

A NEW BRONZE AGE SITE IN THE CORINTHIA THE ORNEAI OF STRABO AND HOMER?

ABSTRACT

A newly discovered Bronze Age site is reported at Dorati in the Corinthia, overlooking the Nemea River. Surface material indicates that this was a large Mycenaean settlement, with structures potentially well preserved, and that earlier periods of the Bronze Age are also represented. The location of the site makes it possible to identify it tentatively as the Corinthian Orneai mentioned by Strabo, who implies (*contra* Pausanias) that this is the site referred to in the Catalogue of Ships. I suggest that Strabo is correct, and that Dorati may in fact be Homer's Orneai. Accepting this identification helps clarify the logic by which sites in Agamemnon's realm are listed in the Catalogue.

A previously unknown Mycenaean site overlooking the Nemea River in the northeastern Peloponnese has recently come to my attention.¹ It is large and the surface material copious, diverse, and of high quality, yet no mention of it has appeared in any scholarly publication.² Therefore I offer

1. On November 14, 1999, I first visited the area of Dorati, north of the modern village of Soulinari, in the company of P. Panagopoulos of Der-veni (near Kiato), who had learned of it from local residents as the possible site of a Classical temple. On September 20, 2000, I reported the site to the Fourth Ephoria of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Nauplion and filed a draft of this article with the ephor at that time, E. Spathari; in October of 2001 I filed a second draft with the current ephor, A. Mantis. I thank them both for their comments. I would also like to thank N. Bookidis, M. Boyd, B. Burke, L. Costaki, J. Herbst, G. J. Lolos, S. G. Miller, G. Sanders, R. S. Stroud, and I. Tzonou

for visiting the site with me; and Lolos, Miller, Stroud, and Tzonou for reading earlier drafts of this article. I owe a special thanks to Herbst for preparing the accompanying maps. Finally, I am grateful to the anonymous *Hesperia* reviewers for their suggestions.

2. The site has never been excavated or systematically surveyed. It is approximately 5.5 km north of the summit of Mt. Apesas, the northern limit of the region surveyed by Wright et al. (1990) for the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project (NVAP), and 14 km northeast of the New Nemea valley, partially surveyed in conjunction with NVAP (urban area of Ancient Phlius: Alcock 1988 and 1991) and now being studied by J. Maran and H.-J. Weisshaar

(Liondi and the adjacent Nemean plain). It is ca. 11 km northwest of the area of modern Solomos, the western extent of the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey Project, and it is immediately east of the area included in Lolos's topographical survey of the Sikyonia (Lolos 1998). The site is not mentioned in Blegen 1920, Gebauer 1939, Ålin 1962, Syriopoulos 1964, Wiseman 1978, or Sakellariou and Pharaklas 1971. It is not included in any gazetteer of Mycenaean sites, such as Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Hope Simpson 1981, and, more recently, *Isthmia* VIII, pp. 469–482, and Mountjoy 1999, pp. 197–242 (Corinthia), which deals only with sites with published pottery.

here an introductory description of the site followed by some observations about its topographical location and possible identification, in the belief that it will figure significantly in subsequent discussions of the number, size, and nature of Bronze Age settlements in the Corinthia.³

LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE

The site is located on top of a bluff on the eastern side of the Nemea River, overlooking the Sikyonian and Corinthian coastal plains (Fig. 1). This bluff is the northernmost extension of a ridge of the foothills of Mt. Apesas that has been eroded away on the west by the Nemea River and on the east by another large tributary *rema*, or seasonal riverbed (Fig. 2, labeled Daveli), so that it now extends as an isolated promontory or finger of land stretching toward the north. The ridge supports a thick layer of topsoil, covered with pine trees where it has not been cleared, above a stratum of conglomerate rock. Below this thick layer of rock, the ridge consists primarily of soft marl that has suffered severe erosion on all sides except the south. Consequently, the unsupported upper conglomerate shelf has broken up and fallen away at the northern end, and here the ridge now forms a naturally defensible "acropolis," not unlike that at the similarly sited Aetopetra farther to the east. The site is located on this natural conglomerate stronghold, which at the northern end forms a relatively flat, double-pronged plateau marked by a Greek Army Survey column at 190 masl (Figs. 2–4). The modern toponym is Dorati.⁴

A partially paved road running from north to south gives access to the ridge and bisects the site; it may correspond to the route of an ancient road.⁵ On the eastern side of this road, two vineyards have been planted, one within the last decades, the other within the last two years (Fig. 2:1 and 2, respectively). Rubble and habitation debris (grinding stones, tripod legs, fragments of large storage jars) from an ancient settlement have been cleared from the vineyards and piled high along the road and the northern edge of the cultivated area, and the vineyards themselves are dense with pottery fragments.

To the west of the road, a relatively flat field (Fig. 2:3), cleared and cultivated at some time in the past, is overgrown with weeds, but pottery is still visible on the surface and continues to the edge of the plateau. In late July 2000, when a long section a meter wide was plowed along the northwestern edge of the plateau, a large amount of high-quality Mycenaean pottery in very good condition was turned up. Below the steep walls of the conglomerate shelf (Fig. 2:4), surface pottery continues down the eroded slopes of the ridge to both the east and west as far as one can now safely descend, but all of this material can have been washed or pushed down from above during clearing of the land: the surface material and the natural topography suggest that in the north the site was primarily confined to the top of the two-pronged plateau. Local residents report that pottery can be found in quantity all the way to the church of Agia Paraskevi to the

3. This paper is based on a number of visits to the site, alone and in the company of colleagues. No survey was conducted. The present discussion is in no way meant to represent the results of a systematic field project; its aim is to bring attention to the site and to recommend that such a project be conducted in future before more destruction can occur.

4. Dorati (Ντοράτι) is the toponym listed on the Greek Army map of the Corinthia (1:50,000). The locals know the area by the name Darani (Ντάρανη), a toponym that appears on the Greek Army map of 1:5000 and refers specifically to the promontory at the northwestern end of the site where the survey column shown on Fig. 2 is located.

5. An ancient road in this location and continuing south along the crest of the ridge toward Apesas would parallel the route on the western side of the Nemea River between Tarsina and Koutsi via Stimanga, documented in Lolos 1998, pp. 140–142. A further indication of the likelihood that this route can be traced back to antiquity (although not necessarily all the way back to the Bronze Age) is the presence of preserved wheel ruts along the ridge, further south above the modern village of Soulinari.

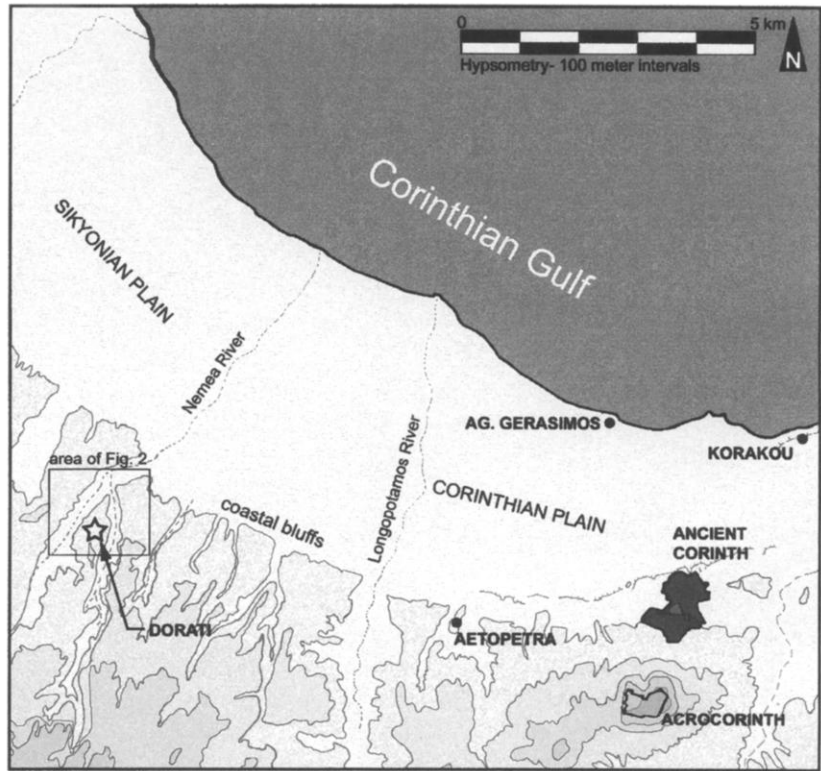


Figure 1. Dorati and the Corinthian Gulf plain. J. Herbst

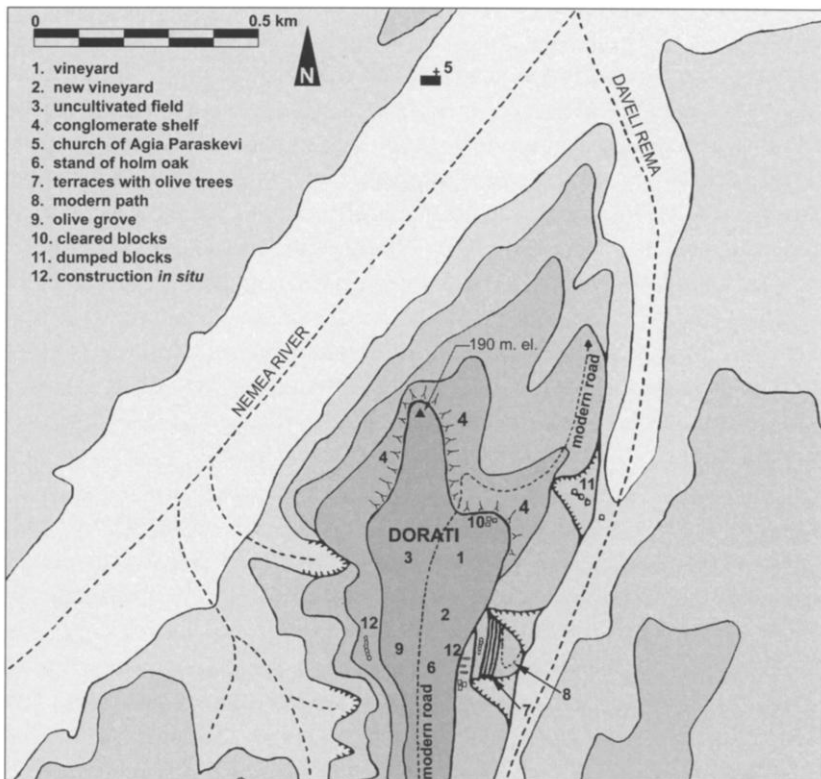


Figure 2. Sketch plan of Dorati. J. Herbst



Figure 3. Dorati from the north.
The site occupies the flat top of the
highest plateau in middle distance.
Mt. Apesas is visible beyond.
 Photo author

northwest (Fig. 2:5), on the Soulinari–Vrachati road. I have not been able to investigate this possibility, but at the church of Agia Paraskevi there is a natural spring that still provides water year-round. This spring may have been the primary water source for the settlement during the summer.⁶

At the southern end of the site, where a narrow marl ledge connects the conglomerate plateau to the rest of the Apesas ridge, the situation is slightly different. Here at the highest point of the site the plateau narrows and the conglomerate shelf comes to an end, so that on the east and west there are steep slopes rather than a sheer rock face. Most of this area has not been cultivated and there is a good possibility that portions of the settlement are preserved here over a large area and to a considerable depth. To the east of the road, a large stand of thick *pournaria*, or holm oak, covers a knoll consisting of a large quantity of rubble that cannot have been naturally deposited (Fig. 2:6). Where these shrublike trees are penetrable, Bronze Age pottery is visible interspersed densely among the rubble. Much of this relatively loose material on the surface (presumably debris from structures of the settlement) was probably pushed and piled into its present location during the creation of the adjacent road and vineyard, particularly at the center of the stand of trees where a mound has been formed.

It appears that there was a good reason why the area was not cleared: sections of in situ construction of considerable size and depth are visible in the adjacent scarp to the east, beginning at and just below the current surface level. Four large walls, parallel to each other and perpendicular to the slope of the hill, can be clearly seen protruding from the present scarp. A series of narrow terraces planted with olive trees has been created here (Fig. 2:7), descending down the slope below the stand of oaks and the southernmost vineyard; the walls have been exposed between the level of the top of the slope (elev. 211 m) and the floor of the first terrace (elev. 203 m). From north to south, the first wall is a solid rubble construction 1.90 m in width; it is exposed for a 5-m stretch from just below the top of the slope down to the level of the terrace (the floor of which obscures its

6. Locals also tell me that there used to be other springs near the church that have gone dry only in recent memory, and so it is possible that there may have been others closer to the ridge itself at one time.

Figure 4. Conglomerate shelf of the western promontory of the site, viewed from the east. Photo author



Figure 5. Conglomerate blocks of a large wall protruding from the southeastern slope, viewed from the east. Photo author



7. Some of the rubble from the second wall has been dug out and litters the terrace at its base; apparently illicit diggers interpreted the rubble as possibly belonging to a tomb, but abandoned the project after proceeding a meter or so into the scarp and finding that the wall still continued as a solid construction. There are also unmistakable signs of illicit digging at the top of the hill, within the stand of holm oaks.

possible continuation thereafter). A second rubble wall of similar dimensions and orientation appears in the scarp 3 m to the south, followed by a third at a similar interval.⁷ Immediately to the south, a wall of heavier construction protrudes from the scarp, parallel to the rubble walls but at a slightly higher elevation (Fig. 5). This wall as exposed consists of five large, roughly shaped conglomerate blocks in two courses and is just under 2 m in width. The top of the upper blocks is level with the modern ground surface, but unlike the other walls, this construction only continues to a depth of 1.5–2 m. The impression given by these features is that the thick rubble walls may have served as foundations for a structure constructed of the larger blocks above. The present rate of erosion at this end of the site where the conglomerate stratum is not apparent suggests that the use of such large foundations was a prudent decision.

In the scarp below the first terrace of olive trees, roughly a meter below the point to which the rubble walls are exposed, another construction



Figure 6. Artifact density at Dorati: surface material from two areas on the eastern slope (sherds have been slightly arranged but not gathered). Photos author.

is preserved, possibly a retaining or foundation wall. Unlike the upper walls, this construction parallels the scarp and is constructed of medium-sized, roughly formed conglomerate stones. It is preserved from a point directly below and to the east of the northernmost rubble wall and continues north for approximately 6.5 m; several large conglomerate stones scattered over the terraces nearby probably originate from this wall or the wall of larger stones above. In the scarps and on the ledges of the terraces below these preserved walls is a high concentration of pottery, and although there is much coarse ware, the proportion of fine ware and its quality are very high. Figure 6 gives an idea of the density and nature of surface pottery on these terraces, and Figure 7 an idea of its quality.⁸ Thus, on the eastern slope, structures are potentially preserved to at least 6 m below the current surface level. The tantalizing likelihood that architecture is preserved to such a depth is increased by the thickness of the walls, the size of some of the conglomerate building stones, the quantity of the accompanying fine ware, and also by the discovery of small fragments of painted plaster on the slopes below.

The pottery littering the terraces and protruding from the scarps below these constructions appears to have washed down from above prior to the cutting of the terraces. Roughly 70 m below the lowest preserved wall, the terraces end and the slope of the hillside is interrupted only by a large, curving access path cut by modern machinery (Fig. 2:8). In this area, confined by two large erosion gullies on the east and west, are several accumulations of stones that are not naturally deposited and cannot be explained by the forces of erosion.⁹ Most of these accumulations are overgrown, disturbed, or obscured by soil, but in a few cases they are surrounded by concentrations of pottery and some of the rubble appears to be still in situ in



Figure 7. A large fragment of a stirrup jar. Scale 1:2. Photo author.

8. The photographs accompanying this article were taken to illustrate the site for the Ephoria. It was not possible to move sherds from their positions or to collect and group sherds by type or date. All material was photographed at its findspot and left at the site; it was necessary to orient sherds to take advantage of the available natural light. The result is that although the photographs contain somewhat miscellaneous

groupings, they also accurately reflect the present state of the site. These photographs do not represent the full range of material at Dorati; full analysis and publication of any of the pottery from the site at this point would be premature.

9. The area is roughly 67 m from east to west, 30 m from north to south, and 150–164 masl in elevation.

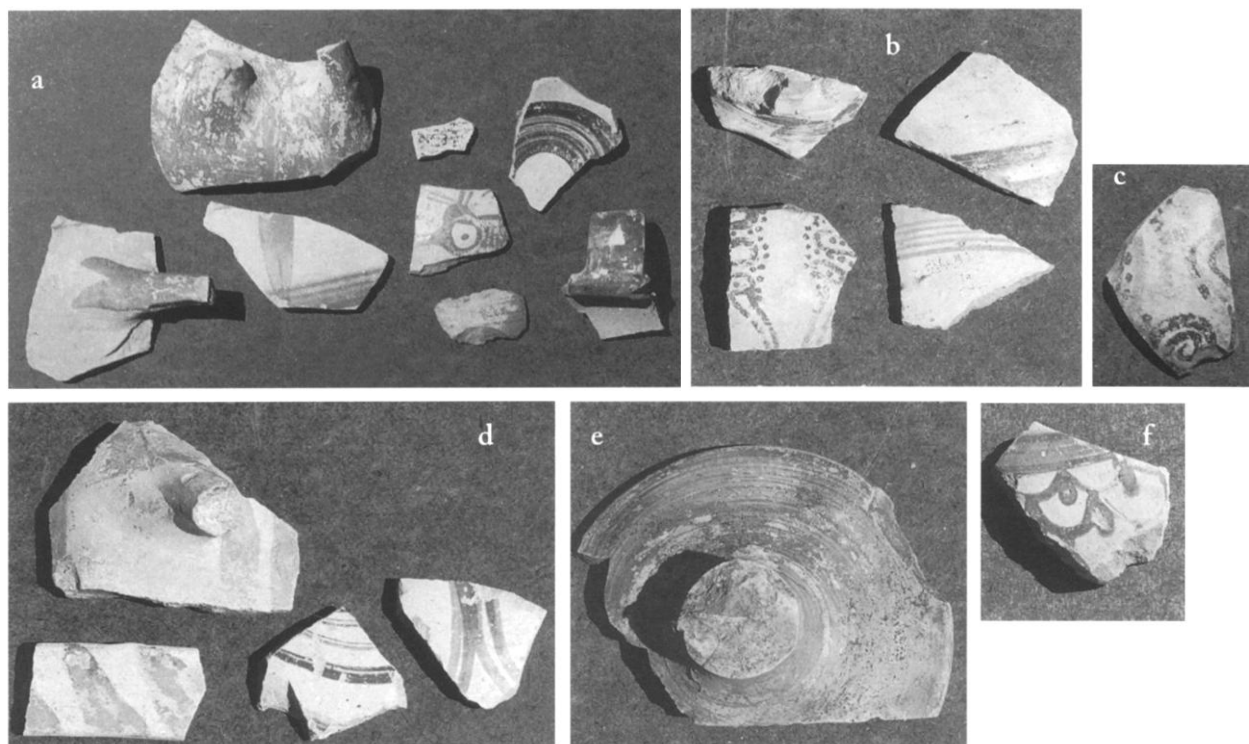


Figure 8. Examples of LH III painted pottery: designs include a crested bird (*a: center*) and whorl shells (*b: lower left*). Scale 1:2. Photos author.

some sort of purposeful construction. These continue to the present edge of the ravine overlooking the Daveli *rema* and indicate that activity associated with the settlement probably also occurred in this lower area.

In situ construction can also be seen on the western slope at the southern end of the site. Adjacent to the stand of oak trees but west of the road a small olive grove has been planted (Fig. 2:9). In the scarp a few meters below this grove more in situ rubble construction is visible over a horizontal distance of at least 22 m (Fig. 2:12). This construction appears in general to be on a smaller scale than that on the east and to consist of stepped rubble walls of small and medium-sized stones running parallel to the scarp. That these are also Bronze Age constructions is indicated by the copious Mycenaean pottery in the soil eroding from around the stones and covering the slopes below.

The nearly complete absence of pottery later than the Bronze Age is striking. A few sherds may date to the Protogeometric, Geometric, and perhaps even Early Archaic period, but I have observed nothing on the surface that is Classical or later. The vast majority of the readily identifiable material is Mycenaean, and of this material the later phases (through LH IIIB) predominate. Material is also present from earlier prehistoric phases, for example, much EH handmade pottery (and some possibly Neolithic), MH yellow Minyan, and MH or LH I matt-painted sherds, but the majority of the identifiable fragments of fine ware are from LH III Mycenaean kylikes and deep bowls, many of which show well-preserved designs, including decorative bands, running spirals, whorl shells, rosettes, and fragmentary figures (Fig. 8).

That this was a settlement site is clear from the large amount of coarse pottery, such as cups, ladles, and cooking pots, and from the sheer amount

of loose rubble originating from rough walls and structures. Tripod cooking pot legs and fragments of grinding stones can also be found in particularly large quantities, and I noticed at least ten complete grinding stones from all areas of the site in addition to ubiquitous fragments. Also indicative of domestic activities or industry are the numerous murex and gaidouroupos shells, and large pithos fragments (Figs. 9–10). Other artifacts include numerous pieces of chert, figurines (Fig. 11), one obsidian blade, and one steatite spindle whorl.¹⁰

At the northeastern end of the plateau, at the edge of one of the vineyards, a large pile of cleared material includes a number of carefully worked blocks (Fig. 2:10). To the north, below the upper plateau, many similar large, well-worked conglomerate blocks lie low on the side of the ravine on the east (Fig. 2:11 and Fig. 12). These probably came originally from the top of the plateau, and most of them do not differ significantly from those still in situ at the southern end of the site (Fig. 5). Among the conglomerate blocks are one or two poros blocks. None of these blocks can be dated and there is no immediately evident source for the poros stone.

Without excavation, the exact size, nature, and periods of occupation of the site at Dorati cannot be definitely determined, but the surface indications suggest that it is potentially among the largest Mycenaean sites yet located in the Corinthia.¹¹ I estimate that the top of the plateau alone covers approximately 46,595 m².¹² This is not the total area covered by surface material and it does not include any of the areas on the slopes, but it is likely to represent the core of the site. Extending this estimate to the area covered with surface pottery and artifacts dating to the Bronze Age yields a minimum figure of 106,000 m². To my knowledge, only at Korakou has surface material covering a larger area been reported for a Bronze Age site in this region.¹³

10. Identical steatite whorls from the Aidonia tombs have been tentatively interpreted as bead weights for clothing: see Demakopoulou 1996, pp. 66–67, n. 59, fig. 59.

11. It is virtually impossible to compare this site accurately with others that have been partially excavated or identified in survey by the full extent of surface scatters. The following figures are only rough estimates meant to provide some basis for discussion and are not to be taken as a definitive quantification of the material at the site.

12. The surface area was measured with a handheld GPS unit.

13. Hope Simpson (1981, p. 33) estimates that the settlement at Korakou covered an area of 225,000 m². For most of the largest sites in the Corinthia, no extensive surveys have been

conducted to establish the parameters of surface material. One exception is Tsoungiza in the Archaia Nemea valley, where the size of the Mycenaean occupation has been estimated at 75,000 m² by the NVAP team (see the discussion of Mycenaean Nemea at <http://river.blg.uc.edu/nvap/MycNVAP.html>). The only published estimates of size for the major Bronze Age sites long known and in some cases partially excavated in the region are those in Hope Simpson 1981. Many of his figures are based on observations made in the late 1950s (the same numbers can be found in Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979 and to a certain extent in Hope Simpson 1965), and the criteria used for the estimates are not always made explicit (in some cases they appear to be based on the full extent of surface material and in others

on the dimensions of the natural topographical features on which the sites are located); in all cases the figures given are only rough estimates. These figures must therefore be used with extreme caution, but for the sake of illustration only, based on Hope Simpson 1981, the relative extent of surface material at major Mycenaean sites in the wider region can be listed as follows: Gonias 87,500 m²; Kleonai 75,000 m²; Melissi 40,000 m²; Perdikaria 25,500 m²; Vasiliko/Ancient Sikyon 24,050 m²; Aetopetra 22,500 m²; Zygyouries 15,300 m²; Agia Irini 15,000 m²; Mylos Cheliotou 6,375 m². See Hope Simpson 1981, pp. 34 (A57, Gonias; A59, Perdikaria; A56, Aetopetra; A55, Mylos Cheliotou), 35 (A62, Kleonai; A63, Zygyouries), 36 (A70, Vasiliko; A66, Agia Irini), and 37 (A73, Melissi).

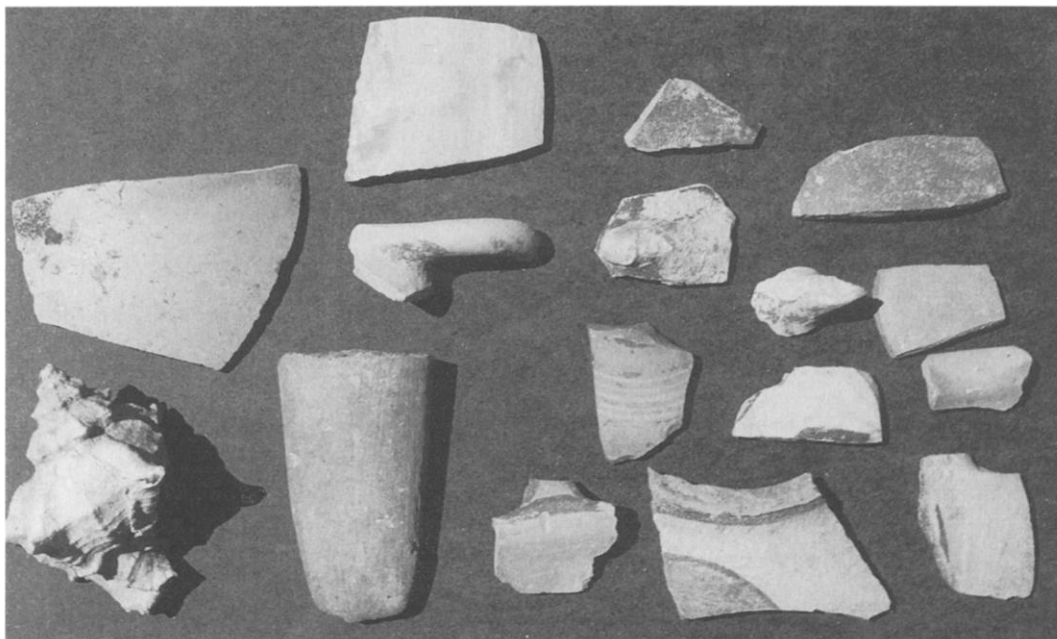


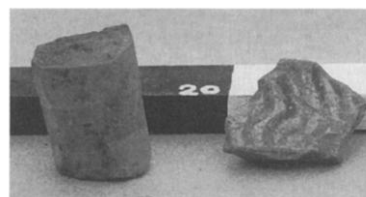
Figure 9. A typical assemblage, including murex shell and coarse ware tripod cooking pot leg (*lower left*). Scale 3:8. Photo author.



Figure 10. Andesite grinding stone and pithos sherds. Photo author



a



b

Figure 11. Figurine fragments: a) quadruped; b) Phi, back view (*on right*). Scale 1:2. Photos author.



Figure 12. One of the large conglomerate blocks at the bottom of the Daveli *rema* to the east of the site.
Photo author

Surface area is, however, not necessarily an accurate indication of this site's potential size or significance; more indicative is the particularly large amount and density of identifiable pottery dating to the Mycenaean period. A rough idea of the amount of surface material can be given by the following observation: on the southeastern terraces alone, I stopped counting the readily recognizable Mycenaean sherds when I reached 2,000, having only progressed part of the way down the slope (this area is not included in the estimate of the size of the site given above). In surveys of the northeastern Peloponnese, a total of more than 200 sherds represents a significant Mycenaean component at a site.¹⁴ In many areas of Dorati, more than 200 Mycenaean sherds can be found within an area of a few square meters, and the density of sherds over the entire top of the plateau where the surface is visible is consistently high. As noted above, the surface material clearly indicates that this is a settlement site, and large-scale construction is at least partially preserved.

No Mycenaean settlement on a scale to compare with the citadels of the Argolid has yet been located in the Corinthia, and only a few large-scale Mycenaean settlements have been located or excavated. Although sites in the region with LH surface pottery are numerous and several

14. Mountjoy (1995, p. 52) reports that only 1,241 Mycenaean sherds (all phases) were recognized in the southern Argolid survey. The largest site (F5) produced 257 sherds. NVAP reports twenty-five sites with Mycenaean material from their survey (not including the excavated areas, Tsoungiza and the Nemean sanctuary), more than half consisting of fewer than five sherds; the few largest sites are categorized as consisting of "over 200" sherds. See "Myce-

naean Nemea" on the NVAP Web site (above, n. 13). Wells and her colleagues report from the Berbati-Limnes survey (Wells 1996, pp. 123–175) one find-spot (no. 428, p. 126) consisting of 900 Mycenaean sherds contained within an area of ca. 30 × 30 m, and another (no. 14, esp. pp. 133, 166) extending over 60,000 m² at which 269 artifacts were collected; they note that this spread is much larger than any of the others and that the core of the site should probably

be estimated as much smaller than the total scatter area. The remaining sites listed are smaller. For an overview of surveys in the region, see Rutter 1993, table 1, pp. 748–749, ns. 8–15. The caveat stated in n. 11 above is particularly relevant here, since only a very rough sense of the relative size of Dorati can be obtained by comparing limited on-site observations with the findings of formal surveys employing varied methods of collection and quantification.

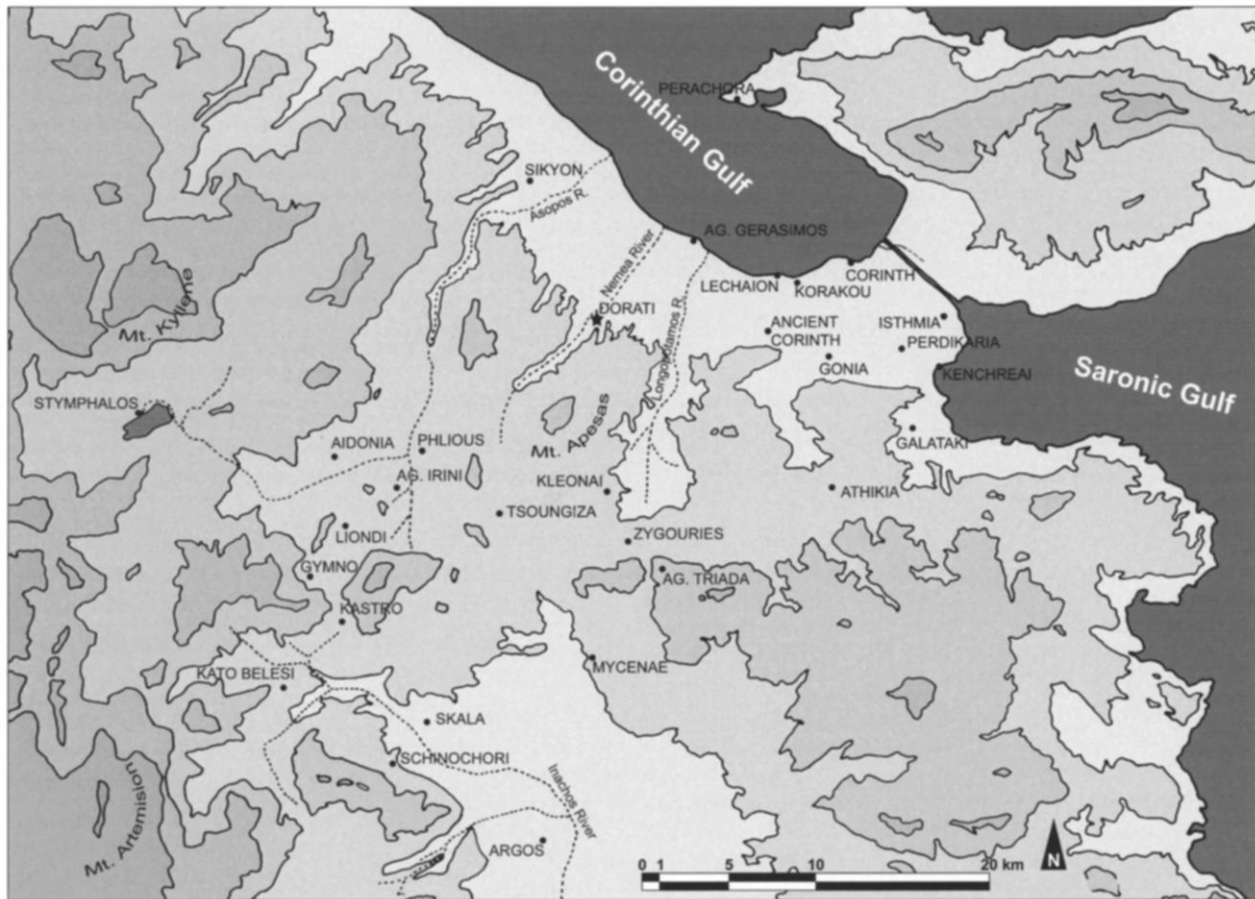


Figure 13. Dorati and other sites in the northeastern Peloponnese.

J. Herbst

cemeteries and tombs of the Mycenaean period have been excavated, most of the Bronze Age sites that have been excavated (such as Gonia, Aetopetra, Mylos Cheliotou, and Agios Gerasimos) have so far produced more extensive EH or MH components (Fig. 13).¹⁵ The predominance of Mycenaean pottery at Dorati is therefore of particular interest. In the wider area, only Korakou has so far produced evidence for an extensive Mycenaean settlement: foundation walls for numerous small LH III houses, a fortification wall, indications of larger structures (a massive threshold block and part of

15. Note that none of the sites have been extensively excavated. At Gonia, despite the large surface scatter (see above, n. 13), trial trenches turned up only eroded traces of the Mycenaean settlement and a fortification wall: Blegen 1920, p. 6; Blegen 1930–1931; Sakellariou and Pharaklas 1971, appendix II, p. 16; Rutter 1974; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 63, no. A57; Hope Simpson 1981, p. 34, no. A57; *Isthmia* VIII, p. 474, no. 13. For Aetopetra, see Hatzepoulou-Kallire 1984 (most recent excavations);

Blegen 1920, pp. 3–4; *Corinth* I.1, p. 108; Syriopoulos 1964, p. 86; Sakellariou and Pharaklas 1971, appendix II, p. 21; Wiseman 1978, p. 99; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 62, no. A54; Hope Simpson 1981, pp. 8 (map A), 10 (fig. 1), 34, no. A56; (but note that it is incorrectly placed on the maps as overlooking the Longopotas River: it is actually located further east. For the correct location see Blegen 1920, pp. 2–3, fig. 1); *Isthmia* VIII, p. 470, no. 8. For Mylos Cheliotou, see Blegen 1920, p. 3; Blegen 1921, p. 116;

Corinth I.1, p. 108; *Corinth* XIII, p. 6; Sakellariou and Pharaklas 1971, appendix II, p. 19; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 62, no. A53; Hope Simpson 1981, p. 34, no. A55; *Isthmia* VIII, p. 470, no. 10, and p. 471. For Agios Gerasimos, see *Corinth* I.1, p. 109; Ålin 1962, p. 57; Sakellariou and Pharaklas 1971, appendix II, pp. 20–21; Protonotariou-Deilake 1974; Wiseman 1978, p. 99; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 63, no. A55; Hope Simpson 1981, p. 33, no. A53; *Isthmia* VIII, p. 469, no. 5.

a fresco), as well as burials.¹⁶ At Zygouries in the Ancient Kleonai valley, Blegen excavated an impressive two-level LH IIIB:1–2 structure with frescoes and an extensive store of pottery as well as a number of burials at a location nearby; only a portion of the hill was exposed.¹⁷ In the adjacent Ancient Nemea valley, the Mycenaean settlement at Tsoungiza has been characterized as a small hamlet in the Early Mycenaean period, growing to more substantial proportions by LH IIIB.¹⁸ These are the only sites in the Corinthia at which a substantial Mycenaean phase has so far been confirmed by excavation.

In the Phlius valley, the rich tombs excavated at Aidonia suggest that an important LH settlement should be located nearby, but it has not yet been discovered.¹⁹ Moreover, the number of sites where surface material indicates a large LH settlement is relatively small. Among these, Perdikaria (with an impressive stretch of cyclopean wall), Kleonai, and Agia Irini in the Phlius valley stand out as the largest.²⁰ Traces of Mycenaean occupation have been found in Ancient Corinth and on the slopes of Acrocorinth, but as yet no large LH settlement site has been uncovered.²¹ The situation

16. Blegen 1921; Dickinson 1972; Rutter 1974; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 61, no. A50; Hope Simpson 1981, p. 33, no. A51; *Isthmia* VIII, p. 469, no. 6.

17. Blegen 1928; Ålin 1962, p. 58; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 66, no. A67; Hope Simpson 1981, p. 35, no. A63; Thomas 1988; 1992; *Isthmia* VIII, pp. 358–361, 469, no. 2. Shear (1986) has interpreted the remains as belonging to a number of separate substantial houses, but it is not certain that more than one structure is represented and Thomas (1988; 1992, esp. 337) has characterized the pottery as unusual for a domestic context.

18. Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 67, no. A70; Hope Simpson 1981, p. 36, no. A65; Wright et al. 1990, pp. 631–638; Wright 1990, p. 353; Rutter 1989; 1990a; 1990b; 1993; Pullen 1990, p. 333; Thomas 1992; *Isthmia* VIII, pp. 358–361.

19. Touchais 1979; 1980; 1987; Rutter 1993, p. 788, n. 179; Krystalle-Votse 1989; 1996.

20. For size estimates see above, n. 13. For unpublished new observations concerning the site of Perdikaria, originally located by Blegen (1920), see the field reports for the 1999 season on the Web site of the Eastern Corinthia Archaeological Survey Project (<http://eleftheria.stcloudstate.edu/eks>). See also Ålin 1962, p. 57; Wiseman 1978,

pp. 64–65; Sakellariou and Pharaklas 1971, appendix II, p. 17; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 64, no. A59; Hope Simpson 1981, pp. 34–35, no. A59; *Isthmia* VIII, p. 474, no. 14. For Kleonai see Gebauer 1939, col. 271; Ålin 1962, p. 58; Syriopoulos 1964, p. 87; Sakellariou and Pharaklas 1971, appendix II, pp. 33–34; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 67, no. A69; Hope Simpson 1981, p. 35, no. A62; *Isthmia* VIII, p. 469, no. 1. A. Frickenhaus (in Karo 1913, cols. 114–116) reported finding over 100 Mycenaean figurines near the church of Agia Triada in the mountains above the valley; they have recently been published in Kilian 1990. For Agia Irini, see Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, pp. 67–68, no. A71; Hope Simpson 1981, p. 36, no. A66; Rutter 1993, p. 781.

21. Blegen 1920, p. 3; Dunbabin 1948; Weinberg 1949, p. 157; Broneer 1951, p. 293; Robinson 1976, p. 211, n. 25 (one sherd, which he identified as LH); and Hope Simpson 1981, pp. 33–34, no. A54. For Acrocorinth, see *Corinth* III.1, p. 28. For the LH IIIC structure, grave, and deposit from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, see Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 291–292; 1974, pp. 286–289; Rutter 1979. For an extensive bibliography, see *Isthmia* VIII, pp. 470–471.

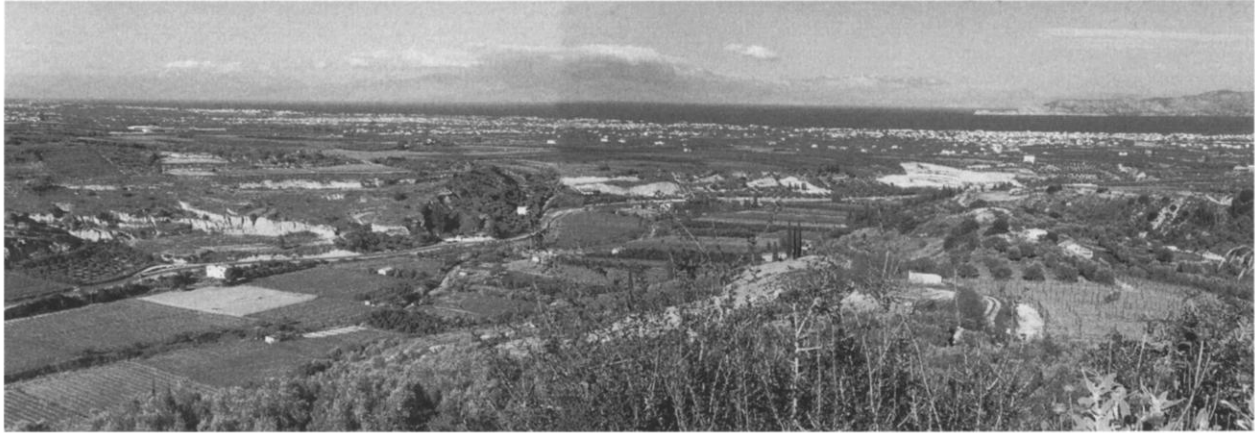


Figure 14. View from the northern end of the site over the Sikyonian plain toward the Corinthian Gulf and Perachora. The course of the Nemea River is discernible to the east (right) of the paved road. Sikyon is located far left in the distance. Photo author

is the same in and around the Sikyonian plain; surface sherds and burials suggest a Mycenaean presence at numerous sites (e.g., Vasiliko/Ancient Sikyon, Melissi), but no substantial settlement site on the order of those listed above or comparable in surface material to Dorati has been located.²² The size of the site at Dorati, even considering only the top of the plateau, and the density of the specifically Mycenaean material thereon suggest that the Mycenaean phase of the site is potentially as large as or larger than most yet investigated or identified in the area.²³

The site's topographical location is also significant for estimating its potential importance, in that it commands an impressive view over the juncture between the Sikyonian and Corinthian plains (Fig. 14). It is in a position to control significant parts of the coastal plain and access into the Nemea valley via the Nemea River.²⁴ This setting, on a naturally defensible plateau above a river and along the coastal bluffs, similar to the location of a number of other Bronze Age sites along the Corinthian Gulf, conforms to a preferred type of location for settlements in this area at this time, and further suggests that other similar areas between the Nemea and the Longopotamos Rivers deserve closer investigation.²⁵

22. The sheer number of sites in the Corinthia at which Mycenaean material has been found precludes listing or discussing them all here. Some notable omissions from the above discussion are the Isthmian sanctuary, Kenchreai, Galataki, Kato Almyri, Athikia, Phlius, Krines, and Moulki near Sikyon. For complete gazetteers of Mycenaean sites in the Corinthia, see the works listed above in n. 2. For two additional small sites reported in the Kleonai valley not mentioned in gazetteers, see Gauvin and Morin 1997. I have not included any sites north of the Isthmus; for the Perachora peninsula, in addition to the general site gazetteers, see Fossey 1990. Some as yet unpub-

lished information from NVAP and the Eastern Korinthia survey can be obtained from their Web sites.

23. The preceding discussion is not intended to ignore the probability that earlier settlement phases are preserved. I estimate that at least 90 percent of the material that I have observed at the site is LH, but the tendency to overestimate periods more easily identified in the field and the large amount of total surface material (not to mention the nature of other Bronze Age sites in the region) suggest that the earlier prehistoric phases could also prove to be substantial.

24. Mountjoy (1999, p. 197) suggests that the route along the Nemea

River (and therefore directly past Dorati), an important road in the historical period, was already in use in the Mycenaean period to provide access between Mycenae, Tsoungiza, Aidonia, and the Corinthian Gulf.

25. Morgan (*Isthmia* VIII, p. 354) has already made a similar observation concerning Aetopetra: "The site location typifies a local preference for bluffs, removing settlement from agricultural land while allowing easy access to it, facilitating defense, and lying close to an important route of communication." The site at Agios Pandeleimon above Kamari in Achaia is similarly situated: see Anderson and Anderson 1975, p. 5, pl. 1, fig. 1.

DORATI AS STRABO'S CORINTHIAN ORNEAI

The specific location of Dorati is particularly significant because it allows for a tentative identification of the site. The geographer Strabo, in a number of controversial passages, mentions that there existed a second town called Orneai, distinct from the town in the Argolid of the same name. He describes this second Orneai as abandoned in his time, located between Corinth and Sikyon and next to a river on a height overlooking the Sikyonian plain, but in the neighborhood of Corinth. I propose that Dorati fits exactly with this topographical description by Strabo. Accepting Dorati as a viable candidate for this second, "Corinthian," Orneai not only clarifies the description of that town by Strabo, but also solves some of the difficulties in locating the Argive town of the same name and in understanding the internal logic of the arrangement of Agamemnon's realm in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, in which an Orneai is mentioned.

It is not my intention to review all of the arguments already advanced by other scholars concerning the location of the Argive Orneai, but it is necessary to preface any discussion of Corinthian Orneai with a relatively detailed review of the sources for and problem of the two similarly named towns. An Orneiai is listed in the Catalogue of Ships as belonging to the "realm of Agamemnon":

Οἱ δὲ Μυκῆνας εἶχον, ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,
ἀφνειόν τε Κόρινθον ἐϋκτιμέναν τε Κλεωνάς,
Ὀρνειαίς τ' ἐνέμοντο Ἀραιθυρέην τ' ἐρατεινήν
καὶ Σικυῶν', ὅθ' ἄρ' Ἀδρηστός πρῶτ' ἐμβασίλευεν,
οἳ θ' Ὑπερησίην τε καὶ αἰπεινήν Γονόεσσαν
Πελλήνην τ' εἶχον ἡδ' Αἴγιον ἀμφινέμοντο
Αἰγιαλόν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα καὶ ἀμφ' Ἑλίκην εὐρεΐαν,
τῶν ἑκατὸν νηῶν ἥρχε κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
Ἀτρεΐδης.

And they that held Mycenae, the well-built citadel, and wealthy Corinth, and well-built Kleonai, and dwelt in Orneiai and lovely Araithyrea and Sikyon, wherein at the first Adrastus was king; and they that held Hyperesia and steep Gonoessa and Pellene, and that dwelt about Aigion and throughout all Aigialus, and about broad Helike—of these was the son of Atreus, lord Agamemnon, captain, with a hundred ships.²⁶

There are a few brief references to an Orneai that indicate that a place of this name was involved in hostilities with Sikyon at some time during the Early Archaic period.²⁷ The first clear reference to an Argive Orneai

26. *Il.* 2.569–577, A. T. Murray, trans., Cambridge, Mass., 1924. On the variant spelling Orneiai, see the passage of Eustathius quoted in n. 34 below.

27. Plut. *De Pyth. or.* 15 (*Mor.* 401d); Paus. 10.18.5. Both are passing references to a dedication by the Orneatai to the sanctuary at Delphi commemorat-

ing a victory over the Sikyonians. There is nothing in either passage to indicate the date of the victory, but a reasonable setting for the conflict has been found in a war between Sikyon and Argos mentioned by Herodotos (5.67–68) during the tyranny of Kleisthenes. Plutarch (*De sera.* 7, *Mor.* 553a–b) also

appears to indicate a border dispute between Kleonai and Sikyon at this time. McGregor (1941, pp. 277–278, n. 49), Kelly (1976, p. 124), Griffin (1982 p. 38, n. 20, and p. 51), and Lolos (1998, p. 38, n. 107, and p. 49) have all hinted that both Kleonai and Orneai may have formed an association with

appears in Herodotos 8.73.3, where he refers to the people of an Orneai at the time of the Persian War as in some way subject to the Argives and among those who sat apart from the war.²⁸ The Orneatai next appear alongside the Kleonaians as allies of the Argives at the battle of Mantinea in 418 B.C. (Thuc. 5.67.2, 5.72.4, 5.74.3–4). According to Thucydides and Diodoros, the Lakedaimonians invaded the Argolid the following year (Thuc. 6.7.1–2, Diod. Sic. 12.81.4–5). After ravaging the countryside, they settled fugitives from Argos at Orneai, fortified the city, and left it with a strong garrison. Soon thereafter, the Athenians arrived and together with the Argives besieged Orneai. According to Diodoros, after taking the city, the Argives and Athenians put some of the garrison and exiles to death and expelled others. In Thucydides' account, the Argives razed Orneai.²⁹ The place apparently continued to exist, however, since Diodoros (16.39.1–6) mentions it again in reference to hostilities between the Lakedaimonians and the Megalopolitans in 352/1 B.C.: the Lakedaimonians advance from Mantinea to the "Argive city of Orneai" and capture it before the Megalopolitans and their allies, including the Argives, can advance from their position at the headwaters of the Alphei River. When the Argives subsequently take the field against the Lakedaimonians at Orneai, they are defeated. The Lakedaimonians eventually make an armistice with the Megalopolitans, but we do not learn the fate of Orneai, and its capture by the Lakedaimonians is the last event in its history preserved in our sources.

From these few references it is already indicated that Argive Orneai lay somewhere within the Argolid in the direction of Mantinea, but the most important source for the more precise location of this Orneai is Pausanias 2.25.4–6. He begins with a description of a road (which he later calls the Klimax) leading from the Deiras ridge of Argos and past Lyrkeia to Mantinea. He gives an *aition* for a beacon festival held at Argos, in which he makes it clear that Lyrkeia and the Larissa are intervisible. Having given these clues to the rough location of Lyrkeia, he then continues:

ἐς μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἐστὶν ἐξ Ἀργους ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα που στάδια, ἐκ δὲ Λυρκείας ἕτερα τοσαῦτα ἐς Ὀρνεάς. Λυρκείας μὲν δὴ πόλεως, ἅτε ἡρημωμένης ἤδη κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων στρατείαν ἐπὶ Ἴλιον, οὐκ ἐποιήσατο Ὅμηρος ἐν καταλόγῳ μνήμην· Ὀρνεάς δέ— ἔτι γὰρ ᾠκοῦντο—, ὥσπερ τῷ τόπῳ τῆς Ἀργείας ἔκειντο, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι προτέρας ἢ Φλιοῦντά τε καὶ Σικυῶνα κατέλεξεν. ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ ἀπὸ Ὀρνέως τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως· τοῦ δὲ Ὀρνέως ἦν τούτου Πετεῶς, τοῦ δὲ Μενεσθεύς, ὃς Ἀγαμέμνονι μετὰ Ἀθηναίων τὴν Πριάμου συγκαθεῖλεν ἀρχήν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῇ πόλει, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Ὀρνεάτας ἀνέστησαν· ἀναστάντες δὲ σύνοικοι γεγόνασιν Ἀργεῖοις. ἔστι δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ὀρνεαῖς Ἀρτέμιδος τε ἱερὸν καὶ ξόανον ὀρθὸν καὶ ἕτερος ναὸς θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἐς κοινὸν ἀνειμένος. τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Ὀρνεῶν ἢ τε Σικυωνία καὶ ἡ Φλιασία ἐστίν.

The distance from Argos to Lyrcea is about sixty stades, and the distance from Lyrcea to Orneae is the same. Homer in the Catalogue makes no mention of the city Lyrcea, because at the time of the Greek expedition against Troy it already lay deserted; Orneae, however, was inhabited, and in his poem he places it on the list

Argos already at this time to wage a territorial war against their common and aggressive Sikyonian enemy. See also n. 67 below.

28. Among the races of the Peloponnese, Herodotos includes οἱ δὲ Κυνοῦριοι αὐτόχθονες ἐόντες δοκέουσι μόνον εἶναι Ἴωνες, ἐκδεδωρίευνται δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐόντες Ὀρνεῖται καὶ [οἱ] περίοικοι. On the strength of Strab. 8.6.7 (C 370), Andrewes (1970, p. 109) explains the Kynouria alluded to here as an area of the Inachos valley and not the more familiar border area between the Argolid and Lakonia.

29. Ar. *Av.* 399 and scholia and Paus. 8.27.1 also probably refer to these events.

before Phlius and Sicyon, which order corresponds to the position of the towns in the Argive territory. The name is derived from Orneus, the son of Erechtheus. This Orneus begat Peteos, and Peteos begat Menestheus, who, with a body of Athenians, helped Agamemnon to destroy the kingdom of Priam. From him then did Orneai get its name, and afterwards the Argives removed all its citizens, who thereupon came to live at Argos. At Orneae are a sanctuary and an upright wooden image of Artemis; there is besides a temple devoted to all the gods in common. On the further side of Orneae are Sicyonia and Phlissia.³⁰

The interpretation of part of this passage is somewhat problematic, and Pritchett has argued that the translation, quoted above, by W. H. S. Jones is inaccurate. He argues that Orneai is the implied subject of ἔκειντο, and that the sentence must be translated as follows: "But with respect to Orneai (for it was then inhabited), as it is situated in the country of the Argives, it is mentioned by the poet before either Phleious or Sikyon."³¹ In this translation it is particularly clear that Pausanias places this Orneai within the Argolid, and also that he identifies this Orneai near Lyrkeia as the Orneai mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships.

Strabo also refers to this Orneai near Lyrkeia, but in the same passage he clearly refers to a second place of the same name located between Sikyon and Corinth:

Ὅμηρος δ' αὐτὰς οὐκ οἶδεν, οὐδὲ τὸ Λύρκειον, οὐδ' Ὀρνεάς·
κῶμαι δ' εἰσὶ τῆς Ἀργείας, ἡ μὲν ὁμώνυμος τῷ ὄρει τῷ πλησίον, αἱ
δὲ ταῖς Ὀρνεαῖς ταῖς μεταξὺ Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος ἰδρυμέναις.

Homer doesn't know these [Argive Hysiai and Kenchreai], nor yet does he know Lyrkeion or Orneai, which are villages in Argeia, the former bearing the same name as the mountain near it and the latter the same as the Orneai which is situated between Corinth and Sikyon.³²

At first glance, Strabo's comment that Homer does not know of Orneai appears strange, since an Orneai certainly appears in the Homeric Catalogue. But Strabo soon turns to a discussion of the realm of Agamemnon, and it becomes clear that, unlike Pausanias, he believes that this second Orneai, between Corinth and Sikyon and not a place in the Argolid, is the Orneai mentioned in the *Iliad*. He begins his discussion of Mycenae, Corinth, Kleonai, Orneai, and so on with the preface "but let me speak next of the places that are named in the Catalogue of Ships as subject to Mycenae and Menelaus" (Strab. 8.6.19 [C 377]). After quoting Homer and proceeding to describe the sites in the order listed in the Catalogue, he reaches Orneai (Strab. 8.6.24 [C 382]):

Ὀρνεαὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἐπόνυμοι τῷ παραρρέοντι ποταμῷ, νῦν μὲν ἔρημοι,
πρότερον δ' οἰκούμεναι καλῶς, ἱερὸν ἔχουσαι Πριάπου τιμώμενον,
ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ὁ τὰ Πριάπεια ποιήσας Εὐφρόνιος Ὀρνεάτην καλεῖ τὸν
θεόν· κεῖνται δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Σικυωνίων, τὴν δὲ χώραν
ἔσχον Ἀργεῖοι. Ἀραιθυρέα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ νῦν Φλιασία καλουμένη.

30. Text and translation from Jones 1918, pp. 380–383.

31. Pritchett 1980, p. 22, n. 35.

32. Strab. 8.6.17 (C 376). The text given here is from Jones [1927] 1954, p. 182, but it is problematic. Lyrkeion is an emendation, no doubt based on Pausanias's description (2.25.4–5) of the two Argive towns of Orneai and Lyrkeia. Andrewes (1970, p. 108) comments on the passage thus: "οὐδὲ τὸ Λυκούργιον (probably Λύρκειον), οὐδ' Ὀρνεάς· κῶμαι δ' εἰσὶ τῆς Ἀργείας, ἡ μὲν ὁμώνυμος τῷ ὄρει τῷ . . . (probably Λυρκεῖω), αἱ δὲ ταῖς Ὀρνεαῖς ταῖς μεταξὺ Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος ἰδρυμέναις. Kramer excised all the words here cited in Greek, believing that this second Orneai was the invention of an interpolator. But 6.24, 382 is clear enough." Aly (1950, p. 249) also advocates the emendation: "οὐδὲ τὸ λυκούργιον (?) οὐδ' Ὀρνεάς. κῶμαι δ' εἰσὶ τῆς Ἀργείας, ἡ μὲν ὁμώνυμος τῷ ὄρει τῷ —5–6 B.—αἱ δὲ ταῖς Ὀρνεαῖς κτλ. Dass Lykurgion falsch und Lyrkeion gemeint ist, sieht jeder."

Orneai is named after the river that flows past it. It is deserted now, although formerly it was well-peopled, and had a temple of Priapus that was held in honour; and it was from Orneai that the Euphronius who composed the *Priapeia* calls the god “Priapus the Orneatan.” Orneai is situated above the plain of the Sikyonians, but the country was possessed by the Argives. Araithyrea is the country which is now called Phliasia.³³

Strabo (13.1.12 [C 587]) mentions this second Orneai in passing in one last passage, where he calls it merely “near Corinth”:

... ἐξ Ὀρνέων τῶν περὶ Κόρινθον . . .
from the Orneai near Corinth

From these three passages it is clear that Strabo believes that there was a place called Orneai between Sikyon and Corinth, next to a river of the same name and on a height above the Sikyonian plain but better described as near Corinth. It had a temple of Priapus, but it was completely abandoned by his day. B. Niese has shown that the 2nd-century B.C. commentaries on the *Iliad*, primarily that of Apollodoros, underlie Strabo's discussion of the Homeric Catalogue, and his information on this second Orneai probably originates entirely from his sources.³⁴ Strabo is virtually the only preserved source for this second Orneai, but Eustathius, using Strabo and an unabridged version of Stephanus of Byzantium, repeats the same information but adds the following:

Καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως ἡ ἀπὸ Ὀρνέως, υἱοῦ Ἐρεχθέως, ἡ ἀπὸ Ὀρνέας νόμφης, ἡ ὅτι ἐφ' ὕψους κεῖνται, ἡ ὁμωνύμως Ὀρνέα τῷ ποταμῷ.

It [the Orneai between Sikyon and Corinth] is named after Orneus, the son of Erechtheus, or the nymph Ornea, or because it is on a height, or from the river of the same name.³⁵

Eustathius is primarily repeating information that could have ultimately derived from Strabo, but his assignment of Orneus to this Orneai (*contra*

33. Jones [1927] 1954, pp. 204–205.

34. Niese 1877; Giovannini 1969, p. 8, n. 2. Strabo gives no indication that he knows the location of Corinthian Orneai firsthand. In his description of Kleonai, he states that he saw the city himself from Acrocorinth; he makes no such claim for Orneai. Dorati, my candidate for Orneai, is discernible from Acrocorinth, and so it is possible that its general location was pointed out to him from that vantage point, but since he does not say so it seems likely that he is simply quoting his sources.

35. Trans. author. Eust. 2.291.7–15 (= Strab. 8.6.24 [C 382]): Ὀρνειαὶ δὲ ἡ δόξα τοῦ ἰ Ὀρνεία—τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα

ἐν κοινῇ χρήσει κεῖται—κώμη ἐστὶν Ἀργείας κατὰ τὸν Γεωγράφον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα μεταξὺ Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυωνος. ταύτην δὲ ὁ τὰ Ἑθνικά γραψας πόλιν λέγει, οὐ κώμην. πληθυντικῶς δὲ καὶ αὗται λέγονται, ὡς καὶ αἱ Κλεωναί. γράφονται δὲ διὰ διφθόγγου αἱ Ὀρνειαί, ὡς καὶ Βρυσεαὶ καὶ Αὐγειαί. καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως ἡ ἀπὸ Ὀρνέως, υἱοῦ Ἐρεχθέως, ἡ ἀπὸ Ὀρνέας νόμφης, ἡ ὅτι ἐφ' ὕψους κεῖνται, ἡ ὁμωνύμως Ὀρνέα τῷ ποταμῷ. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Γεωγράφος φησὶ λέγων, ὅτι Ὀρνεαὶ ἐπώνυμοι τῷ παραρρέοντι ποταμῷ. δὲ καὶ ταῦτα φησιν, ὡς νῦν μὲν ἔρημοι, πρότερον δ' οἰκούμεναι καλῶς. ἐτιμᾶτο δ' ἐκεῖ Πρίαπος, θέν καὶ Ὀρνέατης ἐκαλεῖτο. κείνται δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ τῶν

Σικυωνίων. See van der Valk 1971, pp. 448–449. I do not put particular emphasis on the distinction stressed in this passage between the designation κώμη and πόλις. Strabo does not actually use either term in reference to Corinthian Orneai, and the Argive Orneai was not always subject to Argos. Apollodoros (16.39) specifically calls the Argive Orneai a πόλις. Therefore the apparent discrepancy in terminology alone does not persuasively argue for the necessity of a second Orneai to explain the variance in the sources. The different terms could relate to a change in the status of Argive Orneai after its reduction by Argos in 417/16 B.C.

Pausanias) and his reference to a nymph Ornea, both of which do not appear in Strabo's text, may suggest that he is using additional information derived from a different source (or one of Strabo's original sources).³⁶

Starting with the early travelers to Greece, most scholars seeking the location of Orneai have assumed that Strabo was confused, and that there was no second, Corinthian, Orneai; all of the information about an Orneai that Strabo had taken from his sources must refer to one place. This view was followed most influentially by Frazer in his commentary on Pausanias.³⁷ But a number of scholars who have looked at the problem in terms of the 5th-century history of Argos or actually looked for Argive Orneai by autopsy have begun to argue for the existence of a second, Corinthian, Orneai. Among their arguments, they point out that there is no place that can fit all the topographical requirements in the sources for a single Orneai: for instance, it should be immediately clear that there is no place roughly 120 stades from Argos (the 60 plus 60 of Paus. 2.25.4–5: approximately 24 km) that can also be described as being above the Sikyonian plain or between Sikyon and Corinth (Strabo).³⁸

The main difficulty for many scholars in accepting Strabo's account of a second Orneai has been that his account has seemed confused and self-contradictory: how could a site overlooking the Sikyonian plain be both within Corinthian territory but have belonged to the Argives? It is this fact, that Strabo himself appears to locate the second Orneai in the Argolid, that initially led to the assumption that Strabo was relating garbled information about the same Orneai as discussed by Pausanias and the other sources. Meyer helped to create what is still perhaps the common opinion by stating flatly "Strabons Unterscheidung ist irrig."³⁹ It is of the greatest importance, however, to recognize that Strabo is basing his description of this second Orneai, and indeed the entire area, on the realm of Agamemnon as described in the Catalogue of Ships. He makes it clear that he believes that the Corinthian Orneai is the one mentioned in Homer. Thus, he both indicates that the Orneai he has in mind is a place that his sources believed to have been important in the Mycenaean period, and that it is *at that time* that the land (along with Corinth, Kleonai, and Araithyrea) belonged to the "Argives." G. J. Lolos has recently interpreted Strabo's comments about Orneai in a similar fashion, with "Argives" meaning the lords of the Mycenaean citadel, although he does not observe that Strabo indicates that the Catalogue refers to this second, Corinthian, Orneai:

36. The tradition of the eponymous nymph finds support in Diod. Sic. 4.72.1–2, where he includes a nymph Ornia, along with Kleone, among the daughters of the river Asopos.

37. Frazer ([1897] 1965, p. 217) places Orneai at Liondi, using information from both Strabo and Pausanias.

38. Pritchett 1980, pp. 22–23; Andrewes 1970, p. 108; Aly 1950,

p. 249. Herter (1932, pp. 251–252, n. 1) has also argued that a cult of Priapus as mentioned by Strabo would fit better with a Corinthian location; this opinion is seconded by Kruse (*RE* XVIII, 1939, col. 1124, s.v. Orneates). It is worth noting that Pausanias does not mention a cult of Priapus among those at the Argive Orneai, and that Strabo mentions the cult in relation to the Corinthian Orneai twice (8.6.24 [C 382],

text above, p. 134, and again at 13.1.12 (C 587): Πριάπος δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ . . . ἐπώνυμος δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Πριάπου τιμωμένου παρ' αὐτοῖς, εἴτ' ἐξ Ὀρνεῶν τῶν περὶ Κόρινθον μετενηνεγμένου τοῦ ἱεροῦ, εἴτε τῷ λέγεσθαι Διονύσου καὶ Νύμφης τὸν θεὸν ὀρμησάντων ἐπὶ τὸ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

39. *RE* XVIII, 1939, col. 1123, s.v. Orneai (E. Meyer).

The notion of temporary possession of the territory at one time in history by the Argives is clearly implied. This historical time, I argue, must be placed in the almost legendary era of Argive domination over Araithyrea (Phlius), Sikyon, and Corinth to which I briefly referred in the first chapter [the domain of Agamemnon as given in the *Iliad* Catalogue of Ships]. To this period the geographer assigns the flourishing of Orneai, which was in ruins in his day.

A candidate site for Orneai along the 15 km. of highland separating Sikyon from Corinth has yet to be advanced. Judging from the specification *περὶ Κόρινθον*, one would be tempted to place it in the eastern part of the plain, beyond the Nemea River. Wiseman, who surveyed the Corinthian land, favors this possibility but says that “no remains of a suitable ancient town have yet to be found between Corinth and Sikyon.”⁴⁰

Suitable remains of an ancient town corresponding to Strabo's account have now been found at Dorati, and in exactly the location favored by Lolos and Wiseman. Strabo and his sources clearly relate that there was a Mycenaean site called Orneai, abandoned at least by the time of Strabo, near a major river and on a height that overlooked the territory of Sikyon. It was located not within the Argolid but within the area of the Corinthia. Dorati has a magnificent view over the Corinthian Gulf, but because of the relative heights of the bluffs on either side of the site, its primary view is to the west over the Sikyonian plain (Figs. 14–15). Dorati is, however, within what was Corinthian territory in the historical period, since it is just east of the Nemea River, the historical boundary between Corinth and Sikyon.⁴¹ The site is lofty, up on a bluff, and there are two rivers that run past it: the Nemea and the Daveli *rema* to the east. Ornea(i)

40. Lolos 1998, p. 103, quoting Wiseman 1978, p. 110. Lacking a candidate closer to Sikyon, Lolos presented the possibility that Aetopetra could be identified with Orneai. This site, east of the Longopotamos River, seems however too far east to be described as overlooking Sikyonian land; the historical boundary between the Corinthia and the Sikyonia was the Nemea River. It is worth noting here that there is increasing evidence that Argos had great influence (as well as periods of complete political control) in the historical period in many of the areas included in the Catalogue. Nemea was Argive, at least in the 4th century, and all the extant ancient sources attribute the altar of Zeus Apesantios atop Mt. Apesas to Nemea or associate it with Argive heroes as

well. Kleonai was politically integrated into the Argive state at least for a period of a little less than a hundred years, and even when independent it was a very close ally of Argos. Finally, Xenophon tells us (*Hell.* 4.4.5–6) that in the 390s the Argives removed the boundary stones between their state and Corinth, bringing Corinthian territory into their own “city limits.” Although this was a short-lived phenomenon, it points up that the boundaries between Argos and Corinth were closer than often supposed. Thus it is not impossible to imagine a time even in the historical period when the area of Dorati may have belonged to Argive territory, and similar arguments could be advanced for the area further west, including Sikyon and Pellene (for instance, Pausanias [2.7.1] thought that

Sikyon was once Argive). For Kleonai, see Piérart and Thalmann 1980, pp. 261–269, no. 3; Miller 1982; and Perlman 2000, pp. 131–149. For Apesas, see *RE* I (2), 1894, col. 2699, s.v. Apesas (G. Hirschfeld); *RE* I (2), 1894, cols. 2698–2699, s.v. Apesantios (O. Jessen); and in particular Hes. *Theog.* 326–332; Paus. 2.15.3; [Plut.] *de Fluviiis* 18.9; Plin. *HN* 4.17; Stat. *Theb.* 3.461–462; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀπέσσας. For Nemea, see Miller 1994, pp. 95–96; *Nemea* II, pp. 100, 170, 233.

41. The Nemea River was the boundary by Strabo's time, as he himself comments: Strab. 8.6.25 (C 382); Livy 33.15. Exactly when the border became fixed at this point is not known, but it was certainly already the border by the Classical period.

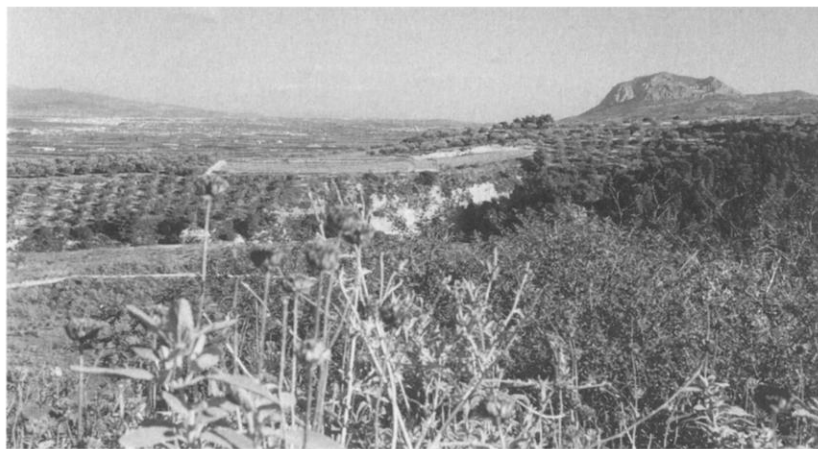


Figure 15. View from the site to the east toward Acrocorinth and the Corinthian plain. Photo author

could have been an old name for either.⁴² The surface material indicates that there was a major Bronze Age settlement here, as Strabo suggests, and also that it was abandoned well before his day. The location is exactly between Corinth and Sikyon, the view is primarily in the direction of Sikyon, but it lies within the borders of historical Corinth. It is hard to imagine another site that could not only so well fit all of the topographical indications as given by Strabo, but also explain the seemingly self-contradictory elements in Strabo's account.⁴³

LOCATION OF ARGIVE ORNEAI

With a strong candidate now proposed for Corinthian Orneai, the location of Argive Orneai can be clarified. There is no longer any reason to locate Argive Orneai near a river or explain how it could have been thought to overlook the Sikyonian plain, since these details relate to the Corinthian site. Andrewes, Pritchett, and Pikoulas have all argued persuasively that

42. Strabo's ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου at 8.6.24 (C 382) implies that the site was on a height, as Eustathius emphasizes. The Nemea River is conspicuous from Dorati and presumably the proximity to the river was one of the reasons for the location of the settlement (see Fig. 14). If the site derived its name from one of the two rivers near it, the Nemea, given its considerable length and size, seems a much more likely source than the *rema* to the east. The name of the river may have subsequently changed after Orneai was abandoned and the sanctuary of Nemea gained influence. The earliest designation of a river as Νεμεῆς χαράδρα should in fact indicate that the name of the river derived from its origin in the Nemea valley. However, all the references in which a context is preserved for this title actually refer to

events that occurred near the Longopotamos River to the east (παρὰ τὸν Νεμέαν ποταμὸν in Diod. Sic. 14.83.2; Aeschin. 2.168, περὶ τὴν Νεμεάδα καλουμένην χαράδραν, is ambiguous. Ephoros, *FGH* 70 F82 [Harpokr.] preserves πλησίον τῆς Νεμεᾶδος χαράδρας, also in Suid. *Phot.*, s.v. Νεμέας χαράδρα, both without context, although reference is also made to Aischines in Harpokration). Presumably the term is the result of confused topography deriving from a misreading of Xenophon, who while discussing events in part near the Nemea refers to the Longopotamos as simply a χαράδρα (*Hell.* 4.2.15–23). Only Strab. 8.6.25 (C 382) and Livy 33.15 can be definitely associated with the river flowing from the Sanctuary of Zeus out to the Corinthian Gulf past Dorati, and

they both call it simply “the Nemea River.” Nevertheless, it should be evident that the name derives from the valley and the site. It is therefore not necessary that the name Nemea for the river predates the period in which the Nemean sanctuary and games gained prominence. See *RE* XVI, 1935, col. 2322, n. 3, s.v. Nemea (E. Meyer) and the important observations of Pritchett (1969, p. 78) and Lolos (1998, p. 131).

43. It can also be noted that directly upon entering the plain, the Nemea River turns to the east before continuing straight into the gulf; therefore, although Dorati is on the Corinthian side of the river, the portion of the plain directly in front of the site is “Sikyonian.”

the best candidate for the Argive Orneai is found in the ruins on and near the hill Paliokastraki at Kato Belesi (which, confusingly, has been renamed Lyrkeia), located northwest of Argos in the Inachos valley (Fig. 13).⁴⁴ Certainty is impossible, and the problem is compounded by the circumstance that ancient Lyrkeia has also not been definitely located. Pausanias, however, indicates that Lyrkeia should be located approximately 60 stades (ca. 12 km) from Argos on the Klimax road leading from the Deiras ridge of Argos toward Mantinea, and that it should be intervisible with the Larissa. This description fits a location near Schinochori and Skala, where appropriate remains have been found.⁴⁵ Argive Orneai should be approximately 60 stades further along the same road but still within the Argolid, corresponding to Paliokastraki of Kato Belesi, where Pritchett documented impressive remains of a Classical town and fortification, and which Pikoulas has shown to have been on the Klimax route to Mantinea.⁴⁶

Despite what would in other circumstances be considered the secure identification of Kato Belesi with Argive Orneai, a site in the Gymno valley is still persistently identified as the 5th-century town. The Gymno valley gives access from the Argolid into the Phliasian plain via Liondi; the remains of a Classical watchtower of the 4th century are located at the entrance to that valley, on a height at Kastro Kourounas. The site was one of those originally proposed by the early travelers for Argive Orneai, and was supported by Meyer without autopsy.⁴⁷ There is absolutely no evidence, however, for a Classical town near the site. Pritchett observed that the tower is situated to permit communication not with the Argolid but to the north with Phlius, making it uncertain that even the tower was Argive.⁴⁸ Pritchett has noted that the identification has persisted partly because of the attempt of scholars to make all of the information about the second Orneai from Strabo fit with Pausanias's account of the Argive town, and the location near Gymno was seen to be more suited than Kato Belesi to some of Strabo's topographical indications: it is near a river (the source of the Inachos) and it lies closer to Sikyon, perhaps leading to Strabo's

44. Andrewes 1970, p. 107; Tomlinson 1972, p. 39; Pritchett 1980, pp. 19–30; Pikoulas 1995, pp. 267–270.

45. Pritchett 1980, pp. 12–17; Pikoulas 1995, pp. 263–265 (full bibliographies). Papachatzes (1976, p. 186, n. 1) and others still follow the early travelers in associating the remains at Kato Belesi with Lyrkeia; however, Kato Belesi, at over 18 km from Argos, is too far away to fit Pausanias's description (although Tomlinson [1972, p. 39] has rightly pointed out that Pausanias's measurements are only approximate). Schinochori and Skala are approximately 12 km from Argos: this first measurement should be the more exact, since Pausanias gives a figure of 60 stades in reference to Lyrkeia; for Orneai he simply says that it is

about the same distance beyond Lyrkeia.

46. Pritchett 1980, pp. 19–31. Pikoulas (1995, p. 101, pp. 267–270, 290) has confirmed that the Argos–Orneai–Mantinea route passed directly by Paliokastraki of Kato Belesi: one of the stretches of preserved wheel ruts of the road is immediately north of the site. See also the earlier observations of Frickenhaus and Müller 1911, p. 24. Papachatzes (1976, p. 187) estimates that Kato Belesi is 18 km from Argos; Pritchett (1980, p. 24, n. 41) estimates that it is farther, and observes also that the ancient road would have taken a more circuitous route than the modern one. Musti (1986, p. 295) also concludes that the identifications of Schinochori/Skala = Lyrkeia, and Kato

Belesi = Orneai best fit the distances given by Pausanias.

47. *RE* XVIII, 1939, cols. 1123–1124, s.v. Orneai (E. Meyer); *KIPauly* 4, 1972, p. 346, s.v. Orneai (E. Meyer). The site is approximately 3 km to the southeast of the village of Gymno on the back road from Phlius to Sterna and Argos. Pritchett (1980, pp. 23–24, 27–31) reviews the evidence from the early travelers for remains near Gymno and demonstrates that they all appear to refer to this same watchtower.

48. Pikoulas (1995, p. 73), while categorically rejecting the identification of the tower with Orneai, argues that despite the limited visibility the tower may have been Argive.

description of Orneai as “above Sikyon.”⁴⁹ Such a compromise is not satisfactory, however, and ultimately Gymno does not fit either the evidence of Strabo or Pausanias: a location near Gymno cannot be correctly described as “above Sikyon,” and the location does not fit with the evidence that places Argive Orneai within the Argolid and on the route to Mantinea. With the discovery of a candidate for Corinthian Orneai, all of Strabo’s information can be finally disassociated from Argive Orneai, and the identification by Andrewes, Pritchett, and Pikoulas of that town with Kato Belesi can be deemed secure.

There is, however, another significant reason for the staying power of Gymno as a candidate for Argive Orneai. Hope Simpson and Lazenby reported finding Mycenaean sherds in the vicinity of the watchtower at Gymno, which apparently made it appropriate for a site mentioned in the *Iliad*. Following Frazer and Meyer, they identified it as the Orneai of the Homeric Catalogue.⁵⁰ There was no doubt a Mycenaean presence at Kastro of Gymno, but there are numerous places with Mycenaean material that are not mentioned in the *Iliad*, and the site does not fit Pausanias’s description or that of other sources: it may well have been a Mycenaean settlement, but it is very unlikely to have been Classical Argive Orneai. Pritchett states the case well: “Unable to find any other remains of a site in the upper Yimnon [Gymno] valley, I cannot accept the identification of a Mycenaean settlement, having a fourth-century watchtower, oriented toward the north, as evidence for Orneai, an Argive polis of the Classical period.”⁵¹

STRABO’S CORINTHIAN ORNEAI IN THE CATALOGUE OF SHIPS

It is of some significance that in discussions of the Catalogue of Ships Gymno is consistently identified with Argive Orneai, despite its clear incongruity with the evidence for the 5th-century town. Although some prehistoric sherds and one worked obsidian blade have been observed at Kato Belesi, there is as yet no published evidence that there was a LH presence there.⁵² This has created reluctance—even among scholars who

49. Frazer ([1897] 1965, p. 217) even placed Orneai further north in the Phlius valley near the modern village of Liondi (and thus “closer” to Sikyon; but even a location as far north as Liondi cannot by any stretch of the imagination be described as overlooking the Sikyonian plain). The identification can still be found (e.g., Papachatzes 1976, pp. 189–192) although no modern investigator has yet to report any specific suitable remains in the area. In any event, this general area is much too far from Argos to fit Pausanias’s account and, as Andrewes (1970, p. 107) points out, the area was certainly in Phliasian and not Argive

territory in the 5th century; therefore, any remains that may come to light in the region of Liondi in future would be unlikely to represent Argive Orneai.

50. Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, pp. 66–67: “Around it [the tower on Kourounas hill] and extending over the whole summit and the upper slopes to the south and east—the northern slopes are much steeper—we found a considerable number of Mycenaean sherds of a ‘provincial’ nature, ranging from LH II to LH IIIB (mainly the latter), together with five sherds of Grey Minyan ware, some obsidian, and a few pieces of classical pottery. This site must now clearly be considered in

connection with the location of Homeric Orneai, especially if it should in fact turn out that there are no prehistoric remains in the [closer] vicinity of Gymno.” Pikoulas (1995, p. 227) reported more recently finding at the site only a few unglazed sherds, one LH kylix base, and no obsidian.

51. Pritchett 1980, pp. 30–31.

52. For the ceramics at Paliokastraki of Kato Belesi, see Pritchett 1980, p. 25; Pikoulas 1995, p. 269. Pritchett mentions “prehistoric” sherds; Pikoulas reports, from the prehistoric period, only Neolithic sherds.

do not think that the Catalogue of Ships accurately reflects the Bronze Age—to identify Kato Belesi as the location of a city mentioned in Homer. Now that a candidate for Corinthian Orneai has been located, there is no longer any reason to expect a major Mycenaean site at Argive Orneai, since Strabo clearly preserves a tradition that it is the Corinthian town that is mentioned in the Catalogue. Even with no other factors taken into consideration, once a candidate for the Corinthian town is produced, it should automatically become as likely a candidate for Homer's Orneai as the Argive town, since there are literary traditions preserved for both claims. It becomes a question of choosing between Pausanias and Strabo, and I propose that in this case, Strabo's evidence is to be preferred.

Even without a location for Corinthian Orneai, W. Aly argued that Strabo's second Orneai is more likely to be the one mentioned in Homer simply because Strabo is using 2nd-century B.C. sources, and "Wo Apollodor vorliegt, kann man mit einer genauen Ortskenntnis rechnen, die uns viel mehr zwingt zu lernen als zu korrigieren."⁵³ Indeed, for this reason Strabo is a major source for most modern discussions of the Catalogue of Ships.⁵⁴ Pausanias does not mention any source for his discussion of Argive Orneai and it is likely that he is simply repeating local information. As has been often noted, Pausanias is a very reliable guide to the topography of places that he has himself visited, and a faithful reporter of what he sees and *what he is told*; whether what is reported to him is true or not is an entirely different matter. Pritchett, following Kalkmann, has argued that in Pausanias's description of Argive Orneai, he is consciously arguing against Strabo on the issue of the Catalogue:

The most detailed treatment is that of A. Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget* (Berlin 1886) 158–159, which is summarized by H. Hitzig and H. Bluemner, *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio* 1.2 (Leipzig 1899) 601: "Da Paus. mit den Worten ὥσπερ τῷ τόπῳ τῆς Ἀργείας ἔκειντο seine Ansicht zu motivieren scheint, vermuthet Kalkmann 159 wohl mit recht, dass er gegen die Meinung Apollodors, der Quelle Strabos, polemisieren wolle." Strabo (8.6.17. 376), or Apollodoros, had decided that the Orneai of the Catalogue was the city between Corinth and Sikyon, not the Argive Orneai. Pausanias makes it clear that the city in the Catalogue was the Argive one.⁵⁵

I see no reason to conclude that Pausanias had Strabo's text in mind. Pausanias gives no indication here or elsewhere that he knows of any Orneai other than the one in the Argolid. Corinthian Orneai had ceased to exist already in Strabo's day, and probably long before. Pausanias did not visit the area of Dorati, but he did at least pass the Argive Orneai. Pausanias's explanation of Argive Orneai and the Catalogue appears to be his own attempt to explain a perceived difficulty with the Catalogue of Ships, or even more likely, an explanation offered by local guides, who may have been more aware of the "rival" claimant. If they were not, it would have been even more natural for them to claim Homeric status. Pausanias gives his explanation of the Catalogue when he is in the neighborhood of Argive Orneai and Lyrkeia, and thus it is logical that he would give a local account that interprets Homer as representing it, and not a place in what

53. Aly 1950, p. 249. Andrewes does not give a clear opinion. I know of no other scholar who has supported Strabo on this point.

54. Niese 1877, *passim*; Giovannini 1969, pp. 11–17; Visser 1997, p. 33 and *passim*. As with any ancient source, Strabo must be used with suitable caution.

55. Pritchett 1980, pp. 21–22.

later became Corinthian territory, in the *Iliad*. His comments about Lyrkeia also seem to fit this apologetic mode.⁵⁶

Even if we assume that Pausanias was aware of Strabo's contrary claim, there is no good reason to think that he had better information than Strabo (or Apollodoros) on Homer's meaning. Indeed, his explanation of the Catalogue as given above in Pritchett's translation (p. 134) does not make much sense per se: he claims that Orneai is mentioned before Phlius and Sikyon because it is located in the country of the Argives. This explanation does not explain why Corinth and Kleonai, not "situated in the country of the Argives" in Pausanias's day, are mentioned before Orneai. Moreover, here "Argives" cannot be explained as meaning the lords of the Mycenaean citadel, since this explanation would also not make any sense: "Homer" locates *all* of the places on the list within the country subject to Mycenae, since that is precisely the point of the Catalogue. Pausanias seems to recognize that the order of the Catalogue is topographical, but he cannot successfully reconcile the physical location of Argive Orneai with the list; accepting Jones's translation of the passage (above, p. 134) does not solve the problem. Indeed, the difficulties in the sources for Orneai now appear to arise not from Strabo making two places out of one, but from Pausanias or his guides, unaware of the Corinthian Orneai, conflating the two separate places into one Argive town and associating all the myths of Corinthian Orneai with that Argive place.

Now that a site has appeared that vindicates the consistency of Strabo's sources concerning the existence, nature, and location of Corinthian Orneai, I propose that these sources also had better information concerning the Catalogue of Ships than Pausanias's local informants in the Argolid.

DORATI AS HOMERIC ORNEAI?

I do not suggest that the claim of Corinthian Orneai to Homeric status is superior to that of Argive Orneai because the surface material and commanding location of Dorati clearly indicate that it was a much more significant Mycenaean settlement than Kato Belesi (or Kastro of Gymno, for that matter).⁵⁷ I do propose, however, that accepting Dorati as the Orneai of the Catalogue can elucidate the logic behind the arrangement of the names listed in the first half of Agamemnon's realm. J. P. Crielaard has recently observed that the debate concerning the historical period, if any, which the world of the Homeric poems most reflects has been elevated

56. Anderson (1995, p. 181) makes a similar observation about Pausanias's account at Donussa: "Pausanias was also told that Donussa had played a part, though a humble one, in world history, and that 'lofty Donoessa' had been listed in the *Iliad* among the cities of Agamemnon's kingdom [instead of Gonoessa]. . . . His Donussan informants may have shared his historiographical outlook,

and found in the Catalogue of Ships the best opportunity to immortalize an otherwise forgotten corner of an obscure district." See also his similar comments on Pausanias's account of Chaeronea.

57. Dickinson (1986, p. 31) has faulted investigators into the Catalogue for using the presence of Mycenaean material to argue Homeric status. This, he says, is to argue what is to be proved,

that the Catalogue is a Mycenaean document. Although I agree that the procedure is prejudiced, one does not need to think that the Catalogue originated in the Mycenaean period or even from Mycenaean sources to recognize that a place with major visible Bronze Age remains would be more likely to have accrued a heroic past than one that could produce little or none.

to the status of a new Homeric Question.⁵⁸ Within this larger debate, questions concerning the source and date of composition of the Catalogue of Ships and the historicity of the political situation described therein pose a number of problems that cannot be addressed here.⁵⁹ I confine my comments to the nature and order of names in the list, and indeed it can be argued that the identification of the places listed in the Catalogue should as much as possible *precede* any interpretation of the Catalogue's sources, date, or meaning.

Quite apart from the difficulties of why Agamemnon was assigned only part of the Argive plain and a series of places along the Corinthian Gulf, with Orneai identified as the Argive town it has been difficult to explain why in addition to Mycenae he is assigned only one other rather unimportant place in the Argolid. Furthermore, with Orneai as the Argive town, the order in which Agamemnon's holdings are listed is curious, as Pausanias clearly noticed, regardless of why or when those particular places were singled out to comprise his realm. C. Morgan recently described the realm as a "rather strange balance of placenames in the Argolid, the Corinthia, and Achaia."⁶⁰ Although by no means solving the difficulties in interpreting Agamemnon's realm, recognizing the Orneai of the Catalogue as Dorati removes the problem of figuring out why only Argive Orneai, an unimportant place in the Bronze Age and in all subsequent periods, is singled out for mention along with Mycenae, when a number of important Bronze Age sites in the Argolid are not mentioned at all.

With Orneai at Dorati, only one place in the Argolid proper is mentioned: Mycenae itself. The remaining places in this part of the realm are then listed in a clear topographical order, and as with the Argolid, only one place is mentioned in each geographically discrete area. These areas correspond to the valleys of the three major parallel rivers that flow into the Corinthian Gulf (the Longopotamos, the Nemea, and the Asopos, respectively) and the sections into which these rivers divide the gulf plain (Fig. 13). The routes along these rivers were important for access to the gulf and the Isthmus from the Argolid in both the prehistoric and the historical periods; it is not hard to imagine why one place controlling each valley would be singled out for mention in the list.

Thus, the order of the first part of the list is quite clear and logical: Mycenae is mentioned first, since it is the seat of Agamemnon's power and regarded as the controlling city of the northern half of the Argive plain

58. Crielaard (1995, p. 201, and *passim*) provides extensive bibliography and summary of previous and current views. See also Sherratt 1990, pp. 822–824. Crielaard argues that the Homeric poems reflect a late stage in the Early Iron Age (8th or 7th century B.C.), while Sherratt argues that the texts contain layers of information from a succession of periods from the prepalatial to the later 8th century (representing actively creative periods

in the bardic tradition).

59. There is still little agreement on any of these issues. For example, in a single recent volume of essays two completely different periods for the world that the Catalogue represents were presented: Hood 1995 (LH IIIC) and Anderson 1995 (late 8th century B.C.). For a full bibliography on all issues relating to the Catalogue, see Visser 1997, pp. 750–773.

60. *Isthmia* VIII, p. 350.

(the southern half is assigned to Diomedes and Argos).⁶¹ The remaining places are listed in topographical order from east to west, starting with Corinth: here again only one site is represented as controlling the eastern gulf and Isthmus. Next in topographical order to the west is Kleonai, representing access along the Longopotamos River and controlling the modern Agios Vasiliou valley. Next comes Orneai at Dorati, representing access to the Nemea valley via the Nemea River and control of the central portion of the coastal plain. Araithyrea, next, represents control of the Phlius valley and the source of the Asopos; the exact location of Araithyrea is as yet unknown, but both Strabo (8.6.24 [C 382]) and Pausanias (2.12.4–5) make Araithyrea the predecessor of Phlius.⁶² Finally, Sikyon, standing alone in its own hexameter, represents both control of the coastal plain west of the Asopos and the beginning of a new section of the realm in the poem.⁶³

Strabo (8.6.17 [C 378]) comments that some of the sections of the Catalogue are listed in topographical order; it is a logical way to organize a list of place-names and it does not require the hypothesis that an itinerary lay behind the Catalogue (although it also obviously does not rule it out). Only one place is listed for each discrete region, and these places are clearly represented as the most important cities in their respective areas and ones that were in control of surrounding territory: whether this situation corresponds to the political situation during the Bronze (or Early Iron) Age is another matter entirely. With Orneai at Dorati, all of the places in the list do have Mycenaean remains: Ancient Corinth has produced Mycenaean material and much of the Mycenaean town (if located in the area of the Roman agora) may have been destroyed by later occupation.⁶⁴ Kleonai had an important Mycenaean settlement,⁶⁵ and I have

61. This division of the plain is the point that has caused the most controversy and diverse explanations. Anderson (1995, p. 185) states the widespread opinion that it is hard to believe that “the Mycenae of the shaft graves, the lion gate or the warrior’s vase” did not control the entire Argive plain. Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel (1994, p. 59) consider that “the geography of the northeastern Peloponnesos has been gerrymandered to assign Agamemnon and Diomedes, both important figures in the narrative of the *Iliad*, home bases in the Argeia,” and Finkelberg (1988, p. 39) notes that the territory of Diomedes and Argos has been brought into alignment with the lot of Temenos, and suggests that the Catalogue in general represents the interests of 7th-century Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Sparta. Others seek to find a historical period other than the palatial in which such a political situation could

have been a reality: Kirk (1985, p. 181) suggests the period of decline at the end of the Late Bronze Age. Vermeule (1987, p. 133) argues that Agamemnon’s realm corresponds with elements in the myth of Adrastus at Sikyon and that taken together the Catalogue and the Sikyonian king-list (Paus. 2.5.6) may represent a consistent Bronze Age oral tradition predating the palatial period.

62. See also Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀραιθυρέα, Ἀραντία, and Φλιοῦς; *RE* II (1), 1895, col. 374, s.v. Araithyrea (G. Hirschfeld).

63. It would be possible to continue the argument further, but the places listed after Sikyon have not been precisely located, and it is also possible that the section following Sikyon may employ a different organizational method.

64. See references for Corinth above in n. 21.

65. Zygouries is usually cited as the

most important Mycenaean settlement in the Kleonai valley. The site, however, has been partially excavated (and as part of an important excavation by Blegen) and Kleonai has not. I have confirmed by autopsy the observations in Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970, p. 66) that the acropolis of Kleonai was the center of an important Mycenaean settlement: “Indeed, to judge from the sherds we picked up when we visited the place in 1960, the Mycenaean phase was the most important in this area, the settlement apparently extending for about 300 metres north to south by about 250 metres east to west.” It is impossible to determine the relationship between the sites at present: only Sakellariou and Pharaklas (1971, p. 45) have subsequently argued that the actual status relationship between the two sites in the valley may have been the reverse of the one usually imagined.

66. Vermeule 1987, pp. 134–135; Krystalle-Votse 1996, p. 25.

67. Andrewes (1970, p. 108) is among those who assign the references to hostilities between an Orneai and Sikyon in the Early Archaic period to the Corinthian Orneai (see above, n. 27): “there seems to be a similar confusion in Pausanias X.18.5, a dedication at Delphi by Ὀρνεᾶται οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι for the repulse of Sikyonians who had oppressed them in war (cf. Plut. *De Pyth. or.* 15, 401d). All this would be easier to understand if there was in fact, or had once been, an Orneai in the neighborhood of Sikyon and Corinth.” (Andrewes interprets the phrase οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι as an addition by Pausanias, not as a direct quote from the dedication.) In the association of this conflict with the Corinthian Orneai he is followed by Lolos (1998, pp. 49, 102); I plan to explore the issue of the possible continuation of Corinthian Orneai into the Early Archaic period more fully in a future article.

68. Visser 1997, p. 161.

69. See Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, and above, n. 61.

70. In this light, see the recent article by Kolonas (1996–1997) in which he summarizes the results of research in the western portion of “Agamemnon’s realm” over the past fifteen years. He lists many new sites, including ones in the region of Αἰγιον and the Αἰγιάλεια χώρα, and concludes (p. 490) that the Mycenaean presence in the region of Achaia was “powerful and populous,” and that “this new evidence has indicated the high standard of cultural development of the Mycenaean inhabitants, thus challenging the prevailing view that Achaea was only a peripheral and rather backward region of the Mycenaean world.”

argued that Dorati represents an impressive Mycenaean town. Araithyrea has not been located, but Mycenaean material is not lacking in the Phlius valley and some have associated the cemetery at Aidonia with the name.⁶⁶

Furthermore, these centers were the most important places in their respective areas either in myth or fact in the historical period when the poems were composed in roughly their present form (the 8th or 7th century): Mycenae is of course the focus of the Trojan War myth. Corinth was by that time the major power on the eastern gulf, and Kleonai by then certainly controlled the Agios Vasilios valley. Orneai at Dorati, even if it had ceased to exist at this time, was no doubt still visible as an impressive ruin.⁶⁷ Visser has argued that the inclusion of Orneai in the Catalogue may have to do with its importance in myth through association with Orneus. This is possible but, as seen above, this myth is as likely to belong originally to Corinthian as to Argive Orneai, and a visible Bronze Age site is more likely to have accrued such a mythic past.⁶⁸ Araithyrea was seen as the predecessor to Phlius, which controlled its valley in the historical period.

Thus, even if the places on the list were never the controlling Bronze Age settlements in their respective settings or at the same time, they could have been *perceived* in a subsequent period to have been powerful cities of the Bronze Age, or convincingly represented as such in a mytho-history that was after all set in the heroic past. Dorati therefore makes better sense of the Catalogue’s description of the realm of Agamemnon, whether one wishes to interpret it as representing the real political geography of a phase of the Bronze or Early Iron Age, or whether one chooses to see it as merely a logically organized description of a “gerrymandered” realm attempting to reconcile myths and traditions about visible remains with contemporary political conditions.⁶⁹ The significant point is that with Orneai at Dorati, the realm is clear, logical, and has a definite topographical order; the audience of the *Iliad* would have had no difficulty in believing that it had existed as a political reality at some unspecified time in the heroic age. The identification of Dorati as Orneai makes sense of the order of place-names in the list and provides an explanation for the inclusion of Orneai in the list that fits with virtually any interpretation of the date and historicity of the Catalogue.

Even if one does not accept that Dorati can with some confidence be associated with the Orneai of the Homeric Catalogue and of Strabo, the site merits attention because of its commanding location and abundant surface material, and because of the strong possibility that structures are preserved. The predominance of Mycenaean pottery suggests that Dorati should prove to have a significant LH settlement phase. Given the dearth of attested large Mycenaean settlements in the Corinthia and the continuing controversies surrounding the interpretation of the Catalogue of Ships, future work at this site is to be encouraged and the fact underscored that, even in our day in areas well traversed, there is still much to discover in the Greek landscape.⁷⁰

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Jeannette Marchand

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY
 GRADUATE GROUP IN ANCIENT HISTORY
 AND MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY
 7303 DWINELLE HALL (2600)
 BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720-2600
 Kleonai@aol.com