

THE CYCLOPEAN WALL ON THE ISTHMUS OF CORINTH, *Addendum*

(PLATES 3, 4)

IN a recent number of this journal¹ I described the early fortification wall which crossed—or was intended to cross—the Isthmus from the Saronic Gulf to the Corinthian Gulf. Several stretches of the wall were exposed in the excavation campaigns of 1957-1958, enough to establish its course for some two kilometers on the east side of the Isthmus, as far as the head of the gully which in Hellenistic times became the site of the Later Stadium. West of the point where the wall crossed this gully, no further traces of the wall had appeared; but some terrace walls on the southeast slope of the Rachi contain stones which could have come from the early wall, and one of these walls may follow the line of the ancient fortification. The actual line of the wall in this area could not be established from the evidence then available. I suggested the possibility that the wall “below the east end of the Rachi continued northeastward above the Later Stadium,” and that “it may have turned northward as far as the deep gully north of the Sanctuary of Poseidon and then followed approximately the same line as the Wall of Justinian.”

The 1967 campaign of excavation² produced new evidence for the course of the wall. At the east edge of the recently expropriated property of Athanasios Gellis, a row of large uncut stones was partly visible before the excavations began. Hitherto I had assumed that this was part of the southwest retaining wall for the embankment in an archaic version of the Earlier Stadium; but after some more of these stones had been exposed it became evident that the wall had a different orientation, forming an angle of 15° with the line of the race course. Moreover, the northeast face of the wall, which is turned toward the Stadium, is more carefully constructed with larger stones than the southwest face and thus was obviously intended to be exposed. Had this been part of the Earlier Stadium, the northeast face would have formed an irregular line disappearing beneath the earth embankment of the spectatory, and the southwest face would have been constructed as an outside retaining wall. From these observations it became clear that the wall formed no part of the Stadium.

We have exposed two stretches of the wall (*Ge*, Fig. 1; Pl. 4, a), one preserving

¹ *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 346-362.

² The excavation along the wall in section *Ge* was supervised by Judith Allen, and Richard Keating made the survey and the drawings for Figures 1 and 2. It formed part of the project undertaken in cooperation with the University of California at Los Angeles, under the direction of Professor Paul Clement, making possible resumption of excavation at Isthmia in the spring of 1967. Margot Camp, who has revised the map in Figure 3, has rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of this article.

the full width for a length of 12.50 m., and a second, smaller stretch, 2.50 m. long and only 2.00 m. wide (Pl. 4, a, lower center). Between these sections there is a gap of 5.50 m., where the stones from the wall have been removed. The total length from the southeast end of the longer stretch to the northwest end of the smaller section amounts to 20.50 m. The thickness of the wall at the southeast end is *ca.* 3.60 m., but ten meters farther to the northwest it narrows down to 3.40 m. The difference is due to a slight set-back in the northeast face.

The ground slopes down gently from northwest to southeast, and at the southeast

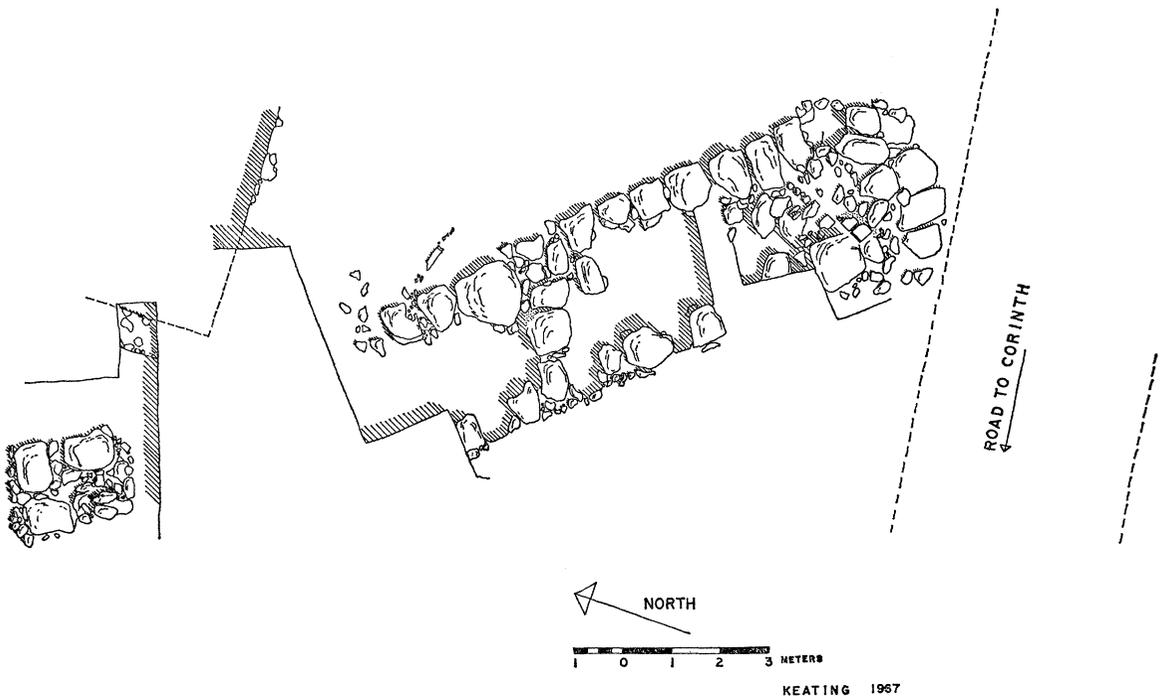


FIG. 1. Plan of Section *Ge*.

end (Pls. 3, a, 4, b) two courses of stones remain in place with a total height of 0.90 m. The lower course, exposed in the modern road gutter, forms a comparatively smooth surface on top (Pls. 3, a, and 4, b, lower left) which contrasts with the uneven top of the wall elsewhere. It is possible, though by no means certain, that there was a gateway at the point where the modern road crosses the wall.⁸ The southeastward continuation of the wall here lies concealed beneath the asphalt pavement.

⁸ The main thoroughfare between mainland Greece and the Peloponnesos probably followed this line, and excavations in the area have revealed a series of roads leading through or past the Sanctuary of Poseidon at various times. See *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 118; XXVII, 1958, pp. 2-6. There are clear traces of an east-west road, which crossed the area of the Palaimonion (*Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 315, fig. 3) prior to the construction of the Temple of Palaimon, but after the

The northeast face of the wall (Fig. 1; Pl. 4, b) is constructed with large stones of irregular shape and with smaller stones filling the interstices. The largest of the stones measures 1.35 m. in length and 1.27 m. in width, and some of the others are nearly as large. The stones in the southwest face are smaller and more irregular in shape, and they are placed at greater distances from each other. Small stones here not only fill the interstices but have also been used to create a straight line on the face of the wall. One of the stones in the southwest face seems to have been cut but preserves no clear tool marks.

At the southeast end, near the road, for a stretch of 3.00 m., the space between the two faces of the wall is filled with earth and smaller stones of irregular shape. On the top of the wall are preserved slight traces of a light cross wall, 2.15 m. long, made with bricks and small stones laid in lime mortar (Fig. 1; Pl. 3, a, upper left). This is clearly a late intrusion, since no bricks or lime mortar are used anywhere in the original construction of the wall. A second intrusion of late date is found near the northwest end of the longer stretch, where a terracotta pipe ran across the wall from west to east. A channel has been cut in one of the stones of the outer face where the pipe crosses the wall. At one other point, 9.00 m. from the southeast end, the interior stone filling is preserved, here consisting mostly of rather large stones of irregular shape; in the rest of the interior the fill consisted of earth containing no stones of comparable size. As will be shown below, the original fill appears to have been largely removed.

The shorter stretch of wall at the northwest end is similarly built with large stones on the face and smaller stones inserted at the joints. At the northwest end of this stretch there is a row of smaller stones (Fig. 1; Pl. 4, a), making a straight line, which might indicate that the wall turned here toward the west, but this is not certain. In the interval between the two preserved stretches of wall, where the stones are missing, the southwest corner of the second peribolos of Palaimon (shown in broken lines in Figure 1)⁴ encroaches upon the earlier construction and may have caused the removal of the stones from the northeast face at this point.

The pottery from the trenches divides itself into two lots: a) the sherds found in the earth above the preserved height of the wall and along the two faces, and b) the pottery from the fill between the faces of the wall. The first lot consists of a heterogeneous mixture, dating from modern times back to Mycenaean. Among this

Earlier Stadium had been abandoned. The stele mentioned by Plutarch (*Theseus*, XXV, 3) as indicating the boundary between Ionia, i.e. Athenian territory, and the Peloponnesos was probably erected close to this road. In the recent excavations at the Northeast Gate of the Fortress of Justinian, there are indications that a road existed there long before the construction of the Fortress. Thus the modern auto road which leads past the Sanctuary of Poseidon, through the village of Kyras Vrysi, has a long history, going back probably to Mycenaean times.

⁴ For the shape and location of the precinct wall see *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 302, fig. 2, and p. 315, fig. 3.

pottery I counted twenty-four Mycenaean fragments sufficiently differentiated to make their identification reasonably certain, and forty-two fragments which might be Mycenaean.

After we had cleared away the earth to the top of the stones, we dug the interior fill with utmost care in layers of about 0.10 m., but found no evidence of a stratified deposit. The very lowest stratum, probably representing the ground level that existed at the time when the wall was built, contained almost no pottery and none that could be dated. Among the pottery from the six levels, extending from the preserved top of the wall to the bottom of the fill, there were twenty-nine recognizable Mycenaean sherds and seventy-one more which might be Mycenaean. These, however, came from an accumulation of earth which contained Roman roof tiles and some pieces of Late Roman ware. Inasmuch as the wall can hardly be of Roman date, we can only conclude that the interior fill had been removed during one of the periods of Roman intrusion referred to above. Although we encountered no undisturbed fill of an early date, the relatively high percentage of Mycenaean pottery is significant, in view of the paucity of Mycenaean pottery from the rest of the excavations in and near the Sanctuary of Poseidon. From a comparatively small number of sherds, no more than enough to fill two excavation baskets, a total of fifty-three fragments could be recognized as Mycenaean (a few typical pieces are shown on Pl. 3, b). These fragments, to be sure, are very small and not many can be assigned to their respective subdivisions within the Late Helladic pottery. Among the most easily recognizable pieces are several fragments from undecorated kylix bases⁵ (Pl. 3, b, bottom row), a type of pottery occurring commonly in Late Helladic III B and continuing in III C. The few decorated pieces, including one fragment of a spouted bowl (Pl. 3, b, upper right corner), and the knob of a stirrup vase⁵ (Pl. 3, b, upper

⁵ In Furumark's typology, *The Mycenaean Pottery*, p. 61, fig. 17, Shapes 267 and 274, there is no appreciable difference in profile between LH III B and III C le. See his p. 63, where he says of the one-handled skyphos, his 267 which he calls "angular bowl," "The shape is very much the same in all periods, and the variations do not seem to have any chronological significance." Spouted vessels occur chiefly in LH III B and earlier, *ibid.*, p. 48, fig. 13, and p. 53, fig. 15, Shapes 222, 290, 300, 301. For the development of the knob, or disc, on stirrup jars ("false-necked jars") see Furumark, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86, fig. 23. The pronounced conical top is an indication of late date (LH III C 1 and III C 2), but in a milder form it occurs on LH III B vases (*ibid.*, fig. 23). Cf. also the fragments from the Mycenaean Fountain on the North Slope of the Acropolis, O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 389, fig. 70, a-h. The fully developed form of conical knob appears on the submycenaean vases from the Athenian Kerameikos; see Kraiker and Kübler, *Kerameikos*, I, p. 53, pls. 5-11, but even there the knob is sometimes flat or nearly so, *ibid.*, pl. 6, Nos. 431, 440, pl. 7, No. 443, and especially pl. 9, No. 33. Cf. the recent publication *Submycenaean Studies* by Carl-Gustaf Styrenius, 1967, figs. 6-8, 12, where some of the stirrup vases from the Kerameikos graves are reproduced. See also the stirrup jars from Deiras cemetery at Argos, *ibid.*, figs. 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48; a late example from Nauplion, fig. 51; and a still later one from Tiryns, fig. 57. These show that the conical top of the knob continues unchanged to the very end of the series. The author, pp. 40-41, comments on the disappearance of the "false-necked jar" in submycenaean times.

left corner) seem to fit such a date. In general the Mycenaean pottery from section *Ge* is very similar to that found in 1957 and 1958 in connection with the sections of the Cyclopean wall near the Saronic Gulf.

For the date of the wall just described, the most reliable evidence is offered by the masonry, the conspicuous features of which are the use of large field stones with smaller stones filling the spaces in between, the lack of dressed stones, and the total absence of roof tiles built into the stone work. The small pieces of tiles from the interior fill were not used as building material, and they are too late to have any direct bearing on the date of a wall of this kind. There is no other period in the history of the Isthmus after the Mycenaean era when such a construction is likely to have been used. The thickness of the wall also agrees with that observed elsewhere. The similarity in the construction is so striking that one must conclude that the newly uncovered section *Ge* is of the same date as that of the stretches of Cyclopean wall uncovered farther east and south, which I have described in the earlier article.

The discovery of a new section of this wall near the temenos of Poseidon provides an explanation for the immense quantity of uncut stones that came from the fill of the Large Circular Pit.⁶ These stones, now built into the foundation for the wall surrounding the school playground, are very similar to those in the Cyclopean wall. It will be recalled that the pit had been filled up as early as the first half of the fifth century B.C., and it may have occurred at the time when the temenos of Poseidon was being landscaped prior to or shortly after the construction of the classical temple. It is quite obvious that the stones had been built into some wall which was removed when the pit was being filled up, and the newly discovered portion of the Cyclopean fortification makes it all but certain that the stones came from a demolished part of that wall. The direction of the new stretch would seem to indicate that the wall extended diagonally across the west end of the temenos of Poseidon, and when the time came for the construction of the new temple, the stones from the old wall together with other debris from the Sanctuary were used as fill for the immense pit.

After we had recognized that the new stretch of wall must be part of the Cyclopean fortification, we made some attempts to find other traces toward the south, along the east slope of the Rachi. Only at one point (Fig. 3, *Mi*), some fifty meters to the southeast of the section exposed in the Gellis lot, did we find a few stones from the inner, i.e. southwest, face of the wall. It can be seen for a distance of only 4.50 m. (Fig. 2), but the present owner of the field, Michael Papatheodorou, informed us that he and his father many years ago had removed a large number of stones of this kind from the area along the line of the wall. Since these were rough uncut stones, the farmers did not recognize them as part of an ancient wall; consequently they broke up and removed as many as possible to clear the ground for the planting of fruit trees.

⁶ *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 301-303; XXXI, 1962, pp. 1-2.

Still farther south we dug some trenches in a field belonging to the widow Politi Iakou, and there we encountered a broad stone and mortar foundation of late date. Apparently the early wall had been removed before this foundation was laid. Stones of the kind used in the wall have been employed for the construction of terrace walls along the edges of the fields. Whether any stones of the wall are still left in place in this vicinity cannot be determined without extensive digging. Nevertheless, the new sections resulting from the excavations in 1967 are sufficient to indicate that the Cyclopean wall, after crossing the deep gully, doubled back on the southeast slope of the Rachi, then turned north and northwest across the temenos of Poseidon. Thus the conjectured course, indicated in *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 348, fig. 1, has to be

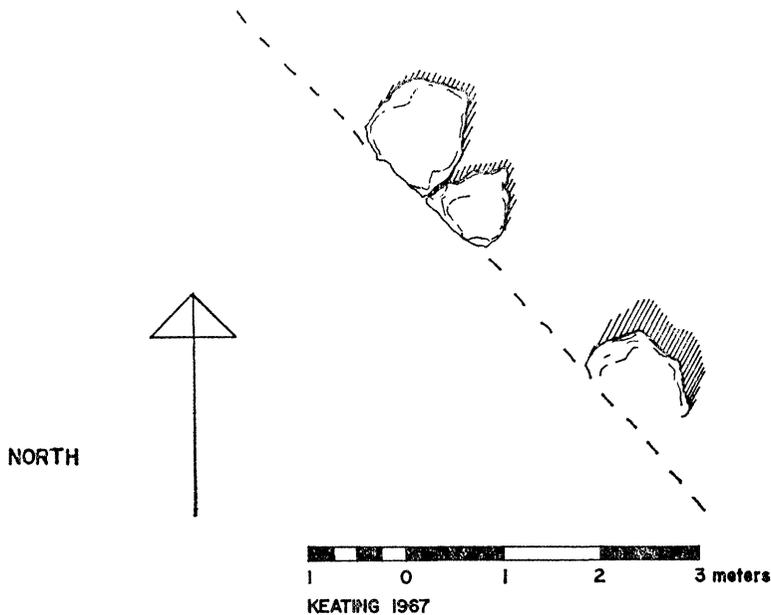


FIG. 2. Plan of Short Section *Mi*.

somewhat modified, so that the wall instead of passing between the temenos of Poseidon and the Theater now turns more sharply northward and then west as shown in Figure 3. What course it followed to the north and west of the temenos of Poseidon is still a matter of conjecture. If it was completed clear across the Isthmus—and there are good reasons for doubting that it was—it may have followed the same line as that of the wall of Justinian. In the latter fortification, which is constructed largely out of re-used blocks from the buildings in the Sanctuary, there are some uncut blocks of irregular shape, and it is possible that they had originally been used in the early fortification.

Thus the recent discoveries corroborate in the main our earlier conclusions with regard to the date and the course of the Cyclopean wall. They show unmistakably—

and this is their primary importance—that the wall was built before the Sanctuary had been established, since it left the temple outside the fortified area, accessible to enemies approaching the Isthmus from the mainland. By the beginning of the seventh century B.C. the site had become a cult place of Poseidon,⁷ as is evident from the accumulation of pottery, beginning with Protocorinthian. Consequently the wall was constructed before 700 B.C.

The Mycenaean pottery found in significant relation to the wall, as I pointed out in my earlier article, is to be dated at the end of LH III B and the early beginning of III C. On the exact date of the transition there is no unanimity among the specialists. Some scholars, among them Furumark,⁸ put the first appearance of LH III C as early as 1230 B.C.; others would bring it down into the first or second decades of the twelfth century. It is obvious that there was no abrupt change, and in the case of certain shapes, like the globular stirrup vases and undecorated kylixes, the transition is so gradual that it becomes largely a matter of opinion whether a given vase should be labeled LH III B or III C. Nor is it safe to assume that the transition followed the same stages or the same rate of change in all parts of the Mycenaean world. The pottery culled from our trenches along the wall is so scant and fragmentary that exact classification and dating are very difficult. The most that we can say is that the Isthmian wall, on the evidence of the pottery, is to be dated before the fully developed LH III C had become predominant. By that time the Mycenaean world, as shown by the appearance of local styles of pottery, had fallen apart into independent units, lacking political cohesion, and hardly capable of large scale cooperative action. If the trans-Isthmian wall was constructed as a line of defense of the Peloponnesos against invaders (and this seems to be the only logical interpretation) it can hardly have been built during this period of cultural localism and political disintegration.

Professor Mylonas, who now accepts the identification of the wall as Cyclopean,⁹ comments on the fact that the destructions in Mycenaean times, in the Argolid and Corinthia, are to be dated toward the end of LH III B, prior to the construction of the Isthmian wall, which we have dated in the period of transition from LH III B to

⁷ *Klio*, XXXIX, 1961, pp. 251-252.

⁸ For the proposed dates see *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 355, notes 18-20.

⁹ *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1966, p. 131, note 1; and cf. his *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, pp. 219-220, where he repeats the statement made in *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 372-373, with regard to the wall across the Isthmus. In this book (p. 220) he echoes the view held also by Emily Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, p. 264, and Hope-Simpson, *A Gazetteer and Atlas of Mycenaean Sites*, 1965, p. 32, that "the Cyclopean wall does not go across the Isthmos but seems to enclose a circular area of the coast in the general direction of Kenchreai." My preliminary reports (*Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 299, fig. 1; *Antiquity*, XXXII, 1958, pp. 82-83; and especially *Atti del Sett. Congr. Intern. di Arch. Class.*, 1961, I, pp. 247-248) made it quite clear that the wall crossed the gully south of the Rachi and continued northward, rather than turning south to enclose the largely uninhabited (in Mycenaean times) coastal area between Isthmia and Kenchreai. The new stretch of the wall at the Sanctuary of Poseidon ought to lay that phantom to rest.

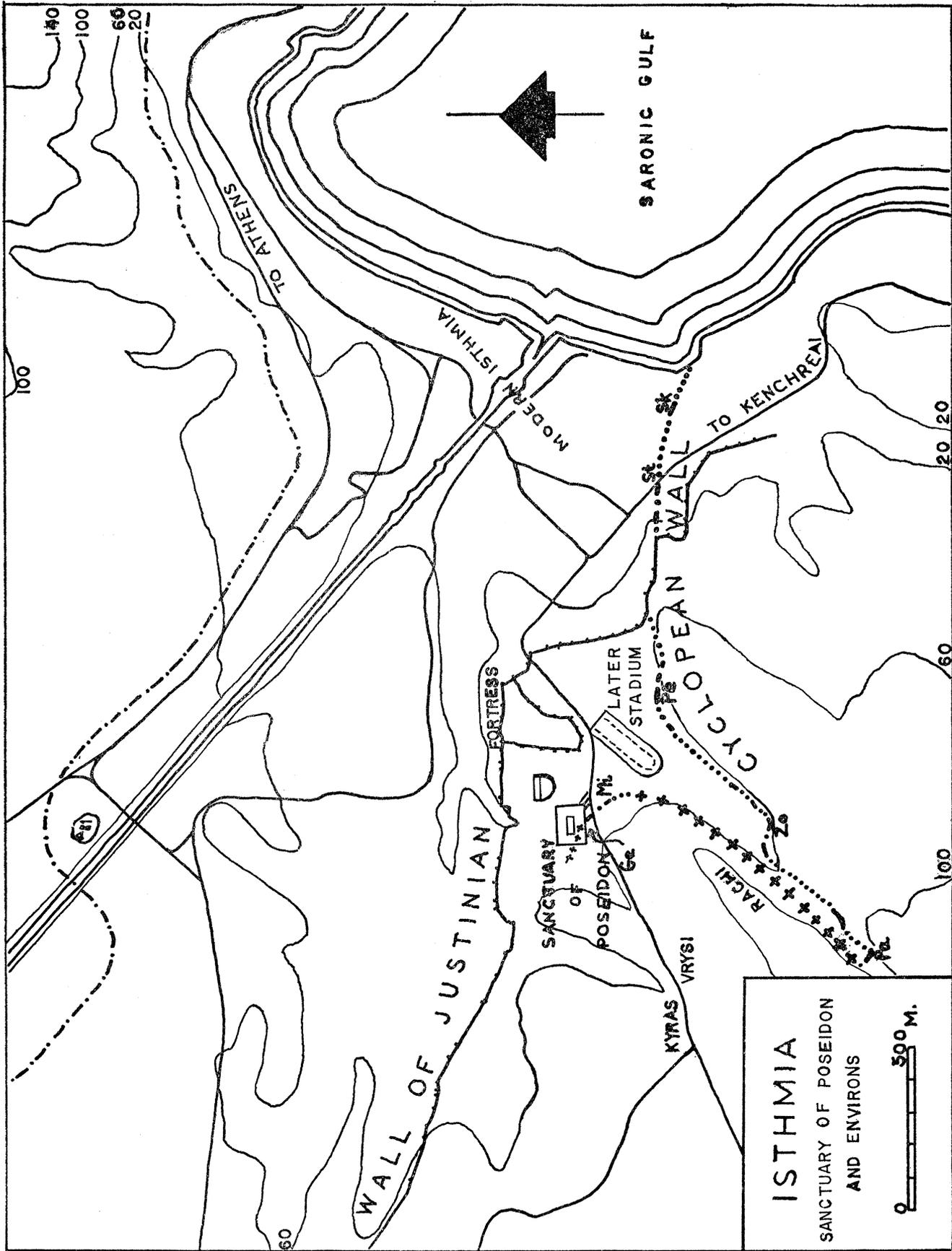


Fig. 3. Plan of Isthmia, Showing Line of Cyclopean Wall.

III C. If it was intended to keep invaders from entering the Peloponnesos the destruction in the cities of the Argolid, he contends, cannot have been caused by Dorians since they had already entered the Peloponnesos before the wall was built. Such a sharp distinction between pottery from the end of LH III B and the transitional phases is not warranted in view of the gradual changes pointed out above. But the primary difficulty here comes from a modern interpretation of the invasion which does not accord with the ancient sources. What has come to be called the Dorian Invasion, or the Return of the Herakleidai, is to be understood (and was so understood by the ancient authors) as a series of repeated raids and threats of invasion, lasting for more than a century; and if the wall, as seems quite likely, was unfinished at the time of the final subjugation of the land, it could have been begun near the end of that period. If the Dorian invaders had already entered the Peloponnesos and established themselves there, why did they not, we are asked, prevent the building of the wall? This is probably just what they did. But these events should not be thought of as being crowded into a brief period of time. Waves of invaders came and left after raids of plunder and destruction. The final occupation and permanent settlement would have occurred a long time after the vanguard of warriors had subdued and pillaged the cities and then departed to carry on plunder at other sites. If the wall remained unfinished, the reason may well have been that the invaders had by then gained strength enough to prevent the completion of the trans-Isthmian fortification.

Tradition records¹⁰ at least three attempts of the Herakleidai to gain possession of the Peloponnesos before the final invasion under Kresphontes. In the first encounter, Eurystheus made the assault on the Herakleidai, who had obtained aid from Athens, and he was killed by Hyllos,¹¹ Herakles' eldest son, and Eurystheus' children all perished at the hands of the Athenians. This success of the Herakleidai led to the acquisition of all the cities of the Peloponnesos; but a year later a pestilence, which reduced the forces of the invaders, compelled them to relinquish their hold on the country. Thereupon Hyllos and his followers again fled to Athenian territory. In a second attempt Hyllos fought a duel at the Isthmus, in which he was slain, and Herodotos¹² tells us that the Herakleidai agreed to refrain from further invasions of the Peloponnesos for a hundred years.¹³ The invaders, however, broke the truce. Two generations later Aristomachos, son of Kleodaios, led a third expedition and was slain in action. The final invasion under Kresphontes and his brothers, sons of Aristomachos, resulted in the subjugation of nearly all of the peninsula.¹⁴ If there is

¹⁰ Apollodoros, *The Library*, II, viii, and cf. Diodoros Sikeliotes, IV, 57, 2-58, 5.

¹¹ Pausanias, I, 44, 10, says that it was Iolaos who slew Eurystheus.

¹² Herodotos, IX, 26.

¹³ Diodoros Sikeliotes, IV, 58, 3, reduces the period of truce to fifty years, at the end of which, he says, all who had found asylum in Attica made their return (*κατῆλθον*) to the Peloponnesos.

¹⁴ In the division of the land Kresphontes obtained Messenia, and it was he who overthrew the dynasty of Nestor. If I understand Professor Mylonas correctly, he believes that the palace of

any truth in the tradition variously recorded by Herodotos, Apollodoros, Diodoros, Pausanias, and other writers, these raids began before the Trojan war, in the time of Atreus, for it was he who agreed to risk his reign on the outcome of the duel at the Isthmus, although it was Echemos, the king of Tegea, who accepted the challenge and won the duel.

The accounts are confused, and the ancient writers do not agree about the successive invasions. Some details were probably invented by mythographers in order to present a logical sequence of events during several generations, and conversely there may have been other encounters of which no records have been preserved. No historian of the present day would be rash enough to accept any or all of these accounts at their face value. But neither can they be wholly disregarded. Our task then is to attempt, as far as the evidence permits, to correlate the traditions with the material evidence resulting from a study of the sites that were destroyed and occupied by the Herakleidai about the time indicated by the myths.¹⁵ What stands out in perfect

Nestor, but not the city of Pylos (wherever that was) was destroyed by pirates from the sea, who departed after the plunder, leaving the palace in ruins. To my question why the Pylians did not return and rebuild the palace and administrative center after the raid, Mylonas has a simple reply. "For the same reason that the same inhabitants refused to fight and defend the interests of those who occupied the palace, the ancient descendants of Neleus, but negotiated with the Dorians and settled peacefully with them the matter of possession," *op. cit.*, p. 130, note 2. This postulated destruction of the palace and administrative center by piratical raids must have occurred a long time before the arrival of the Dorians, yet after that destruction the palace ceased to exist. Only the lower town, where the common people (*δήμος*) lived, remained standing, or (according to Professor Mylonas) if damaged in the raids, was rebuilt. Yet the Dorians drove out the descendants of Neleus two generations after the death of Nestor (*ἡ κάθοδος τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν γενομένη δύο γενεαῖς ὕστερον ἐξέβαλε τοὺς Νηλεῖς ἀπογόνους*, Pausanias, IV, 3, 3) and negotiated with the demos for capitulation. Where then were the rulers, who were the descendants of Nestor, after the destruction of their home and offices before the new invaders arrived? Pausanias, whom Professor Mylonas cites in connection with the destruction of Pylos, makes it clear that he and whatever sources he used believed that the Neleidai not only were in power in Messenia but that *they were still in Pylos at the time of the invasion*: *Ἐπὶ δὲ Νέστορος καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων ἐν Πύλῳ τὰ βασιλεία ἦν* (Pausanias, IV, 3, 7). The excavations have shown that the palace complex, which comprised the administrative offices, was violently destroyed at the end of LH III B and was never rebuilt. That being the case, the destruction cannot have been caused by a hit-and-run raid by pirates from the sea, but was the work of the Dorian invaders under Kresphontes. Apparently he did not consider it worth his while to rebuild the royal establishment at Pylos after the thorough destruction he had wrought but moved the capital to Stenykleros.

¹⁵ In the recently published *Atti e Memorie del 1° Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia*, Roma 27 settembre—3 ottobre 1967, there are several articles which deal with conditions and events in Greece at the end of the Mycenaean era. For our purpose two of the contributions are of immediate interest: an article by V. R. Desborough on the "History and Archaeology in the Last Century of the Mycenaean Age," and one by William A. McDonald, "Exploration in Messenia: 1964-1967." Both authors take a sympathetic but skeptical view of Rhys Carpenter's revolutionary theory (*Discontinuity in Greek Civilization*, Cambridge, England, 1966), by which drought and famine have replaced the historically attested invasions and displacement of conquered peoples as the causes of the changes that took place in the Peloponnesos and the Aegean islands. Climatic changes, though perhaps less dramatic than those which Professor Carpenter postulates, may well

clarity is that the Dorian invasion was not a one time military expedition which resulted in unequivocal victory for the invaders. More than once, after a successful raid in which they had gained possession of some section of the country, the invaders would have been forced back across the Isthmus. There were periods of armistice during which they made preparations for new attacks, while the Peloponnesians tried to strengthen their defenses, both materially and politically, by forming alliances among themselves and with outsiders. During one such interval of menacing lull, perhaps toward the end of the period, the threatened cities may have decided to build the wall across the Isthmus; and while they were still engaged in this ambitious undertaking, a new invasion occurred which put an end to their efforts toward a common defense.

OSCAR BRONEER

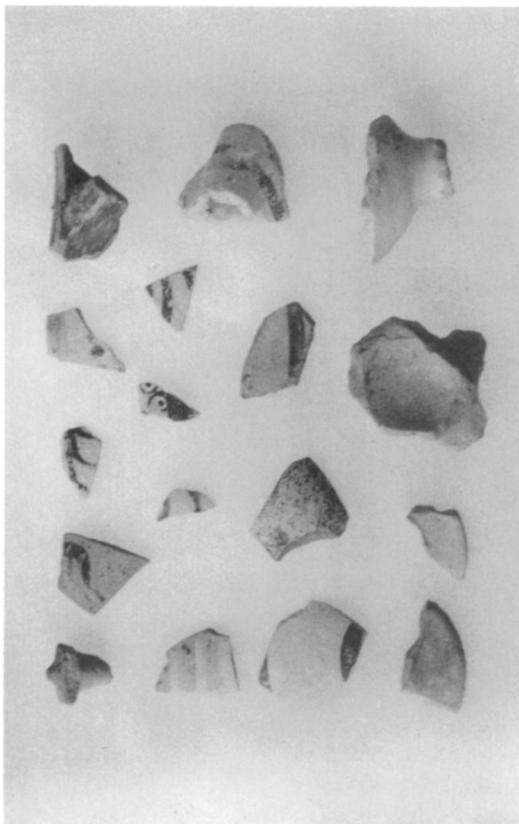
ANCIENT CORINTH

have occurred. As told by Apollodoros (see above, note 10) a devastating plague at one time delayed the occupation of the land; and such disasters could certainly have contributed toward the movements of people in the 12th and 11th centuries B.C. Meteorological changes, as well as pestilences, are real and often catastrophic, but so are the disasters caused by migrations and the sword.

Professor Carpenter assumes a "drought phase" of three centuries (1200 to 900 B.C.) which caused the people to leave their homes and parched lands. By the same theory the drought was succeeded by an equally extensive "pluvial phase," which brought the Herakleidai back to their original homes in the Argolid after the Mycenaeans had fled northwestward to Achaea and north-eastward to Attica, both of which had been left unaffected by the drought. This reduces the Dorian Invasion to a peaceful return of erstwhile refugees to the land of their fathers left vacant after the migrations of their more recent owners. Professor Carpenter tries to coordinate his "pluvial phase" with periods of rainfall and fertility in Egypt and the East in the 8th and even 7th century B.C. Now, if the period of drought lasted until the 9th century, this Return of the Herakleidai would have materialized some three hundred years too late to agree with the testimonia. We may not accept the mytho-historical evidence for these events and then apply them to phenomena of several centuries later. Professor Carpenter makes no mention of the Cyclopean Wall across the Isthmus, which—as Desborough (p. 39) pointed out—is singularly detrimental to his theory. Whatever mutations the climate may have undergone, man-made barriers like the Isthmian wall are erected by peoples who consider themselves viable, determined to defend their homes and farms against threatened invasions. Such a measure gives credibility to the semi-mythical stories of the Dorian Invasion and ensuing battles for the possession of the land.

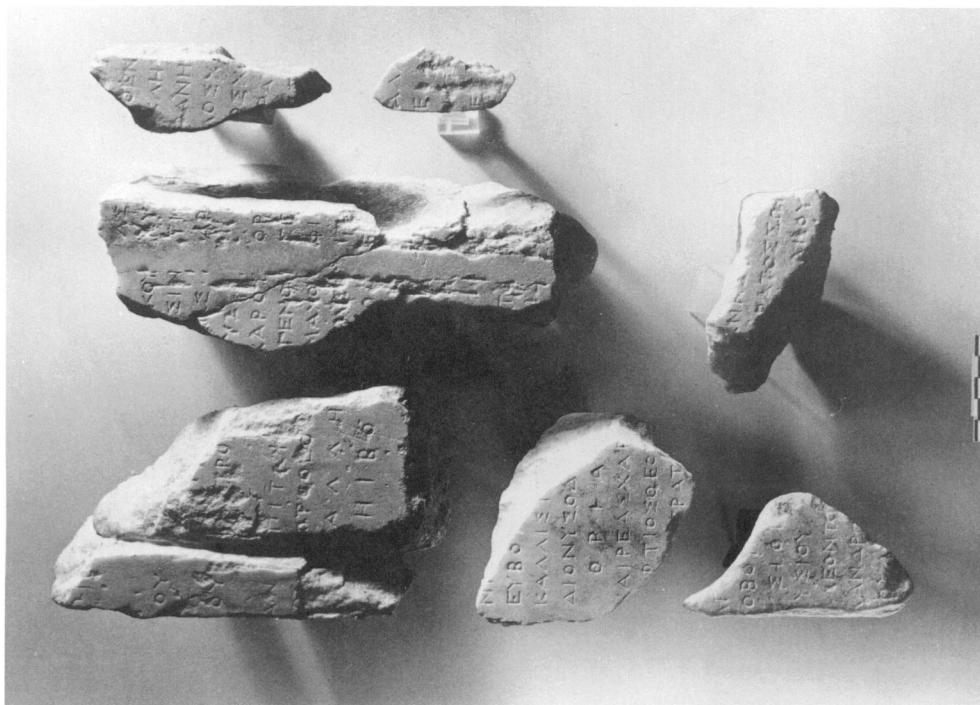


a. Section Ge, Southeast End



b. Mycenaean Sherds from Ge

OSCAR BRONEER: THE CYCLOPEAN WALL ON THE
ISTHMUS OF CORINTH, *Addendum*



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JOHN S. TRAILL: THE BOULEUTIC LIST OF 303/2 B.C.



a. Section *Ge*, from Northwest



b. Section *Ge*, from East