantochori from east, site 11, Sta Marmara (arrow)



Figure 51. Marantochori, Sta Marmara (11), lower and upper towers, from east (1992)

A cistern situated approximately midway between the two towers (Fig. 53), resembling the one at Magemeno (Fig. 47), attests a water supply, found as a nearly constant feature at every rural tower site. The lower tower (Fig. 51) stands free in the sloping field with all four sides visible, a polygonal stone socle about 7 by 7 m (to be precise, 7.03 m along the north and east, 7.08 m along the south, and 6.89 m at the west). The polygonal blocks all exhibit a horizontal upper surface free of cuttings, implying a mudbrick superstructure.



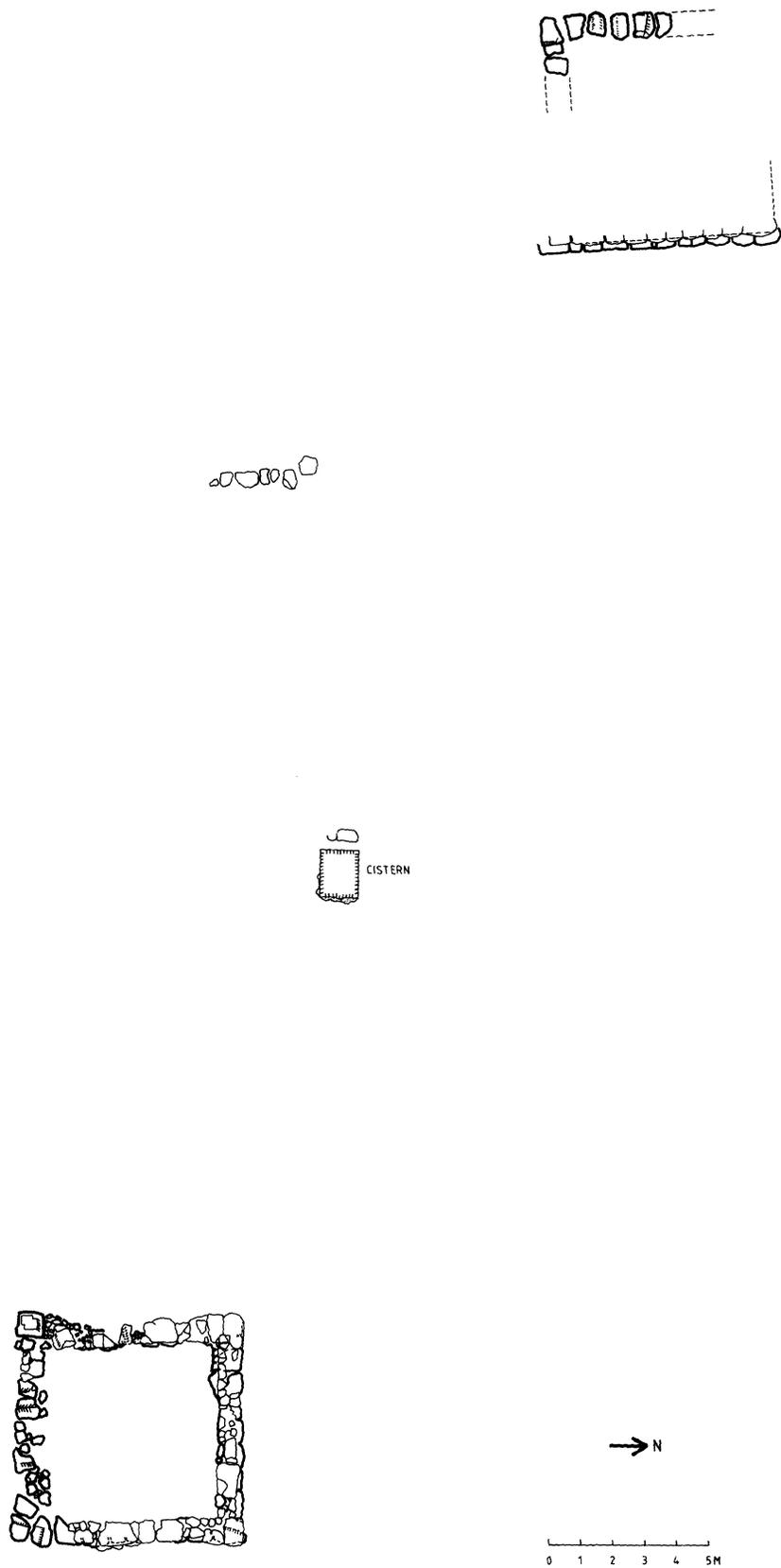
Figure 52. Marantochori, Sta Marmara (11), upper tower, east face, after cleaning (1992)



Figure 53. Cistern between two towers at Sta Marmara, from east

The upper tower was shown to us as a retaining wall, but cleaning revealed it to be a square tower whose east face has been built into a modern terrace, a polygonal wall some 3 m high and 7 m wide, edged by drafted vertical margins and set on a projecting euthynteria course at the base (Fig. 52). This east face serves to retain a terraced field, on which appear two joining lines of blocks, the southwest corner of the same tower. The landowner reports heavy tile and ceramic debris in plowing this area, as one might expect in the vicinity of an ancient tower now dismantled. The dimensions of this tower (6.9 m along the south, 7 m on the exposed east face) and its technique of construction (a polygonal socle) are so nearly identical to its neighbor below that one can easily conclude that they were built at the same time, and probably for the same purpose (clearly security, not surveillance or signaling). Both resemble closely the towers at Enklouvi, Skaros, Kastri, and north of the same plain at Kleismatia (Fig. 56), to form the second class of stone towers built on Leukas in the Classical period (below, p. 338). Among the ceramics and tiles visible at this site was a fragment of a coarse-ware pithos with triple relief band of a type also found

Figure 54. Plan of two towers at Sta Marmara. A. Hooton



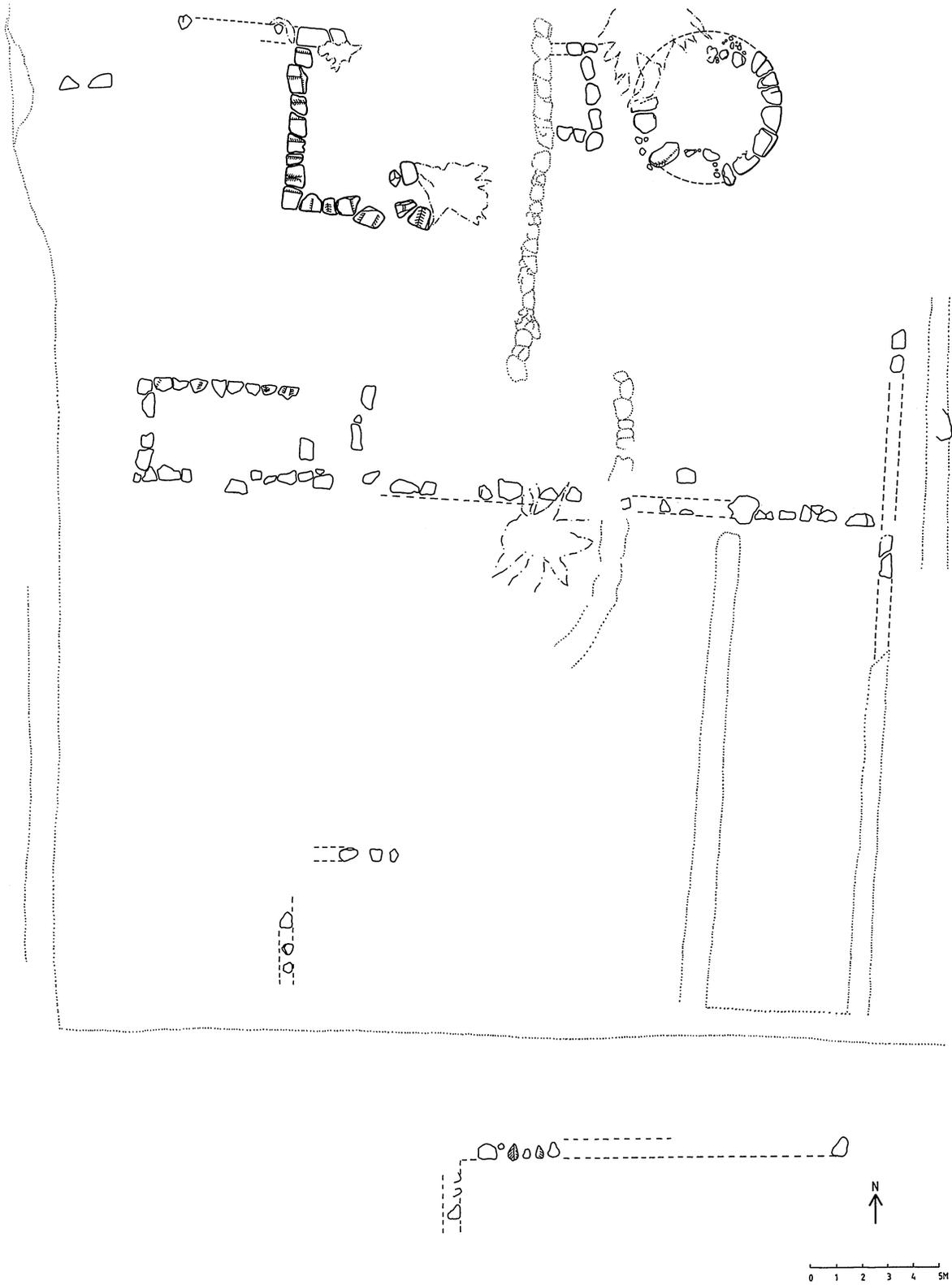


Figure 55. Plan of tower site 12 at Kleismatia. A. Hooton

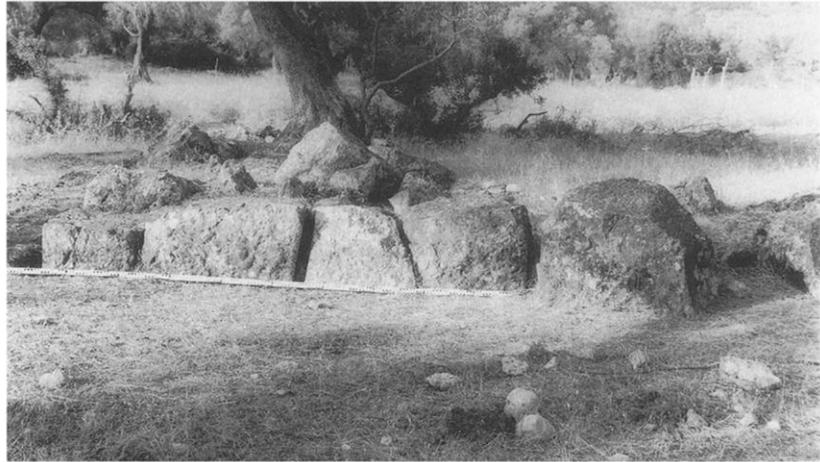


Figure 56. View of square tower at Kleismatia, from south (1992)

at Poros, Mavroneri, and Magemeno, implying that the date and function of these towers were as similar as their construction techniques. Other pottery sherds were dense (especially on the heavily plowed upper terrace) but largely coarse ware, incapable of providing a date for the life of these structures more precise than Classical to Late Classical; the base of an Attic black-glazed skyphos (ca. 12 cm in foot diameter) was wedged in the west wall of the upper tower. To summarize this complex, the site was landscaped at several levels for a rural residence with two towers and a cistern; other structures built on lighter foundations may have accompanied these installations.

North of Marantochori and on the western side of the plain called “Bisas,” in a similar formation regularly flooded (locally called “Limni” for its seasonal transformation into a lake), another tower site lies at Kleismatia, just below a hill about 200 masl, on the property of Dimitrios Skliros (Figs. 1:12, 49). In olive groves and fields over shallow terraces lie exposed blocks too large for farmers to remove. They include the foundations of a square tower in polygonal style, ca. 7 by 7 m, a round tower, ca. 6 m in diameter, and the remains of what was an extensive complex built on lighter foundations, extending to the south and east of the towers (Fig. 55). As in the other square towers of this size (e.g., at Skaros, Enklouvi, and nearby at Sta Marmara), a socle of polygonal blocks squared at the two preserved corners and defined (at least at the southwest corner) by drafted vertical margins survives, here only on its western side and part of the south. Modern planting of olive trees has displaced the rest of this structure (Fig. 56).

A short distance to the east of this tower, separated by only a modern terrace wall with a recent *mandri* attached, and at a minimal difference in elevation, we found the blocks of a round tower half-buried by earth (Fig. 57). This circle of blocks was used to support an olive tree, whose roots have disrupted the ancient foundations. About a third of its circumference could be defined at east and west; like the round tower built into a square one at Achuria (Fig. 32), it was shaped of polygonal blocks. This tower is still covered with the debris of its use and destruction, forming a thick layer of clay and charcoal mixed with sherds compacted around its



Figure 57. View of round tower at Kleismatia, from north (1992)

few exposed blocks. The most important component of this debris was a concentration of mudbrick or clay mortar, in the form of nearly pure clay, packed against the sloping upper surfaces of the polygonal blocks. This clay debris, and a concentration of artifacts and tiles, was particularly dense on the west side where circumference blocks were missing; pithos fragments were also found inside the circumference as if a vessel had been smashed in situ. Sherds represent a mixture of use and destruction debris, primarily Classical, such as an Attic black-glazed lamp, pyxis lid, column krater handle, and plate rim, plus scarcer Hellenistic and Roman fragments (a fish plate, Roman lamps). Other objects observed in clearing the circle included a terracotta figurine, an astragal (ovicaprid knuckle), and two broken household grindstones of andesite. This site deserves systematic excavation in order for the stratification of its use and destruction, and the chronological or functional relationship of round and square towers, to be interpreted with accuracy. Likewise, the area south of these towers with its extensive remains would reward closer investigation; visible blocks define a complex as large as the one at Poros. A water supply (several wells are still in use in the area) supplements the rich fertility of the same kind of *Kesselthäler* also defined south of the same village and at Enklouvi (see below).

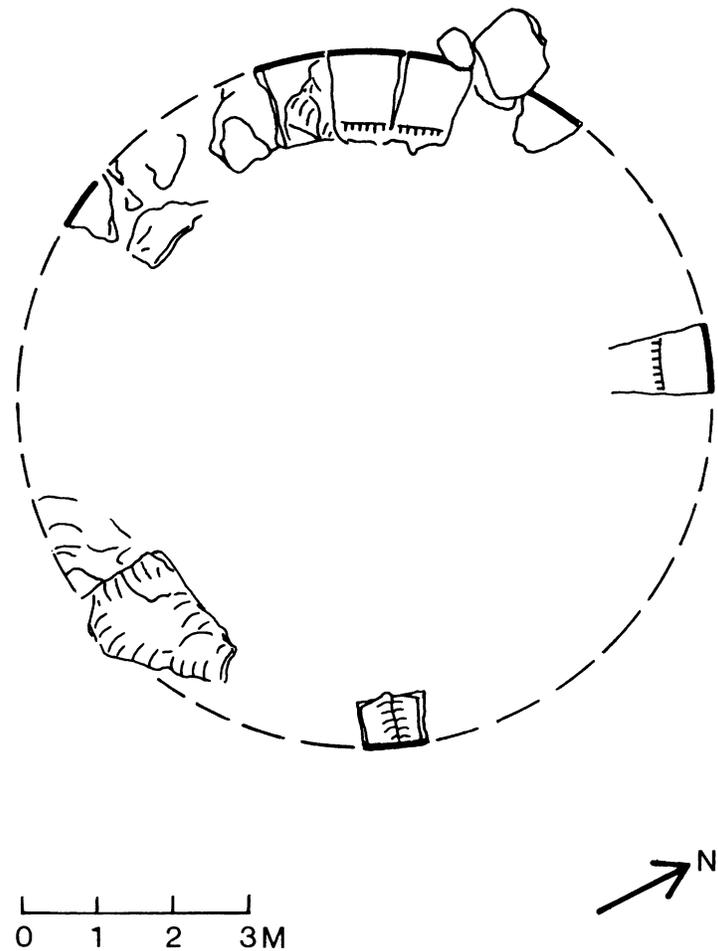


Figure 58. Plan of tower 13 at Pyrgos, Marantochori. P. Finnerty

A final tower site near Marantochori announces its existence from the toponym Sto(n) Pyrgo(n): it lies below and northeast of the church and cemetery of Agios Georgios northwest of the village, just off the road south of the hill with the restored windmill (Figs. 1, 49:13). Today all that survives are patches of cut bedrock (visible at the south and west) defining a large circle over 9 m in diameter, and five polygonal blocks in situ on the north (three), east (one), and south (one) (Fig. 58). The thickness (depth from exterior to interior) of this course ranges around a meter (dimensions vary from 0.95 to 1.05 m in surviving blocks). Local residents remember more numerous blocks surviving to a greater height in this monument; apparently it was dismantled by the landowners as building material for the cemetery enclosure above, at Agios Georgios. In its present condition it can only be added to the corpus of round towers in rural locales on Leukas, and compared in its polygonal style to those at Achuria and Kleismatia.

64. Dörpfeld 1927, p. 262 (tower g); Nidri notebook I, pp. 42–43. The photograph of harvesting around Enklouvi (Fig. 63, DAI neg. Leukas 359) was presumably taken on this excursion.

The last of the seven towers published by Dörpfeld was visited by Krüger in 1901 on the high plains west of Enklouvi in the mountainous heart of the island (Fig. 59), and measured but not drawn.⁶⁴ This tower is still visible on the southern edge of a large plain west of Agios Donatos, planted today in wheat and lentils in alternating years (Figs. 1:14, 60–61). This high plain, nestled between the island's central peaks (Stavrotas rises

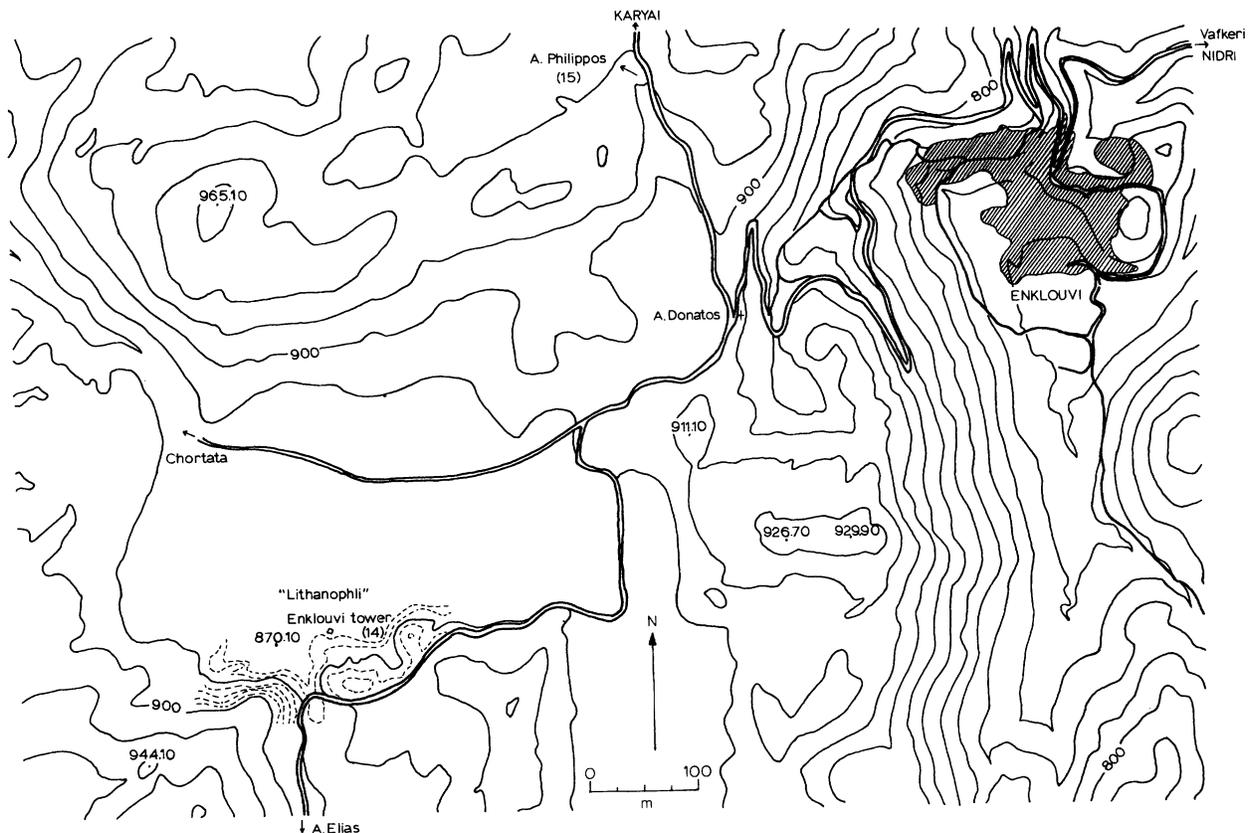


Figure 59. Contour map of area west of Enklouvi with tower sites 14, 15.
F. Evenson

1,141 masl to the south, Agios Elias and Megan Oros to 1,012 masl to the north: Fig. 1) at an elevation of 880 masl, is one of several making this area the most productive on the island in cereals and legumes, in recent history and ethnography.⁶⁵ The area around Agios Donatos is still covered with special βόλτα, or rock huts (like the μτάτα, or cheese houses, of Crete), for the storage of grain and shelter of its cultivators (Fig. 63, taken in 1901).⁶⁶

The Enklouvi tower, aligned just east of true north (Fig. 62), abuts a patch of unplowed ground that extends from its southeastern corner to where bedrock rises south of the plain at a spot known as “Lithanophli” (Figs. 59–60). This rocky patch of ground, about 10 by 20 m large, is thick with tile and sherd debris and marked by the absence of modern cultivation. These observations suggest that the site was unsuitable for plowing and planting, but was solid enough for supporting a monumental

65. Partsch (1889, p. 27) on the fertility of these high *Kesselthäler*, calls Enklouvi the most productive area, using 1860 figures where Santa Maura (Leukas) far exceeds the larger islands of Corfu and Kephallonia in annual yield of grain. Davy (1842, p. 242) had visited Enklouvi in 1825 and noted its distinctive microclimate (“the oak flourishes there, not the olive”), the

fertility of its perennially flooded basins, and the productivity in corn (maize), lamenting the island’s underdeveloped agricultural potential. Enklouvi (especially Agios Donatos) is famous for its lentils (Kontomichis 1985, pp. 95–96) and once had windmills for grinding wheat (see DAI neg. Leukas 352).

66. Kontomichis (1985, pp. 24–30)

reports 150 stone field huts in this area, named βόλτα (or βόλτοι) for their “vaulted” shape (presumably from Italian “volto”). Another name for them is αχούρια (from αχυρών), the nickname for the area of the missing tower on Nidri Bay: see above, n. 39; cf. Argyros, Leukokoilos, and Philippas 1971, pp. 230–232, figs. 63–64.

Figure 60. View of plain above Enklouvi, from east; tower 14 at center (1991)



Figure 61. View of tower 14 above Enklouvi, from south; threshold block at left (1992)



structure. The existence of buried ancient blocks may have discouraged modern growing, and deserves subterranean testing. Local farmers report consistent debris of tiles and sherds in plowing adjacent areas. In other words, this isolated tower may have once been attached to auxiliary buildings, as at Poros and other tower sites. In style, the tower belongs to the type common on Leukas: a stone socle of polygonal blocks, squared to ashlar at the corners (all four survive in situ) defined by drafted margins, and ending in a horizontal surface free of visible cuttings for additional courses in stone, presumably a base for a mudbrick superstructure (Figs. 61–62). The interior of the tower is piled with stones of the same gray limestone used in the tower socle, obscuring any details of its interior plan. The entrance lay, as is customary in Greek residences, on the south: the massive threshold stone, over 2 m long with a cutting for a doorpost, lies upside down toward the west end of the south side (Fig. 61). The tower is nearly square in shape, measuring 8.44 m (east) by 8.30 m (north), and 8.32 m (south) by 8.38 m (west); these dimensions differ from the oblong reported by Dörpfeld (8.60 m long by 8.00 m wide).

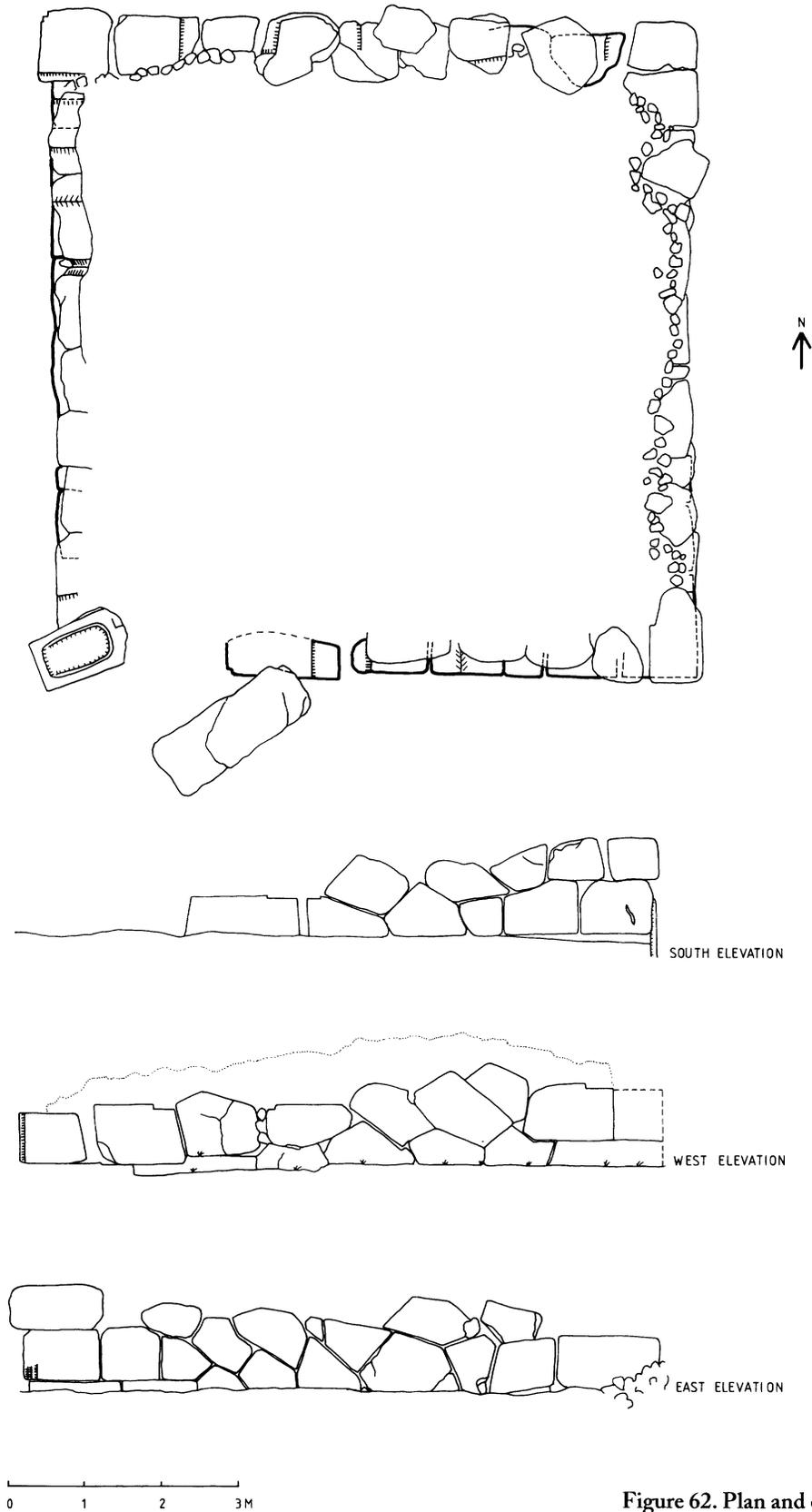


Figure 62. Plan and elevations of tower 14 above Enklouvi. A. Hooton



Figure 63. View of harvest in progress at Enklouvi, 1901. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. Leukas 359

At least one other similar monument marked the fertile plains of ancient Leukas in this area. Northwest of Enklouvi, just east of a rocky ridge with a niche sacred to Agios Philippos in its southern face (Figs. 1, 59:15, for location), lies a set of foundations likely to be a tower (two lines of blocks, running north–south and east–west, end in a right angle at the southeast: Fig. 64) framed by retaining walls supporting terraces to the west and north (Fig. 65).⁶⁷ Like the first tower at Enklouvi, these remains sit perched above arable land and at a rock outcrop providing building material. This area is today planted with lentils or wheat each summer, interspersed with vineyards, and the fields below to the east are heavy with tile and pottery debris in plowed furrows. Photographs taken in 1901 show wheat being threshed on these high plains (e.g., Fig. 63), images of how traditional agriculture was practiced in Leukas, using methods close to ancient ones. In these plains rich in silt and moisture, cereals and legumes are more appropriate crops, with the slopes of the island’s mountains hospitable to vines: views of Enklouvi in 1901 show terraced vineyards climbing the surrounding slopes, and active windmills to process grain (see DAI neg. Leukas 352).

CONCLUSIONS

This study of island towers has confirmed at least fifteen sites (including two now lost) in the rural and suburban landscape of Leukas where round or square stone foundations supported multistoried structures (a total of

67. See Nidri notebook I, p. 43; Fiedler 1996, p. 168, n. 84.



Figure 64. View of tower site 15 at Agios Philippos, Enklouvi, from southeast (1996)

nineteen towers, including serial or paired multiple structures at single sites). Additional areas await investigation: for example, the largest and most productive of the *Kesselthäler* on the island, Livadi east of Karyai (see Fig. 1), has no reported ancient remains (nor did our inspection detect any); yet close association elsewhere between such highly productive land and the presence of towers leads us to expect them in this area. A set of walls no longer visible in the village of Syvros resembles a tower with polygonal blocks (DAI neg. Leukas 91). The vast plain of Vasiliki hides under olive trees antiquities noted in the 19th century, including a round tower reported near the sea.⁶⁸ The deeply silted and cultivated Nidri plain covers ancient remains struck only by deep plow or trench (and modern builders in this heavily developed resort have learned to avoid them by laying shallow foundations).⁶⁹ Short of more intensive survey or excavation, it is helpful to integrate the known monuments and their environments into a meaningful scenario of the ancient history of Leukas.

To summarize the architectural corpus of these towers first in terms of form, one can define three groups or styles of construction, not necessarily chronological or functional distinctions. The first group are round and built of mudbrick over a stone socle, most measuring ca. 5–6 m in diameter. These are represented by partial remains at Poros, Achuria, Kroupa, Magemeno, and twice north of Marantochori; some have a polygonal socle (Achuria, Kleismatia, Pyrgos), others ashlar blocks (Poros, Kroupa, Magemeno). The last two lie at locations easily taken for military or defensive (watch- or signal-) purposes, discussed below.

The second group of towers are square in shape, about 7 m on a side, and polygonal in wall style, with angle blocks squared and drafted along the external vertical margin; this type is present at Marantochori (thrice), Kastri, and Enklouvi, as well as Skaros. Their upper walls, above the polygonal socle ending in a horizontal surface without cuttings, were probably of mudbrick.

Least well known outside of the structure at Poros are towers built entirely (?) of stone in ashlar style, which survive at Mavroneri, Katochori, Palaikatouna, and Achuria. The suitability of their rectangular blocks for

68. Goodisson 1822, p. 73 (not to be confused with Pyrgi: pl. 5); see above, n. 20.

69. A set of circular remains (Dörpfeld 1927, map 10, grid square A4) has been called a round tower (Fiedler 1996, p. 165), but requires further investigation. Another tower is reported above Perigiali at the east end of Skaros: Philippa-Apostolou and Christodouloupoulou 1998, p. 74.



Figure 65. View of tower site 15 at Agios Philippos, Enklouvi, from east (1996)

70. Haselberger (1984, pp. 151–166) updates Young’s corpus (Young 1956, pp. 144–146) of published towers on islands and the mainland, including Asia Minor and the Crimea (cf. Saprykin 1994). Recent studies of towers have focused on Thasos (Osborne 1986, Kozelji and Wurch-Kozelji 1989, Brunet 1996), Siphnos (Ashton 1991, Preziosi 1994, Davies 1997), Keos (Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, Mendoni 1998), Lesbos (Spencer 1994, 1995), Andros (Koutsoukou and Kanellopoulos 1990), and Euboea (Parkinson 1994). A complete bibliography will be included in a forthcoming article (see below, n. 87).

71. Murray 1982, pp. 187–190, fig. 36, and 1991; cf. Dörpfeld 1927, pp. 269–271, fig. 30, pl. 50, for Classical walls below the Agios Georgios fort. If Nerikos was the Homeric name of Leukas island (*Od.* 24.377), displaced by the new colonial capital of Leukas founded by Corinth, the name Nerikos evidently survived and was reused (under the influence of *Od.* 24.377?) for the Classical fort opposite the city. Faraklas (1991) identifies Agios Georgios as ancient Sollion; cf. Fiedler 1996, pp. 159–160. See Krentz and Sullivan 1987 on the date of Phormion’s first expedition to the area.

reuse, as a “regular” shape easily built into terraces and other walls, explains why few of them survive above the level of foundations, and helps identify those present only as foundations as likely to have been ashlar (or coursed trapezoidal) in style. In several cases—Poros, Achuria, and perhaps Kleismatia—a round tower was replaced by a square one. The resemblance of the Poros tower to developed Akarnanian masonry of the 4th century or later makes it likely that round towers were earlier (and topped with brick); their square successors bore “petrified” upper courses in stone. Surface finds at the towers offer inadequate precision in time and original context to confirm or deny such a sequence. Elsewhere in the Greek world, of course, this sequence of round and square towers might not be duplicated, nor do similarities in form necessarily spell comparable functions.⁷⁰ On Siphnos, for example, there are fifty-six round towers, on Thasos, Keos, and Lesbos a mixture of shapes; too few have been excavated to determine precise relative or absolute dates, anywhere.

In terms of function, it was initially tempting to view some of the coastal towers (Kroupa, Magemeno, and Kastri) as a series of defensive installations, given local activity during the Peloponnesian War. In a recent paper, William Murray supports Dörpfeld’s identification of the Greek fort at Agios Georgios opposite Leukas at the southern end of the ship channel as Classical Nerikos, mentioned by Thucydides in his account of northwestern campaigns during the Archidamian War.⁷¹ In 428 B.C., Phormion’s son, Asopios, sailed to Leukas in command of thirty ships and attacked “Nerikos” in an attempt that failed and cost him his life; his retreat was cut off by local resistance “and a few guards” (*φορουρῶν τινῶν ὀλίγων*: Thuc. 3.7.4). In a related action two years later, the general Demosthenes and thirty ships besieged “some guards (*φορουρούς τινας*) in Ellomeno(n) of Leukadia” and killed them, before attacking the city of Leukas itself; despite the urging of Akarnanian allies to cut off the city by a wall (or build a wall around it? *ἀποτειχίζειν*), he abandoned the campaign and headed for Naupaktos (3.94). In this passage, the Leukadians suffered losses, human and property, “both the outlying land being ravaged and that within the isthmus, in which lie both [the city of] Leukas

and the temple of Apollo” (τῆς τε ἔξω γῆς δηουμένης καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ, ἐν ἧ καὶ ἡ Λευκάς ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος).

If ἔξω γῆς refers to land “outside [the isthmus?]” on the mainland, then Classical Leukas occupied part of the neighboring *peraia* (Plagia peninsula), site of two other Corinthian colonies (Sollion and Anaktorion), grounds for Akarnanian resentment on territorial grounds. In addition, understanding ἔξω γῆς as the mainland supports the identification of Agios Georgios as Nerikos, which would lie in the coastal strip controlled by the island. Since the most famous temple of Apollo lay far from the city at the remote southwestern tip of the island (Fig. 1), Thucydides’ phrase (ἐντὸς τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ) would then describe the entire island (distinct from mainland territory), still loosely joined to the mainland. But another temple of Apollo is known in the city, and “isthmus” was used for the narrow neck of land joining the island to the mainland, near the capital city.

If Leukas controlled some mainland area (ἔξω γῆς) during the Classical period, it is tempting to see the towers at Kroupa and Magemento as fortified lookouts along the eastern shore of the island and potential sites for φρουροί, posted against the enemy.⁷² If the visible city walls of Leukas (Fig. 3) date to a post-Classical period, isolated towers, manned by guards as in Thucydides (3.7.5, 3.94), may have been significant for mobilizing advance defense, prior to the city’s construction of a fortified enceinte with towers, typical of walls built to withstand later Greek siegecraft. The circumvallation(?) of Leukas urged on Demosthenes by the Akarnanians, as well as the vulnerability of the island to an Athenian assault (πλήθει βιαζόμενοι ἡσύχαζον: 3.94.2), further suggests that the substantial city wall visible today was not yet in existence. An ancient wall that could once be traced in the outskirts of modern Leukada,⁷³ north of the ancient city, may have added protection against invasion from the mainland, but its date and details are unknown. But if ἔξω γῆς (at Thuc. 3.94) simply means the rural territory of the island outside the city, then the citizens of Leukas suffered the same incursions against rural property that Athenians and others did during the Peloponnesian War, and may have built towers for the same reasons.

Despite their location at strategic points, the towers at Magemento and Kastri probably served the same function as the other towers on the island more isolated from the coast and the Kroupa tower possibly served as a lighthouse. The progressive demilitarization of rural stone towers in modern scholarship recommends a residential and agricultural setting first, before considering a public, defensive role (as opposed to private security), which requires an explicitly strategic setting, if not support from historical context.⁷⁴

Having excluded these temptations from history, the examples from Leukas seem to confirm the pattern noted elsewhere in the Greek world: these rural structures, multistoried and massive, were primarily private and residential, despite their public (i.e., fortification-) style and hence costly level of construction. Domestic ceramics are consistent at all sites, and make it likely that the towers of Leukas were built and used as rural residences. The remains of pithoi at most of these towers indicate storage of agricultural products, for consumption or sale; at least one ancient πύργος

72. See also the towers nearby on the island of Kalamos opposite the mainland town of Mytikas, which have been compared to those of Leukas: Benton 1931–1932, pp. 233–234, fig. 15; Kilian 1982, pp. 54–55.

73. Goodisson 1822, pl. 2; Leake 1835, p. 21 (based on an 1819 map surveyed by Smyth); Dörpfeld 1927, map 6 (= von Marées 1907, map 2); Fiedler 1996, pp. 162–163, figs. 22, 24.

74. Lohmann (1992) rehabilitates several towers in Attica as farms, and also those in the Megarid (p. 40) reinterpreted by Ober (1987) as artillery towers, to which we would add the tower at Mazi in Attica (*pace* Camp 1991), located in the middle of a large, flat plain. Lohmann (1992, p. 40) also defends the military (watch- or signal-) function of other round towers on peaks, like the one on Mt. Velatouri, for which Vigla (Fig. 1) offers an example near Leukas: see above, n. 55. See Munn 1983, “Farm Towers and Military Towers” (pp. 15–93), and Appendix II, pp. 338–344, “The Vathychoria Towers”; Papageorgiadou 1990, p. 314, on tower functions on Keos; Haselberger 1985 in general.

(in Tenos) was equipped with a *πίθων* (*IG XII 47*, lines 53–56), a word that means a cellar or storage bin, more generally. The presence of ancillary buildings is crucial to understanding the function of the towers, and is often overlooked near the better-preserved towers that dominate attention.⁷⁵ As in other landscapes, a few towers—notably at Kroupa—can be excluded as farm sites, when confined to strategically selected locations and unaccompanied by other structures suggesting prolonged residence for purposes of farming.⁷⁶

The idea that such towers could be ancient lookout points for non-military surveillance against theft of crops (especially grapes) is supported by the modern *δραγάτα* (above, n. 30) and by Biblical passages locating towers in vineyards (Isaiah 5.2; Matthew 21.33; Mark 21.1). A more comprehensive picture of an ancient farm is provided by a much-cited passage: in a speech attributed to Demosthenes, a creditor raids a debtor's farmhouse to seize portable property such as furniture and slaves in lieu of payment of a debt ([Dem.] 47.56). Surprised by the raid during the absence of the owner and head of household, female slaves take refuge in the tower, described as their usual residence (*οὔπερ διαιτῶνται*). This arrangement implies that towers at rural Greek residences in the Classical period served to protect human inhabitants and property vulnerable through their isolation and the absence of a master and owner. The absence of towers in the vicinity of the capital city reinforces the idea that they provided security in isolated areas distant from urban centers, and agrees with the pattern in other Greek landscapes where towers appear at farms distant from towns.⁷⁷ An escalation in monumental stone masonry in building practices, and an increased dispersal of occupation for farming in the Late Classical period, in the aftermath of insecure conditions in the Peloponnesian War, led to a large number of these towers still visible across the Greek landscape.

What kind of cultivation kept inhabitants of Leukas resident on the land is worth discussion. Ancient Leukas specialized in wine, as it has in recent centuries in currants, grapes, and *βαλτζαμί* (Italian *varzaminio* wine), and in varietal wines exported as colorants and additives, on the evidence of its ancient reputation, coin devices, and a local industry in amphoras (stamped with a wine-jar motif) active in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods.⁷⁸ Its container industry should be compared to that of neighboring Corcyra, home to amphora production sites and exports; both islands, colonies of Corinth, owe their special vessels, their reputation for

75. For ancillary buildings, see Munn 1983, p. 29, n. 50 (Megarid, etc.); Preziosi 1994, pp. 56–58, 62–64 (Siphnos).

76. Munn 1982; Parkinson 1994.

77. Gallant 1982; Fiedler 1996, p. 168. Cf. Lesbos: Schauss and Spencer 1994, Spencer 1994; Keos: Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991. Not all Greek residential towers are rural: see Douzougli and Morris 1994,

p. 218, ns. 16–18, for towers found in demes and towns. On isolated farmsteads, see Roy 1988.

78. Andreou 1990, with comments by J.-Y. Empereur. Of the forty-six known Leukas coin devices and symbols, grapes and vines, kantharoi, amphoras, and oinochoai are common, as they are on related coinage struck by Corinth, Corcyra, and members of the Akarnanian League: Calciati 1990.

Cf. Papadopoulos and Paspalas 1999 for coin devices as a reflection of local viticulture; Franke and Marathaki 1999. Ancient structures discovered in the city along the Leukas channel held quantities of amphoras as well as lead weights, some marked ΔΑ[ΜΟΣΙΟΝ?], apparently for storage and shipment of wine: above, n. 16, and *AR* 1998–1999, p. 66. See also Fiedler 1999, pp. 422–423.

wine, and the interest they held for their mother city to an extensive system of vineyards.⁷⁹ The role of Corcyra in the Leukadian wine industry may have been more collaborative than competitive, if the example of other island cooperatives in wine export (e.g., Chios, Thasos, and Lesbos) had wider currency in antiquity.⁸⁰ This overlap in industries is reinforced by the presence of Corcyreans who lived (or at least died) on Leukas in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods,⁸¹ amplifying the need for a convergent study of the economies of these two islands. A dispute between Corcyra and Corinth settled by Themistocles with their joint governance of Leukas (Plut. *Them.* 24), for example, may have brought their populations and resources closer together. Corcyra's exploitation of natural resources included many areas on the *peraia* opposite, just as Leukas had mainland interests in antiquity (Thuc. 3.94) and recently.⁸² These realities are a sobering reminder that exploration of "insular" environments must consider regional economies that transcend the natural and even political boundaries of islands, especially those near the mainland.⁸³

Intensification in ancient agriculture, visible in built residences and dense settlement across the rural landscapes of Greece, is now well attested for the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods—the later 5th through 4th centuries B.C.⁸⁴ Recent survey on Aegean islands (Keos, Lesbos) and the mainland (Attica, the Argolid) confirms this phenomenon repeatedly as a widespread pattern in Greek history; in some Aegean regions, the equally dramatic abandonment of rural sites in the Hellenistic period increases the concentration of towers in the period of the 5th to 3rd centuries B.C.⁸⁵ The towers of Leukas roughly confirm this pattern: most belong to the Classical–Late Classical period (the round towers and squared polygonal ones) and a few are later replacements (e.g., the standing tower at Poros). Several tower sites on Leukas (Enklouvi, Kleismatia) revealed

79. Kourkoumelis 1990; 1994. The island's richest citizens apparently owned vineyards (Thuc. 3.70.4), a likely target of Athenian rural devastation (3.80.2). A kiln-workshop site found on Corfu confirms the Corinthian type B amphora (Koehler 1978, pp. 33–49) as local to the Ionian islands: Preka-Alexandri 1992. On the wine of ancient Leukas, see Pliny *HN* 14.76; Ath. I.29a, 33b; and its coin types (above, n. 78); modern visitors have noted the production but (like Athenaeus) have deplored the quality of local wines: Goodisson 1822, p. 55; Davy 1842, p. 336. See Kontomichis 1985, pp. 103–147.

80. Clinkenbeard 1986; in northern Greece, "Mendeian" amphoras probably contained wine from other peninsulas of the Chalkidike as well: Papadopoulos and Paspalas 1999.

81. Agallapoulou 1977, p. 491; Kalligas 1982, esp. pp. 81–85 (the names are all female: relocation through marriage, bringing dowried

land on Corcyra to Leukadian families?). Domingo-Forasté (1988, pp. 18–28) does not discuss these inscriptions in his analysis of the relations between Corcyra and Leukas.

82. In the 19th century, hundreds of Leukadians migrated seasonally to Albania for work, and had to import meat (Goodisson 1822, p. 57). Today, residents of the island still own property on the neighboring peninsula and islands: Just 2000, *passim*.

83. As in Lambrianides 1994, a conjoined analysis of Lesbos and neighboring Aeolis, and the surveys of Lesbos and the Ayvalik area (Madra Çay delta): Lambrianides et al. 1996. The mainland opposite Leukas belongs to a separate Ephorate of Antiquities (in Patras) and thus could not be explored simultaneously on a single permit.

84. Beyond the ceramic categories of Classical and Hellenistic, survey archaeologists now emphasize the critical importance of distinguishing a

Late Classical–Early Hellenistic phase in rural settlements: Munn 1985; Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, p. 393; Alcock 1994, p. 178.

85. Southern Attic sites, for example, show an unmistakable discontinuity (decline in sites and material) in this period (Lohmann 1993, p. 48); many towers on Keos "yielded no Hellenistic finds whatsoever" (Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, p. 291; cf. Mendoni 1998, p. 284). Consolidations of cities (*synoikismoi*) and Macedonian conquest evidently led to the desertion of some rural areas by the mid-3rd century B.C., after a dramatic rise in rural settlement in the Early Hellenistic period ("largely a continuation of that generally observed in the Classical period": Alcock 1994, p. 177). In Asia Minor and the Adriatic and Pontic regions, on the other hand, new settlements and allotments of land revived private farming in the post-Classical era: Saprykin 1994.

Hellenistic sherds and Roman lamps as surface material, always outnumbered by older artifacts; however, the complete history of these farms cannot be gauged from the surface alone. Historical sources point to intensive viticulture in the same period on Corcyra (n. 79), and evidently Leukas experienced a similar upswing, with an impact on rural occupation. The proliferation of Classical towers seems to coincide with an increase in viticulture, the most labor-intensive form of modern and ancient cultivation, requiring frequent spells in the vineyard for pruning, terracing, and maintaining stakes or trellises, then many hands for rapid collection and protection of the harvest.⁸⁶ A more precise connection between such industries and the uses of stone towers in the countryside will be argued elsewhere, from evidence more visible at other towers.⁸⁷ Meanwhile, the towers of Leukas support a growing consensus in modern scholarship that such structures were primarily residential rather than defensive.

This survey of Greek towers on Leukas has by no means exhausted the island's corpus of classical antiquities, or even the totality of ancient towers (judging from reports by residents of blocks at more remote sites). Its goal was to open a regional environment little explored under modern conditions, and incorporate a significant number of ancient stone towers into the growing corpus under study throughout the lands of classical antiquity.

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86. Theophr. *Caus. pl.* 3.11f; Columella *Rust.* 5.7.1; Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, pp. 29–33; Burford 1993, pp. 133–135; Hanson 1992; 1995, pp. 167–178.

87. Such a study is in preparation by S. Morris and J. Papadopoulos (cf. Douzougli and Morris 1994, pp. 217–219).

the final drawings of the site; Freya Evenson, Patrick Finnerty, L. Carey Hilton, Anne Hooton, and Phil Stinson traced maps, plans, and profiles. Dörpfeld's photographs of Leukas appear courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Athens; my thanks especially to Hans Ruprecht Goette for assistance.

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