

THE ROAD TO OENOE

(PLATES 117, 118)

CORINTHIAN topography and history have been special interests of Oscar Broneer since his entry into Archaeological fieldwork in the 1920s. He introduced me and many other archaeologists to Corinthian studies and my first experience in field excavation was in the Isthmus under his direction. It seems especially appropriate, therefore, for me to offer for publication this study in Corinthian myth, history, and topography in a special issue honoring one of the most perceptive archaeologists and most profound humanists it has been my privilege to know.

The traveler in antiquity might reach the Peloponnesus from Central Greece by any one of three land routes from the Megarid (Pl. 117). One was along the coast, and connected the Scironian Road to the Isthmus via the towns that looked out onto the Saronic Gulf: Crommyon (near modern Áyi Theódori), Sidous, and Schoenus (near modern Kalamáki). A second road, the main one during most of the historical period at least, led from Megara to Tripodiscus and across the principal pass through the Geranian mountains, between the peaks of Lýsi and Makrí Playí. That road descended to a spring (Mýges) in the hills above Áyi Theódori, from which one might either turn aside to join the first route at Crommyon, or continue on to ancient Therma (modern Loutráki) and approach Corinth along the Corinthian Gulf.

The third route into the Corinthia from Megaris follows the Halcyonic coast of the Corinthian Gulf from the modern village of Káto Alepochórion to the small plain behind the harbor of Schínos (Pl. 117). From there (Corinthian territory) the route ascends to the area of the modern Bíssia and then across the upland Perachóra valley. In that valley, just below the summit of Mt. Loutráki, the traveler might choose to continue on to the tip of Perachóra peninsula where the Sanctuary of Hera is located, or to descend to the hot springs (Therma) at the southern foot of Mt. Loutráki, and from there, as in the second route, into the heart of the Isthmus. The route to the Sanctuary of Hera was the one chosen by Philocles, who had marched through Boeotia from Euboea in order to sail from the Heraeum to Lechaem with his troops to raise the siege of Corinth in 196 B.C.¹ The land route to and across the Isthmus, of course, was the more-traveled route.

¹ Livy, XXXII, 23, 10-11. Plutarch, *Aratus*, 43-44, 1. Philocles, however, may have reached the Heraeum from Therma after crossing Gerania. Livy did not specify the route and N. G. L. Hammond, "The Main Road from Boeotia to the Peloponnese through the N. Megarid," *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, p. 104, note 6, considered it more likely that Philocles "used the normal route through Gerania." Perhaps. But Corinth at that time was invested by large forces and his army of 1,500

Humfry Payne considered the route along the Halcyonic coast one of the main roads of Greece.² The road began at Pagae, the Megarian harbor city on the Corinthian Gulf, for it was there that the traveler from the north had to choose either to follow the coast or to turn inland towards Megara and seek one of the other two routes to the Peloponnesus. The imposing ruins of Pagae, now Káto Alepochórion, were noted in the early 19th century and a number of inscriptions are known from there. Much of the fortification wall that surrounded the ancient town is still standing, though built over by modern walls in many places (Pl. 118, a, b). Traces of the ship-sheds have even been noted in the harbor.³

Pagae was the last large Megarian town on this coast towards Corinthian territory, and Oenoe, the first major Corinthian outpost, was in the same gulf (*kolpos*) with the Megarian port; the Corinthian-Megarian border fell between the two. Olmiae, the northeast promontory of Perachóra, formed the western limit of the *kolpos*.⁴ Boblaye seems to have been the first to identify Olmiae with what is, indeed, the only good candidate for the name: the pronounced cape on the north side of Perachóra.⁵ The distance from Olmiae to Creusa in Boeotia accords reasonably well with the specifications in Strabo, i.e., 120 stades (21.3 km.).

The coastal road rounds the point of a long, outrunning ridge of Gerania and enters a small valley about 4.5 km. west of Pagae. Another ridge closes the valley

men would have been far more valuable inside the city than outside where the superior numbers of the enemy could have been disastrous for the expedition. In fact, Philocles must have known in advance that he needed to transport his men by sea since ships met him at the Heraeum. And putting to sea in the Saronic Gulf would have been fruitless since the besiegers held Cenchreae. Under the circumstances, the route along the Halcyonic Gulf was safer and more direct.

Hammond (*loc. cit.*) comments that this north coastal route is the "longest and the most difficult" of the three possible routes between the Megarid and the Corinthia. But the difference in degree is not so great and other factors, such as the likelihood of detection and intermediate goals (e.g. Heraeum), must have been considered by invaders. Xenophon's comment (see next note) certainly leaves no doubt that it was often selected.

² The frequent use of this road by Boeotians en route to Corinth is given as one of the reasons for Agesilaus' campaign against Peraeum in 390 B.C.: Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 2, 18: ἐκ τούτου δὲ αἰσθανόμενος τοὺς Κορινθίους πάντα μὲν τὰ κτήνη ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ σφλομένους, πᾶν δὲ τὸ Πείραιον σπείροντας καὶ καρπούμενους, μέγιστον δὲ ἡγησάμενος ὅτι Βοιωτοὶ ταύτη ἐκ Κρέυσιος ὁρμώμενοι εὐπετῶς τοῖς Κορινθίοις παρεγγίνοντο, στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὸ Πέραιον.

Humfry Payne *et al.*, *Perachora. The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia*. I. *Architecture, Bronzes, Terracottas*, Oxford, 1940, p. 3. See also Ernst Meyer, *RE*, XV, 1931, s.v. "Megara," cols. 170-171; Meyer also emphasizes the difficulties of both coastal routes.

³ It was to Pagae that Aratus came to join the army of Antigonus Doson in 222 B.C., but it is not known which route Antigonus followed from there to Corinth; Plutarch, *Aratus*, 43-44, 1. See esp. Ernst Meyer, *RE*, XVIII, 1942, s.v. "Pagai," cols. 2283-2286, 2291-2293; *I.G.*, VII, 188-206; *Samm. griech. Dial.-Inscr.*, III, 3105-3113; Louis Robert, "Inscriptions de Pagai en Mégaride relatives à un arbitrage," *Rev. Phil.*, XIII, 1939, pp. 97-122.

⁴ Strabo, VIII, 1, 3; 6, 22; IX, 2, 25; Eudoxus *apud* Strabo, IX, 1, 2.

⁵ M. E. Puillon Boblaye, *Recherches géographiques sur les ruines de la Morée*, Paris, 1835, p. 36.

on the west and a low, flat-topped hill about 100 m. in circumference is situated near the southeast edge of the flat land some 200 m. from the shore (Pl. 118, c). Torrent beds descend to the sea on either side of the hill and an earthen road follows the main charadra east of the hill, then begins the ascent of Gerania to the village of Mázi. The modern road crosses an ancient track at least at two points, and lower on the slopes along the torrent bed may follow the same line and so have obliterated all trace of the earlier route.

The low hill in the coastal valley, which we may call Doúrahkos after the nearby district, was inhabited during the Early Helladic period. I explored the site in 1968 with several members of the University of Texas' Corinth excavation staff and we found on the summit numerous pottery sherds typical of E.H. II (*ca.* 2500-2200 B.C.) including fragments of sauceboats and bowls with inturned rims. Many of the sherds retained traces of the lustrous slip (Urfirnis) with which they had been coated. Obsidian and flint blade fragments were also common; one fragment was made from an unusual brown spotted flint. A small, polished marble cylinder like those known from several contemporary sites in the Corinthia was also found.⁶ Traces of a few rubble walls are to be seen along the north edge of the tabletop summit. No later remains were noted.

I visited the site again in January, 1972 with Eugene Vanderpool and once again noted only E.H. sherds on the hill. The two higher ridges that close the valley on the east and west were also explored; they revealed no trace of ancient construction and no sherds were found. But in the flat coastal land itself between Doúrahkos and the beach and in the western torrent bed there are pottery sherds and Laconian roof tiles (some glazed) in large quantities. The sherds range in date from the 5th century B.C. to the 5th century after Christ. Their greatest concentration was over an east-west distance of about 150 m.

The next valley to the west is shallower but is richer in visible remains of antiquity. Above the left bank of a narrow torrent bed that descends from the southeast is a field that fairly bristles with Laconian roof tiles, roughly shaped blocks probably from buildings, slabs from graves and, above all, pottery sherds of the 4th to 5th centuries after Christ: late Roman Red Ware and spirally grooved sherds were especially frequent.

A built, stone cist grave which evidently had been plundered not long before our visit in 1972 is located near the southeastern edge of the field. The tomb was *ca.* 1 m. deep and measured 2.00 m. \times 0.55 m. in plan; its orientation was 70° west of north (Pl. 118, d). The grave had been built of dry rubble masonry and covered with six large limestone slabs of which three had been removed. The pottery around the grave as well as that in the field dated generally to the 4th and 5th centuries after Christ.

⁶ See James Wiseman, "Excavations at Corinth, The Gymnasium Area, 1965," *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, p. 41, for an example of a marble cylinder from Corinth and a brief discussion of their form and function.

Only a very narrow pass exists now between the sea and the ridge at the western end of the small valley just discussed (Pl. 118, d). There may have been somewhat more room in antiquity with a lower water level, but at all events the road for about a kilometer would have been at best a narrow track between rocky cliffs and the sea. The land widens only somewhat at a steep and dramatic ravine (Pl. 118, e) where an old mill race stands above the ruins of the mill it once served. Local inhabitants also mention ruined walls in a glen above the ravine. The coastal route continues to widen to the west so that it is clear that, if the Corinthian-Megarian boundary followed a natural feature, it must have fallen to the sea some place between the valley of the Roman grave and the ravine of the mill. The ancient road, in fact, may well have turned inland near Doúrakhos and continued along the highland, to descend again to the coast between the ravine and a lake somewhat further west.

J. Albert Lebègue noted the presence of ancient walls near the coastal end of the path to Mázi and a tower that he identified as Hellenic not far inland along the road. Two other *turres graecae* were reported by Lebègue in the vicinity; one on a headland above the sea immediately west of the Mázi path and another about 1.5 km. further west but inland along another track to Mázi. The ruins are indicated also on the French army map,⁷ which shows the Corinthian-Megarian boundary falling, very reasonably, between the latter two towers. The other tower should probably be identified with the walls reported above the steep ravine, and his first group of "ruines" with the settlement area at the foot of Doúrakhos.

Conrad Bursian identified the ruins on the coast as the ancient Gerania, and other remains, about an hour's walk further west, as Aris.⁸ Both Megarian towns are mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax who names two cities and two walled towns in the following order: (πόλεις) Aegosthena, Pagae; (τείχος) Gerania, Aris.⁹ He is clearly referring to towns on the north coast of Megaris. Pliny also mentions Gerania but seems to associate it with the Saronic coast. He may have been referring either to the mountain or to a fort on Lýsi.¹⁰ The entry in Stephanus is too vague to be of help here.¹¹

Boblaye may also have seen some of the walls or towers mentioned later by Lebègue and Bursian. He suggested that the Gerania of Pseudo-Scylax was a small, Greek "forteresse" which he located some 6 km. west of Pague, a location that corre-

⁷ J. Albert Lebègue, *De oppidis et portibus Megaridis ac Boeotiae in Corinthiaci sinus littore sitis*, Paris, 1875, p. 36. *Carte de la Grèce*, sheet 8, published by the Dépôt de la Guerre (1852). The ruins are also marked on the map accompanying Lebègue's text.

⁸ Conrad Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, I, Leipzig, 1862, p. 382. Ernst Meyer includes Bursian's identifications of Gerania and Aris with a (?) on his map of Megaris: *RE*, XV, 1931, pp. 165-166.

⁹ Pseudo-Scylax, *Periplus*, 39.

¹⁰ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, IV, 23.

¹¹ Mt. Gerania, the fort on Lýsi, and the entry in Stephanus will be discussed elsewhere.

sponds roughly to Bursian's Aris. Boblaye described the ruins very briefly as fortifications within a pass.¹² It should be noted that before the recent construction of the coastal road travelers in medieval and modern times would have been obliged to cross the ridge between the two valleys where antiquities have been found. Bursian's estimate of about an hour's walk from the first group of ruins to the second is reasonable for the climb over the ridge, and his sites of Gerania and Aris then correspond to the settlements in the adjacent valleys. I have not, however, observed a Hellenic tower along the coast between Oenoe and Pagae. The ruins may now be covered or, perhaps, the original identification was based on a distant view of a sharply folded ridge where close inspection is sometimes required to ascertain whether the configuration is natural or manmade.

Not far west of the ravine (*ca.* 8 km. from Pagae) is Mávro Límni, a small lake fed by copious springs but connected directly with the sea by two channels, so that water flows from lake to sea or sea to lake with the alternation of the tidal flow in the gulf (Pl. 118, f). The channels to the sea lie at the east and west ends of the lake; between the channels the lake is separated from the sea by a narrow strip of compacted sand and gravel. The great depth of the lake and the heavy shadows cast on its surface by the imposing cliffs to the south cause the water to appear very dark in color. These circumstances probably account not only for its present name, "Black Lake,"¹³ but also for what may have been its name in antiquity: Gorgopis, "The Staring-eyed" lake.

Almost every lake and lake basin between Cithaeron and Corinth has been identified at one time or another as Lake Gorgopis; even the Halcyonic Bay itself has been suggested. It is worthwhile here to review the ancient sources.

1. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*.

(The signal fire carrying the news of the fall of Troy came from Messapium and alerted the watchers on Cithaeron who made a greater fire even than they had been ordered. Lines 292-301.)

"The light shot beyond Lake Gorgopis and when it arrived on Mt. Aegiplantus it commanded the firekeeper not to delay." Lines 302-304.¹⁴

(They sent the fire signal on so that it passed over the promontory that looks down upon the Saronic Gulf and continued until it reached the lookout on Mt. Arachnaeus above the palace of the Atreidae at Mycenae. Lines 305-311.)

¹² Boblaye, p. 33.

¹³ St. Koutivas, *Ίστορία τῆς Κορινθίας*, I, Athens, 1966, p. 97.

¹⁴ The Greek text of lines 302-304 is:

λίμνην δ' ὑπὲρ Γοργῶπιν ἔσκηψεν φάος·
ὄρος τ' ἐπ' Αἰγίπλαγκτον ἐξικνούμενον
ᾧ τρυνε θεσμὸν μὴ χρονίζεσθαι πνρός.

2. Cratinus in *Pylaea*, fragment 178 (Edmonds), *apud* Hesychius. "Gorgopis: said to be a lake in Corinth(ia) which took its name from Gorgē's having fallen into it."¹⁵
3. *Etymologicon Magnum*, s.v. Ἐσχατιώτις. "Eschatiotis. A lake located after the Isthmus. (So named) because many of the Thracians who marched with Eumolpus against Athens washed in it and later perished, so that they had made use of it as their last bath (ἐσχάτῳ λουτρῷ). Or from Eschatiotis, the daughter of Poseidon who lived in its depths, and Poseidon used it as a bathing place broken off from the sea. But later on it was called Gorgopis after Gorgē, the daughter of Megareus and wife of Corinthus, who, when she heard about the murder of her children, was overcome with pained grief and hurled herself into the lake."¹⁶

Lebègue first suggested that Eschatiotis-Gorgopis was a small swamp near Pagae itself. Bursian, followed by most other commentators, preferred Lake Vouliagméni near the Heraeum on Perachóra.¹⁷ The chief claim of Vouliagméni to that identification, it would appear, has been its prominent location. Humfry Payne, however, pointed out that Aeschylus could not have had the lake near the Heraeum in mind since the fire that reached Aegiplanctus, a mountain between Cithaeron and the Saronic Gulf, passed over the waters of Gorgopis. That is, Aegiplanctus must be a part of the Gerania range, the only mountains between Cithaeron and the Saronic Gulf, and Lake Vouliagméni lies far to the west at the edge of the Corinthian Gulf. Payne then went on to separate Lake Eschatiotis from Lake Gorgopis on the grounds that the former is quite appropriate for the name of Lake Vouliagméni which is virtually at the limits of Perachóra, while Gorgopis, for the reasons already given, must lie elsewhere. Payne then identified Mt. Loutráki as Aegiplanctus and suggested for Gorgopis either 1) the eastern end of the Halcyonic Bay or 2) a small lake north of the modern village of Psátha.¹⁸

¹⁵ Γοργώπις· Κρατίνος ἐν Πυλαίᾳ· Λίμνην φασὶ εἶναι ἐν Κορίνθῳ, εἰληφέναι δὲ τοῦνομα διὰ τὸ Γόργην ἔμπεσεῖν εἰς αὐτήν.

¹⁶ ἘΣΧΑΤΙΩΤΙΣ: Λίμνη κειμένη μετὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Θράκης σὺν Εὐμόλπῳ στρατευσαμένων ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐν αὐτῇ λουσάμενοι ἀπέθανον, ὥσπερ ἐσχάτῳ λουτρῷ χρῆσάμενοι. Ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Ποσειδῶνος θυγατρὸς Ἐσχατιώτιδος, ἣτις ἐκεῖ κατόκησε, Ποσειδῶνος αὐτῇ χρῆσαμένου ἀπόσπασμα θαλάσσης εἰς λουτρόν. Ὑστερον δὲ Γοργώπις ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ Γόργης γῆς Μεγαρέως θυγατρὸς, γυναικὸς Κορίνθου· ἣτις ἀκούσασα τὸν τῶν παίδων φόνον, περιαλγῆς γενομένη, ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν λίμνην.

¹⁷ Lebègue, *De portibus*, pp. 18-22. Boblaye, p. 36. On Vouliagméni as Gorgopis see Ernst Curtius, "Die Peräa von Korinth und die Eschatiotis," *Rhein. Mus.*, IV 1846, pp. 200-207; *ibid. Peloponnesos*, II, Gotha, 1852, pp. 553-554, note 96; Bursian, *Geographie*, I, p. 383; A. Miliarakis, *Γεωγραφία Πολιτικὴ νέα καὶ ἀρχαία τοῦ νόμου Ἀργολίδος καὶ Κορινθίας*, Athens, 1886, p. 138; Bölte, *RE*, VIII, 1912, s.v. "Γοργώπις Λίμνη," cols. 1658-1659.

¹⁸ Payne, *Perachora*, I, p. 9, note 4. Miliarakis (*op. cit.*), p. 139, suggested that Aegiplanctus was the western extremity of Mt. Gerania behind Oenoe; cf. Bursian, *Geographie*, I, p. 383.

T. J. Dunbabin has shown that *λίμνη* was not used in tragedy to refer to "sea" and thereby eliminated Payne's suggestion of the Halcyonic Bay. He also suggested that the lake north of Psátha was a less likely candidate for the name "Staring-eyed" than one which he knew "between Oenoe and Pagae, at the foot of a spur of Gera-neia." Dunbabin did not know its name, but he can only have been referring to Mávro Límni.¹⁹

N. G. L. Hammond has argued that Mávro Límni is not "on the line of fire" between Cithaeron and any part of Gerania, and considered the "swamps by Psátha" unlikely because "the stare of the water in the swamp would have been offset by the great expanse of sea-water beside it." He then suggests as Gorgopis the basin of Megálo Vathykóri in the mountains to the east above Psátha.²⁰

Payne's arguments against the identification of Vouliagméni as Gorgopis seem decisive and his identification of Mt. Loutráki as Aegiplanctus is attractive. I am unconvinced, however, of the necessity of identifying Lake Vouliagméni as Eschatiotis and thereby denying the recorded tradition that Gorgopis formerly carried that name. There is, I believe, a more suitable candidate for Eschatiotis.

Hammond's suggestion of the basin at Megálo Vathykóri is unlikely in the extreme. The flat bed of the basin *may* have been laid by a lake but there is no evidence for it other than its flatness; and that flatness is easily attributed to other geologic factors. But, even if it were ever a lake, we do not know when and have no reason to suppose it was in historical or even near-historical times. The area is certainly dry and desolate now by Hammond's own testimony.²¹

The small lake near Psátha is indeed swampy but may have been less so in antiquity. At least we can be sure of its existence. But there is nothing about it that suggests "Staring-eyed" and the designation "farthest limit" is equally inappropriate.

Mávro Límni, on the other hand, is ideally suited for the name "Staring-eyed" as we have already seen. What is more, it serves equally well as the Gorgopis of Aeschylus, especially if we accept Mt. Loutráki as Aegiplanctus. The name Eschatiotis, too, is appropriate for a lake that lies virtually on the frontier of Megara and Corinth, in a district certainly remote and in the farthest northeastern reaches of Corinthian territory.²² The otherwise obscure reference in the *Etymologicon Magnum*

¹⁹ Payne, *loc. cit.*

²⁰ Hammond, *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, pp. 117-120. Hammond employs additional arguments in favor of the identification but they are based on equating Gorgopis with the lake by the settlement of Aegiroussa and are not germane here; see below.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

²² The lake in the Corinthia is the only example of Eschatiotis as a toponym. An examination of related words in H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus graecae linguae*, points up the suitability of Mávro Límni as Eschatiotis: *v.* *ἐσχάρια* for examples of its use as "the most distant and remote part of some place" and especially examples of its use as "the part that is on the boundary"; *v.* also *ἐσχατοίεις*. "Ultimus, Extremus, In ultimis finibus situs." Cf. Suidas. *s.v.* *ἐσχατιά*.

to Eschatiotis being a λουτρόν that was ἀπόσπασμα θαλάσσης is altogether intelligible as a description of a small lake set off from the sea by a narrow strip of sand and gravel.

Gorgē may have received her name in the myth from the name of the lake as E. Will suggested.²³ The myth of Gorgē, indeed, can be seen as a reflection of the innumerable struggles between Corinth and Megara over their boundary line. There could be no more appropriate place for Gorgē, the daughter of the eponymous hero of Megara and wife of the eponymous hero of Corinth, to drown herself in sorrow for her dead children (Megarians and Corinthians both) than in the deep waters of the lake on the disputed frontier.

Another lake in the vicinity figures in Plutarch's account of how the Megarian *genos* Hamaxokulistae got its name. According to Plutarch a sacred embassy of Peloponnesians had camped ἐν Αἰγείροις παρὰ τὴν λίμνην while on the way to Delphi. A group of drunken Megarians rolled the wagons of the envoys, who were traveling with their wives and children, into the lake and many persons were drowned. The Amphictyons later punished the Megarians involved and their descendants came to be known in Megara as the "Wagon-rollers."²⁴

Stephanus of Byzantium lists Aegiroussa as a Megarian city.²⁵ The town is also identified by Strabo as being Megarian;²⁶ unfortunately neither reference is specific enough to determine its location. W. R. Halliday thought it was the town by Lake Vouliagméni near the Sanctuaries of Hera Acraea and Hera Limenia and took that lake to be both Eschatiotis and Gorgopis.²⁷ But we have already seen that Μάvro Λίμνι should be identified as Gorgopis-Eschatiotis. Since the embassy was traveling by carriage, and with their wives and children, they would presumably follow the easiest route to Megaris, i.e. διὰ τῆς Γερανείας (the second of the three routes described above) and could not have camped at Μάvro Λίμνι. To suppose that they turned aside from their trip to stop by Lake Vouliagméni would require the (unnecessary) hypothesis that an embassy to Delphi was expected to sacrifice *en route* at the Perachóran Sanctuary of Hera. It is far more probable that the lake in Plutarch's tale was the small lake near Psátha and that the town of Aegiroussa lay nearby.²⁸ Most of the

²³ Édouard Will, *Korinthiaka. Recherches sur l'histoire et la civilisation de Corinthe des origines aux guerres médiques*, Paris, 1955, p. 102, note 2, where, however, he accepts Payne's identification of Eschatiotis. On Megareus see also *ibid.*, p. 197, note 2 *fin*.

²⁴ Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 59.

²⁵ According to Theopompus (*apud* Stephanus, *loc. cit.*) the town was Aegeirus. The ethnic was Aegeireus, Aegeirousaeus or Aegeirousius.

²⁶ Strabo, IX, 1, 10, where he cites two verses which Megarians claimed once were included in the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad*.

²⁷ W. R. Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch*, Oxford, 1928, pp. 219-220.

²⁸ On the lake see Lebègue, pp. 18-22. Hammond suggested the basin at Megálo Vathykóri; *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, pp. 118-120.

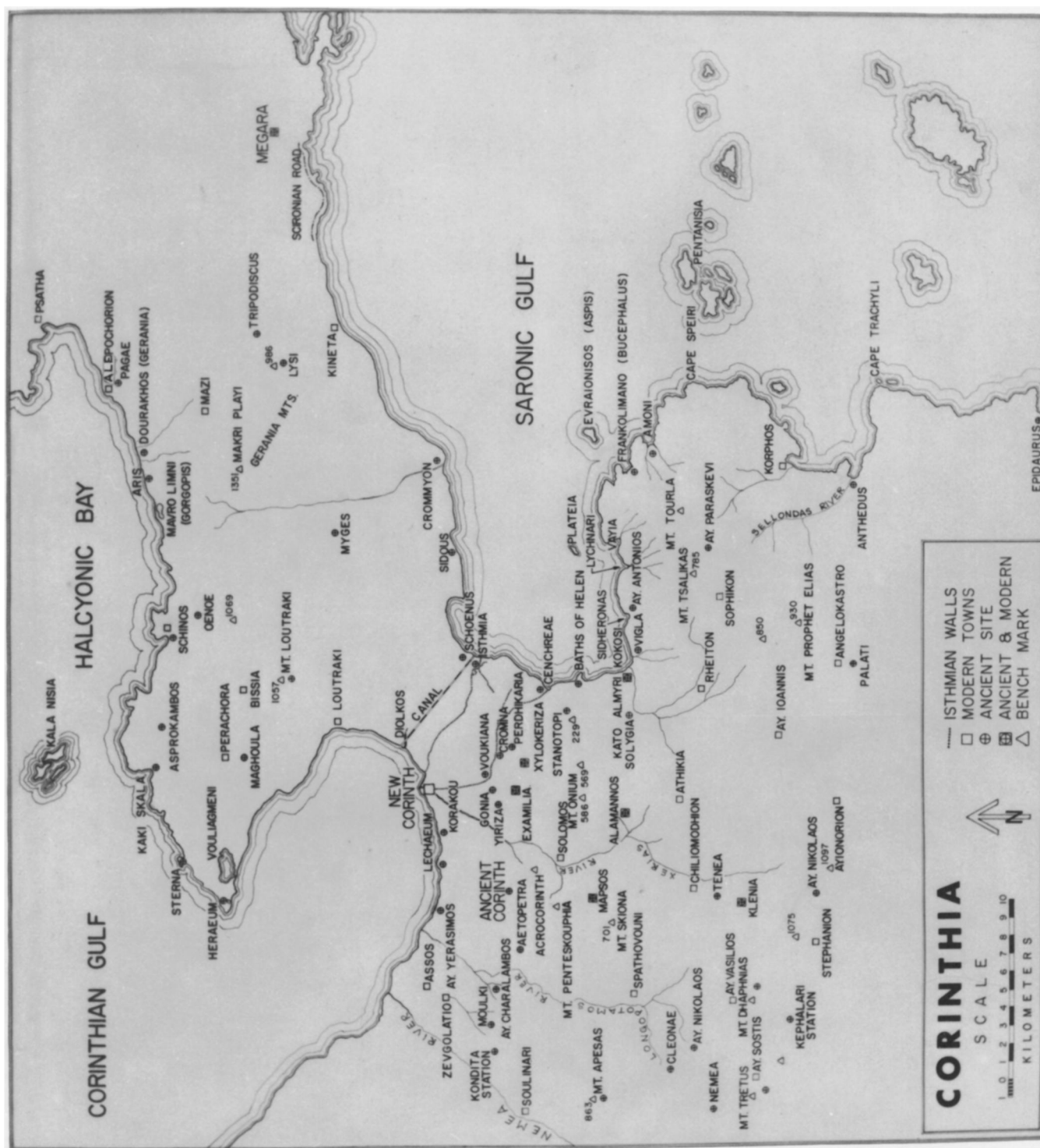
references to Aegiroussa, in any case, identify it specifically as Megarian,²⁹ and Gorgopis lay in Corinthian territory from a very early time.

Beyond Mávro Límni it is a pleasant and brief walk to the coastal plain below Oenoe, the northernmost fortress of the Corinthians. But at Mávro Límni, the ancient Gorgopis-Eschatiotis, the traveler from the north has already reached the Corinthia.

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²⁹ Suidas *s.v.* Αἰγείρων θεά records only that it was the “name of a city.”



The map includes the location of only a selected number of modern towns for ease in locating sites referred to in the text. Ancient sites whose identifications are certain or highly probable are indicated by name. Map drawn by Richard Trimble.

JAMES R. WISEMAN: THE ROAD TO OENOE



a. Northeast tower from the east



b. Part of the east circuit wall from the east

Pagae



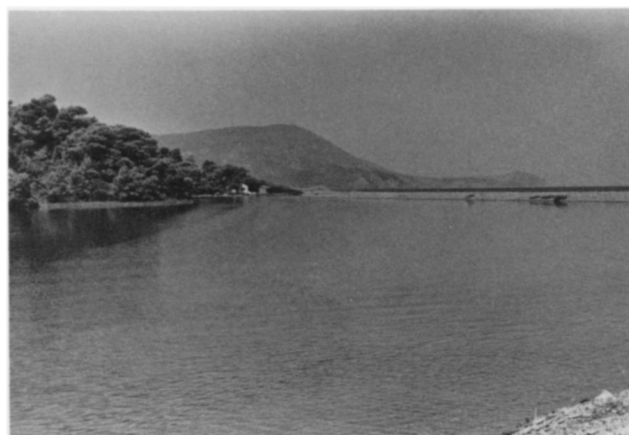
c. Early Helladic site at Dourakhos from the north



d. Coastal road and ridge from the east. Late Roman burial in foreground



e. Ravine east of Mávro Límni from the north



f. Mávro Límni. The lake from the east
Halcyonic Coast